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The Collected Historical Works of
Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H.

In Ten Volumes

Volume Two

THE HISTORY OF NORMANDY
AND OF ENGLAND

In Four Volumes

Volume Two

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THE COLLECTED HISTORICAL WORKS
OF SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H.

edited by his son
SIR R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S.

THE HISTORY OF NORMANDY
AND OF ENGLAND

VOLUME II

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME II	▼
BOOK I.—PART II. CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY (<i>continued</i>)	1
AUTHORITIES	499
EDITOR'S NOTES	507
NOTES TO THE AUTHORITIES	538
APPENDIX A. THE ORIGIN OF ROLLO	542
APPENDIX B. THE DUKES OF LOTHARINGIA AND THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT	544
INDEX	545

MAPS

MAP V. NORTHERN FRANCE IN THE TENTH CENTURY (With Explanatory Note)	}	<i>To face original title-page</i>
MAP VI. FRANCE BEFORE THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET	}	<i>At the end of the</i>
MAP VII. NORMANDY IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD-SANS-PEUR	}	<i>volume</i>

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

[At the end of the Volume, following Maps VI and VII]

TABLES III A AND IV A. DUKES AND COUNTS OF BURGUNDY.

TABLES VII—XI. *THE CARLOVINGIAN FAMILY:*

TABLE VII. THE LOMBARD-VERMANDOIS LINE.

TABLE VIII. THE AQUITANIAN LINE.

TABLE IX. THE LOTHARINGIAN LINE.

TABLE X. THE GERMAN LINE.

TABLE XI. THE FRENCH LINE.

TABLE XII. THE DUKES OF NORMANDY.

TABLE XIII. THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY THE FOWLER.

TABLE XIV. THE COUNTS OF FLANDERS AND HAINAULT.

TABLE XV. BRITANNY.

TABLE XVI. THE COUNTS OF ANJOU AND THE FAMILY OF PLANTAGENET.

TABLE XVII. THE COUNTS OF BLOIS.

TABLE XVIII. THE COUNTS OF TOULOUSE.

NOTE TO MAP V

Hugh-le-Grand possessed all the regions corresponding to the ancient Neustria between the Seine and the Loire, excluding that portion conceded to the Normans in 911. It was the ancient military command (*marcha Franciæ et Britannia*) formerly held by Robert-le-Fort, the kernel of which was Anjou, and which Reginon styles "the duchy between the Loire and the Seine." His dominions however extended to the North of the Seine as far as Meaux. They were mostly enfeudated, *e.g.* to Thion, Viscount of Paris, Geoffrey, Viscount of Chartres, Geoffrey, Count of Orleans, Thibaut, Count of Blois, Chartres and Tours, Fulk-le-Roux, Count of Anjou. [Lauer, *Louis d'Outremer* (Paris 1900), p. 3 ff.]

THE
HISTORY OF NORMANDY
-AND OF
ENGLAND,

BY
SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H.

THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF HER MAJESTY'S
PUBLIC RECORDS.

VOLUME II.

THE THREE FIRST DUKES OF NORMANDY;—
ROLLO, GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE, AND
RICHARD-SANS-PEUR—THE CARLOVINGIAN
LINE SUPPLANTED BY THE CAPETS.

*Narratione autem historica (ait Augustinus) cum præterita etiam
hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa
historia numeranda est; quia jam quæ transierunt, nec infecta
fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est
conditor et administrator Deus.*

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON,
WEST STRAND

M.DCCC.LVII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN consequence of the bulk which this volume has attained, occasioned partly by the employment of historical evidences hitherto cast aside, and partly by feeling as I proceeded, the encreasing necessity of elucidating the intimate connexion between German History, and the History of Normandy and France, I am deterred from adding any notes or references or illustrative extracts. They are reserved for the third volume.

The full account appended of the principal authorities upon which the text is founded, will enable any reader to compare my narrative with the sources. Moreover in the third volume I purpose to resume the essays elucidating the general relations of the mediæval period, continuing the series prefixed to the first. The subjects next discussed will probably be—the Episcopate ; —the influences of Christianity upon the Fine Arts ;—also upon the cultivation of profane literature ; all of which are in forwardness, having been draughted many years since, as well as the main history, the latter more or less completely, until Edward III.

Domestic calamities and afflictions greatly retarded me in the progress of the present volume. But, with the papers before me, I hope I may be permitted to accomplish the completion of the third and fourth during the current and the ensuing year.

In concluding these prefatory remarks, I must testify my gratitude to that old friend—a friend whom I have known during the greater part of my authorial life, and now the senior partner

in the firm by which this book is brought out,—for his unwearied kindness in submitting to the loss and inconvenience which, in a commercial point of view, his House has sustained by the undue protraction of the publication.

F. P.

February 6, 1857.

[This Advertisement has been reprinted from the Original Edition. Owing to the Author's death the publication of "the essays elucidating the general relations of the mediæval period" referred to in it did not take place at that time. The Editor has included these Essays with the reprint of Vol. III placing them in the position which they were intended to fill.]

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.—PART II.

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY (*Continued*).

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE, ROBERT AND RAOUL IN FRANCE—ROLLO AND GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE IN NORMANDY.

912—927.

A.D.		PAGE
912	Charles-le-Simple,—his reputation destroyed by the historical epithet	1
—	His honesty and openness	2
—	Scanty resources	3
—	He nevertheless avails himself ably of the prerogatives remaining to him	4
—	He ignores the reign of Eudes	5
—	Alliances between the daughters of Edward the Elder and the Continental Sovereigns	5
—	Charles takes Eadgiva or Ogiva	6
—	He courts the Danes	6
—	He distrusts his Nobles, placing his confidence in the plebeian, Hagano	7
910—911	Disturbed state of Germany	7
911—912	Conrad of Franconia, elected King	8
—	The Lotharingians adhere to the Carolingian interest	8
911—916	Charles acquires Lotharingia by the assistance of Rainier- au-Long-Col	9
—	Gilbert, Duke Rainier's son,—his achievements as a swimmer	10
919—920	Conspiracy formed against Charles, by Robert, Duke of France and Count of Paris	10
—	Robert's character and alliance	10
—	Herbert of Vermandois coalesces with Robert	11
918	Accession of Henry the Fowler	12
—	Henry the Fowler's children	12
—	Revolt of the French Nobles, directed personally against Hagano, the King's favourite	13
—	Gilbert begins the insurrection in Lorraine, Charles marches against him, and besieges him at Harburgh	14

A.D.	PAGE
931—932 Hugh-le-Grand joins him, and they reduce the Vermandois territory	59
— The Aquitanian Princes submit to Raoul	60
— Social and political position of Guillaume Longue-Épée	60
— Principal Towns on the Channel coast of Normandy,—their comparatively modern origin	61
— Dieppe,—Caen,—Fécamp	61
— Guillaume's Palace at Fécamp	61
— He undertakes to build a Church at Fécamp and does not	61
— National spirit in Carolingian France	62
Guillaume's tergiversation	62
— Discontent of the Danish party	63
— Their rebellion under Count Riulph	63
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's terror	64
He attempts to treat with the insurgents	64
They refuse his terms and station themselves before Rouen	65
— Guillaume offers to resign the greater portion of the Terra Normannorum to them	65
— The insurgents demand his abdication	65
— Indignation of the Danish party against Guillaume	66
— Guillaume recovers heart	66
— Insurgents defeated; cruel treatment sustained by Riulph	66
— Riulph's sons and kinsmen pledge themselves to avenge his death	66
933 Birth, at Fécamp, of Richard, afterwards called "Sans-Peur"	67
— Ambiguous position of Guillaume towards the French	67
— Guillaume becomes Raoul's liegeman and receives investiture of Normandy	68
— Guillaume identifies himself with the French	68
— Forests surrounding Rouen	69
— The famous "Forest of Lions"	69
— Clearings of the forest	69
— Bourgade of "Lions-la-Forêt"	70
(1130) Foundation of the abbey of Morte-mer	70
934 The hunting-meet in the Forest lodge	71
— French nobles invited to the sport. Hugh-le-Grand; Herbert of Vermandois; Arnoul, Count of Flanders	71
— Guillaume Tête-d'Étoupe, Count of Poitiers	72
— Tête-d'Étoupe sues for Gerloc, Guillaume's sister	72
— Guillaume refuses arrogantly, but ultimately assents	73
— Marriage of Tête-d'Étoupe and Gerloc	73
— Gerloc assumes the name of Adela	73
— Piety ascribed to Guillaume Longue-Épée in consequence of his enjoyment of the world's good things	74
— For the purpose of conciliating the French, Guillaume repudiates Espriota	75
— He marries Liutgarda of Vermandois	76
— This marriage childless	76
— Death of Queen Emma	77

Contents

ix

A.D.	PAGE
934 Great Magyar invasion	77
935 King Raoul's troubles;—invasion of the Northmen	77
935—936 Raoul's illness and death	78
— State of public feeling	78
— Adherence of the French to Monarchy as a principle	79
— Late employment of the name of France, as applied to the Kingdom at large	80
— Tripartite division of the Gauls	81
— The three Nations or Electorates	81
1484 Etats Généraux of Tours; France then divided into six Nations	82
— Analogous division into Nations, adopted in the Council of Constance,—the military Orders—and the Universities of Paris and Glasgow	82
936 The Estates convened in consequence of Raoul's death	82
— Celtic and Aquitanian Gaul vote for Hugh-le-Grand	82
— Young Louis supported by the Belgic Gauls, but opposed by the Vermandois party	84
— Louis educated under Athelstane's protection	84
— Athelstane's negotiations for the restoration of Louis	85
— He gains the aid of Hugh-le-Grand	86
— Guillaume Longue-Epée also	86
— Convention of the French nobles at Sens	87
— Hugh-le-Grand elected President	87
— Hugh-le-Grand advocates the restoration of Louis upon constitutional principles	88
— Unavailing opposition of the Vermandois party	88
— Embassy despatched to England, inviting Louis; the Archbishop of Sens chief of the legation	88
— Athelstane's cautious conduct	89
— Athelstane and Louis at Dover	89
— Athelstane's continued caution; he despatches the Bishop of Sherborne to obtain information	90
— Hugh-le-Grand demands that Louis shall obey his counsel	90
— Landing of Louis at Boulogne	90
— Louis crowned at Laon by the Archbishop of Sens, the right being counter-claimed by the Archbishop of Rheims	91
(1108) Coronation of Louis-le-Gros by the Archbishop of Sens, according to this precedent	92

CHAPTER III.

LOUIS D'OUTREMER—GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE AND RICHARD HIS SON. FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS D'OUTREMER TO THE DEATH OF GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF HIS SON RICHARD-SANS-PEUR.

936—942.

A.D.	PAGE
936—942 Hugh-le-Grand's political character	94
— Hugh-le-Grand's Protectorate; enormous power given to him thereby	94
— Conjectures as to the causes inducing Athelstane, Ogiva, and Louis to assent	95
936—943 Affairs of Brittany	96
— Alain Barbe-Torte returns under Athelstane's protection	97
— Guillaume Longue-Épée restores Vannes to Alain	97
— Cornouaille annexed to Normandy under the name of the Cotentin	97
— The Bretons rally round Alain, and an English fleet bears him over	97
— The Northmen in Armorica resist the Bretons	98
— The Danish bridal at Dol	98
— They are there defeated by the Bretons, and at Saint Brieux also	98
— The Northmen concentrate their forces about Nantes, then a ruined city	98
— They are thoroughly defeated by the Bretons	98
— Nantes re-founded by Alain Barbe-Torte	99
943 Guillaume Tête-d'Étoupe cedes to Alain Barbe-Torte, Clisson and other Poitevin territories	99
— Alain Barbe-Torte's claims upon Anjou settled by his marriage with the daughter of Foulques-le-Roux	100
936 Hugh-le-Grand acquires a portion of Burgundy	100
— Difficulty of defining the rights of the Burgundian princes	100
— Rival Counts of Burgundy at the era of Raoul's death, Hugh-le-Noir, Gilbert, and Hugh-le-Grand	100
936 Hugh-le-Grand, supported by Louis, acquires Langres	101
936—937 Vigour of the young King's government	101
— Royal prerogatives, their subsisting importance	102
937 Louis releases himself from Hugh-le-Grand's protectorate	103
— Ogiva recalled from England	103
— Louis entrusts the command of Laon to her	103
937—938 Hugh-le-Grand's designs against the King	104
— Hugh allies himself with Herbert of Vermandois	104
— Herbert of Vermandois seizes the Château Galliot, an outwork of Laon	105
— Herbert commences offensive operations	105
— Surprises Château Thierry, and occupies Troyes, thereby founding the County of Champagne	105
937 The great Magyar invasion	106

A.D.	PAGE
937—938 Louis, the Magyars having retired, brings the Realm into good order	106
— Defection of Guillaume Longue-Epée, who joins Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois	107
— Bernard de Senlis, first Count of Couci, supports the Capetians	108
— Arnoul of Flanders takes the French side	108
— Calais then appertaining to Flanders	109
— Witsand, importance of the position	109
— Louis captures the fort occupied by Herbert opposite Laon	110
— County of Guisnes founded by Siegfried the Dane	110
— Arnoul of Flanders patronizes Riulph the rebel	111
— Guillaume Longue-Epée ravages Flanders	112
— Affairs of Ponthieu	112
— Herlouin of Ponthieu	112
— Dissensions between him and Arnoul	113
— Arnoul takes Montreuil by stratagem	113
— Montreuil re-captured by Guillaume Longue-Epée on Herlouin's behalf	114
— Henry the Fowler's three sons ;—Thankmar claims the throne as the eldest	114
— Henry the youngest, as Porphyrogenitus	115
— Otho the middle-most, by his father's will	115
936 Accession of Otho upon his father's death ;—his solemn coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle	115
— Otho's queen, Editha, sister of Ogiva	116
936—937 Influence of Germany in France	116
— Otho courts Hugh-le-Grand and his party, including Guillaume Longue-Epée	117
936—939 Hugh-le-Grand marries Hadwisa, Otho's sister	117
— Otho's difficulties	118
— Thankmar's revolt against his brother ; his death	118
— Discontents amongst the Germans	119
— Insurrection of Henry the Porphyrogenitus	119
— Political situation of Lotharingia	120
— Pre-eminence of the family of Rainier-au-Long-Col	120
— Gilbert the Bold Swimmer—Duke of Lorraine, by the appointment of King Charles	120
— Sympathy of the Lotharingians with the Carolingian dynasty	121
— Affection of the Lotharingians for France	121
— The Lotharingians invite Louis to assume the government	122
— He is received as King of Lotharingia	122
— Athelstane aids Louis by his fleet :—the first intervention of England in foreign affairs	122
939—940 Great defection of the French Nobles ; Hugh-le-Grand ; Herbert of Vermandois ; Arnoul of Flanders and Guillaume Longue-Epée transfer their allegiance to Otho	124
— Gilbert, the Bold Swimmer, unites with the Porphyrogenitus against Otho	124

A.D.	PAGE
939—940 Gilbert advances towards the Rhine	125
— Leaves his wife, Gerberga, in the command of Chevreumont	125
— Gilbert defeated—drowned in attempting to cross the Rhine	125
— Through Gerberga's intervention, peace restored between Otho and the Porphyrogenitus	125
— Louis visits Chevreumont for the purpose of condoling with the Widow Gerberga	125
— They marry; Gerberga crowned at Laon	126
— Guillaume Longue-Épée; his fickleness and want of fidelity	126
— He falls off from Otho	126
— And re-connects himself with France, for the purpose of strengthening his own title	127
940 Guillaume performs homage to Louis at Amiens, and superadds his declarations of friendship	128
— The <i>Dux Piratarum</i> hated by the French	129
— Guillaume returns to his allegiance, being ready to change sides again	130
— Position of Herbert of Vermandois; his plans upon Laon and Rheims	130
— Hugh-le-Grand allies himself with Herbert	131
— Guillaume Longue-Épée re-unites himself to the Germans and the Capetians	131
— They besiege Rheims	131
— Great exasperation between the parties	131
— Rheims surrenders. Archbishop Artaklus expelled and the Parvulus re-instated	131
— Great mischief ensuing to Louis by Guillaume Longue-Épée's defection	132
— The confederates march against Laon	132
— Laon, defended by Gerberga, holds out	132
— Otho enters France; he is met by Hugh and Herbert and occupies Attigny	133
— The French Nobles perform homage to Otho at Attigny, and acknowledge him as King	133
— Guillaume Longue-Épée detaches himself from the confederates	134
— Hugh-le-Grand and Count Herbert again advance to Laon	134
— Battle between the confederates and Louis: he is compelled to fly, but accomplishes his safe return to Laon and Gerberga	135
— Pope Stephen IX.; his energy	135
— Admonishes the French to return to their allegiance	135
— Continuous insurrections—siege of Laon, still defended by Gerberga	136
— The siege raised; Guillaume Longue-Épée's intrigues; he passes over to the royal party, being his fifth defection	136
941 Birth of Lothaire, eldest child of Louis and Gerberga	137
— Importance of this event in a political point of view	137
— Guillaume Longue-Épée becomes Sponsor to the royal infant	137
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's profuse professions of loyalty	138

Contents

xiii

A.D.	PAGE
941 His triumphant entry into Rouen	138
942 Louis, at Guillaume Longue-Épée's invitation, visits him	139
— Political importance of this visit	139
— Tête-d'Étoupe and Barbe-Torte promise to aid Louis	139
— Confused account of Guillaume Longue-Épée having visited Otho in Lorraine	140
941—942 Negotiations between Louis and Otho	140
— Guillaume Longue-Épée an absolute Sovereign	141
— Extinction of Scandinavian customs	141
— Subjugation of the Church to the Duke's authority	141
— No States-General or Parliaments in Normandy under the Dukes	142
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's sound administration of justice	142
— His deficiency of religious principle	142
— Poverty and degradation of the Norman Church	143
— Destruction of monastic establishments by the Danes	143
— Utility of monastic establishments during the middle ages	143
— Desolation of Jumièges	144
— Two Anchorites from the Cambresis settle there	145
— Guillaume Longue-Épée encounters them when hunting;—his rudeness and their kindness	145
— He re-establishes Jumièges, but stintedly	145
— The Abbey colonised from the Abbey of Saint Cyprian, at Poitiers; Martin the first Abbot	146
— Abbot Martin a deep theologian; Guillaume Longue-Épée takes to him	146
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's troubles of mind	146
— His <i>juste milieu</i> policy	147
— Failure thereof, inasmuch as he equally alienates the French and Danish parties	147
— Hugh-le-Grand's views upon the Evrecin	147
— Guillaume Longue-Épée forfeits his character by his vacillations; courted, hated and despised by the French	148
— Difficulties of Dudo de St. Quentin's narrative	149
— Guillaume determines to govern through the Danish or anti- Christian party; results of this determination	150
— Strength of the Danish party, and the Bessin	151
— Harold Blaatand, "Over King" of Denmark, possesses himself of the Cotentin	151
— Guillaume's perplexity as to the position of his son Richard	152
— Guillaume Longue-Épée fancies he will become a monk	153
— Commences his discussion with Abbot Martin	153
— Self-examination	154
— The "Three Alls," or orders of Society in the middle ages	155
— Guillaume declares his intention of professing at Jumièges	156
— The Abbot refuses him on the ground that he was deserting the calling in which he must abide	157
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's anger at the Abbot's refusal	157
— The Abbot, to pacify him, gives him a frock and cowl	157

A.D.	PAGE
941—942 Guillaume deposits the garments in a shrine, but keeps the key about his person	157
— Guillaume's dangerous illness	158
— He retires to Quevilly	158
— Sends for his son Richard	158
The boy brought to him by Botho, Oslac, and Bernard the Dane	158
— They, on behalf of the Normans, accept the boy as their Duke, and perform fealty to him	159
— Guillaume Longue-Épée, distrusting the clergy, directs that Richard should be educated by Botho	159
— Richard removed to Bayeux in order that he may be trained in the Danish Vernacular	160
942 Richard inaugurated at Bayeux	160
— Seven Nobles, on behalf of the Community, perform fealty to him	160
— Guillaume Longue-Épée's mental distresses	161
— Scope of Guillaume Longue-Épée's plan of education, Christianity being neglected	162
— Guillaume Longue-Épée attaches himself to the Danes	163
— Offence taken by the French	163
— Council of Attigny; Guillaume summoned thereto	163
— Appearance and "Essoign"	164
— Guillaume Longue-Épée attends, but not till the Session of the Council had commenced	164
— Whether by accident or design he is excluded from the Council	164
— He breaks the door open and compels King Otho to rise	165
— The French determine to rid themselves of Guillaume by summary vengeance	165
— Otho proposes the summary infliction of capital punishment; —Louis and Otho concur;—Arnoul undertakes to carry the sentence into execution	166
— Arnoul invites Guillaume Longue-Épée to a conference on the Island of Picquigny	166
— Guillaume accedes to the proposal	167
— Rejects the advice of his Norman counsellors	167
— The meeting on the island	168
— The four conspirators—Balzo, the nephew of Riulph, their leader	168
— Arnoul's deceit	168
— Arnoul separates Guillaume from his escort	169
— Guillaume murdered by Balzo	169
— His corpse removed to Rouen; the key of the silver shrine found fastened to his girdle	170
— State of affairs in Normandy immediately after Guillaume's death	170
— Bernard the Dane	170
— Botho;—Osmond de Centvilles;—Raoul Torta	171
— Ivo, the "Normannus Normannorum"	171

A.D.		PAGE
942	Ivo, founder of the families of Belesme, Ponthieu, Perche, Alençon and Montgomery	171
—	Liutgarda espouses Thibaut-le-Tricheur, Count of Blois	171
—	Esprïota accepts Sperling the rich miller	172
—	Divine right of Kings; how construed during the mediæval period	172
—	Saul viewed by the mediæval Church as the type of royalty	172
—	Hereditary right, requiring the people's ratification on each mutation of authority	173
—	Guillaume Longue-Épée interred in Rouen Cathedral—his tomb	174
—	Richard recognized as his father's heir, upon Juhel Berenger's proposition	175
—	Richard's solemn inauguration	175
—	Loyalty of the Normans towards Richard	176
—	Guillaume Longue-Épée's memory dear to the people	176
—	Normandy, one and indivisible	176

CHAPTER IV.—PART I.

LOUIS D'OUTREMER; LOTHAIRE AND LOUIS-LE-FAINEANT;
RICHARD-SANS-PEUR; ACCESSION OF THE CAPETS.

942—987.

942	The last era of the Carlovingian dynasty comes in prospect	177
—	Decline of the Dynasty though the Monarchical principle encreases in strength	177
—	Spirit of Louis d'Outremer's government	178
—	Influence of his mother Ogiva	178
—	Ogiva superseded, after his marriage, by the influence of Gerberga	178
—	Ogiva, lay abbess of Notre Dame de Laon	179
—	Spirit and energy of Louis well matched by Gerberga	179
943	Herbert of Vermandois, various traditions concerning his death	180
—	Partition of Count Herbert's dominions amongst his sons	181
—	Apparent but unreal gain to Louis upon Herbert's death	181
—	Birth of Hugh Capet	182
—	Hugh-le-Grand's ambitious designs become more definite	182
—	Louis plans the subjugation of Normandy	183
—	Probabilities of his success diminished by the affection of the Normans for Richard	184
—	Hugh-le-Grand's territorial command of Normandy	184
—	Hatred entertained by Louis against Hugh-le-Grand	185
—	Normandy's adversaries	185
—	Normandy enfeebled by the antipathies between the Danish and Christian parties	186
941—942	Danes and Christians provoked against each other by Guillaume Longue-Épée's vacillations	186

A.D.	PAGE
941—942 Nevertheless Bernard the Dane heads the Christian party	187
— Their present preponderance	187
942—943 Movement of the Danishry	188
— Thormod renounces Christianity	188
— Pagans and Christians equally loyal to Richard	188
— Bernard the Dane and the Christian party present Richard to Louis at his palace	189
— Investiture of Normandy granted to Richard though he is stigmatised by the French as a bastard	190
— The Normans of the French party perform homage to Louis as King of France	190
— Other Normans become the men of Hugh-le-Grand	191
— Danish invasion. King Sithric and Thormod join their forces	191
— Thormod obtains possession of the person of young Richard and converts the child to Paganism	192
— Concealment of this perversion by the Norman historians	192
— Hugh-le-Grand's energy against the Danes	193
— He establishes himself in the Evrecin	193
— Vigour displayed by Louis	193
— The "Battle of the rescue"; Danes defeated by Louis; Thormod and Sithric slain	193
— Importance of this battle	194
— Louis pursues his plans for obtaining the superiority of Normandy	195
943 Louis enters Rouen as a conqueror	196
— Injudicious concessions made by the Regency	197
— Simulated cordiality of the reception of Louis at Rouen	198
— Louis obtains possession of the young Richard's person	199
— General insurrection of the Rouen population against Louis	199
— His duplicity and terror	199
— He surrenders the child to the Regency	200
— Nevertheless the Normans detain him as a prisoner in his palace	200
— Conference between Louis and the Regents	201
— The King and the Duke of Normandy to be deemed equals, saving the King's regal dignity	201
— Peace concluded upon the principle of mutuality	201
— Normandy regranting by Louis to Richard, who performs homage	201
— Louis obtains the charge of Richard's education	201
— Louis makes his circuit through Normandy with Richard as his Ward	202
— Double dealing of Louis	203
— He pledges himself to avenge Guillaume Longue-Epée's death	204
— Louis convenes the Normans; explains the plans of his intended campaign against Flanders	204
— Louis proposes to remove Richard to Laon	205
— The Regents give their assent	205
— Probability that they were influenced by the prospect of placing Richard out of the power of the Danishry	206
— Louis proceeds to Laon with Richard	206

Contents

xvii

A.D.	PAGE
943 The latter accompanied by Ivo de Creil and Osmond de Cent- villes	206
— Louis, superseding the Norman authorities, appoints Count Herlouin Governor of Rouen	207
— Encreasing distrust between Louis and Hugh-le-Grand	207
943—944 Partition of the Vermandois inheritance	208
— Simulated reconciliation between Louis and Hugh-le-Grand . .	209
— Medical practice divided between the Clergy and the Jews . .	210
— Deroldus, Bishop of Amiens, the King's body physician . . .	210
— Gerberga patronizes a Neapolitan practitioner	211
— Pharmaceutical duel between the Neapolitan and the Bishop .	211
— The three Dukes of Burgundy	212
— Hugh-le-Blanc, or le-Grand, Hugh-le-Noir, and Gilbert . . .	212
— Concord of the Burgundian Dukes	212
— Simulated friendship between Louis and Hugh-le-Grand . . .	213
— Hugh, sponsor to the King's infant daughter	213
— Louis grants further powers to Hugh in his Duchy of France .	213
— Cedes all Burgundy to him	213
— Imperfect obedience of the Aquitanian princes	214
— Louis moves towards the South, and enforces his supremacy .	215
— The Aquitanian Princes and Nobles surrender their Fiefs and accept new grants thereof	215
944—945 Plans formed by Louis for extending his dominion in Flanders	215
— Montigny and Amiens surrender to him	216
— Battle between the Flemings and the French;—Arnoul defeated, Balzo slain	217
— Hugh-le-Grand's constant maintenance of his views upon France	217
— Proposition for the partition of France between the King and the Duke	217
— Hugh's intrigues amongst the Normans	218
— Renewed quarrel between Otho King of Germany and Louis . .	218
— King Otho grants Lorraine to Conrad the Red	219
— Louis and Hugh-le-Grand compete for Otho's alliance	219
— Richard in the Tower of Laon, with Osmond his tutor	220
— Arnoul excites Louis against Richard	220
— Arnoul proposes an alliance between France and Flanders against the Normans	220
— Louis places Osmond and Richard under arrest	221
— Which arrest they break	222
— The King's burst of passion discloses his enmity; he threatens to mutilate Richard	222
— Affliction of the Normans; prayers offered for the young Duke's deliverance from his enemies	224
— Richard declines in health	224
— Richard continues sinking; delight of Louis and Gerberga . .	225
— Richard being apparently on his death-bed, Louis and Gerberga give a grand banquet in the Castle	226

A.D.	PAGE
944—945 Richard's escape by the advice and aid of Osmond de Cent- villes	226
— Richard safely conducted to Couci	226
— Osmond hastens to Bernard de Senlis, who takes Richard under his protection	226
— Negotiations between Osmond and Bernard de Senlis on Richard's behalf	226
— Bernard places Richard under Hugh-le-Grand's protection	227
— Hugh-le-Grand refuses to distrain Bernard de Senlis to surrender Richard to Louis, and defies the King	228
— Conference between Louis and Count Arnoul: partition of Normandy proposed	229
— Hugh-le-Grand summoned to appear before the King	229
— Hugh assents to a meeting between himself and the King at Bourg de la Croix	229
— Hugh refuses to enforce the surrender of Richard	230
— But he is bought over by Louis, who promises to divide Nor- mandy with him	230
— Bernard de Senlis and Bernard the Dane agree upon a scheme for setting Hugh-le-Grand and Louis at variance	231
— The Normans ally themselves to Thibaut-le-Tricheur and Harold Blaatand	231
— Civil wars in Armorica	232
— Invasion of the Danes	233
— Great alarm excited thereby	233
— The French and the Flemings invade Normandy: successes of Arnoul and Louis	234
944 Hugh-le-Grand besieges Bayeux	235
— Bernard the Dane's plot for enticing Louis into Rouen, offering an unconditional surrender	235
— The Normans, upon the secret information given by Bernard, do not oppose any obstacle	236
— Louis enters Rouen and takes possession of the palace	238
— The drunken carouse in the palace on the eve of his entry	239
— Want of truth on all sides	240
— Bernard, assisting at the feast, encourages the King	241
944—945 He also takes the opportunity of setting Louis and Hugh- le-Grand at variance	241
— The Normans taunt Louis with his imprudence in acceding to the partition of Normandy with Hugh-le-Grand	243
— They oppose the measure as detrimental to the general interests of the country	243
— Louis revokes the grant	244
— Hugh's indignation	244
— Simulated submission of the Normans	245
— Apparent prosperity of Louis in Normandy	245
— Raoul Torta, the King's prime minister	246

Contents

xix

A.D.	PAGE
944—945 Absence of information concerning the early Norman laws and customs	247
— Probability that the peasantry were better off under Richard's reign than in the next generation	247
— Their enjoyment of common or unappropriated lands	247
— Heavy taxes imposed by Raoul Torta	247
— Ecclesiastical buildings demolished by him	248
— Jumièges partially redeemed	248
— Insolence of the French soldiery	248
— The French claim the Norman lands	249
— Bernard the Dane "begged" of the King	250
— Rumour that the King would grant the Norman women as well as the Norman lands	250
— Old Bernard's young wife pointed at in particular	251
— The Normans prepare for insurrection	252
— Bernard organizes his plans for opposing Louis	252
— Hugh-le-Grand also plans to play the Danes off against Louis	252
— Louis not inobservant of these machinations	252
— Another son born to Louis at Laon, Carloman	253
— Hugh-le-Grand openly joins Bernard de Senlis	253
— They invade the Rhemois	253
945 They burn and plunder Montigny and Compiègne; the latter twice	253
— Artaldus expelled	253
— Harold Blaataand begins the war of deliverance	254
— Blaataand's headquarters at Cherbourg	254
— Great alterations on the coast	254
— Harold musters his army near the Salt Marshes of Corbon	254
— General rising of the Basse-Normandie against the French	255
— They join Harold's army	255
— Bernard the Dane feigns warm loyalty towards Louis	255
— The lost Latin Chronicle, quoted by Benoit	256
— Pride and energy of the French	256
— Louis marches against Harold	256
— The French encamp on the banks of the Dive	257
— Splendour of the French camp	257
— Contrasted with the sober aspect of the Danish camp	257
— Danes take their position near the Salt Marshes of Corbon	257
— Conference between the Danes and the French	257
— Harold and Louis scold at each other	258
— French negligence	258
— Danish vigilance	258
— The Danes cross the Dive before day-break and surprise the French	259
— The Cotentin Knight reproaches Herlouin as the cause of the war	259
— Scuffle with the Danes; Herlouin slain	260
— French army totally routed	260
— Single combat between Harold Blaataand and Louis	260
— Louis taken prisoner by Blaataand	260

A.D.		PAGE
945	Louis escapes	260
—	His pitiful adventures	261
—	He is harboured by a Rouen knight	261
—	But tracked and captured by Bernard the Dane	261
—	Louis imprisoned at Rouen	262
—	Harold Blaataud's magnanimity	263
—	He restores Richard's authority and returns to Denmark	263
—	Bernard and the Normans determine to detain Louis in prison	263
—	Nor to be released till he has renounced all his pretensions upon Normandy	263
—	Hugh-le-Grand seeks to secure the whole royal family	264
—	Gerberga sues for mercy	265
—	Hugh-le-Grand presents himself as a mediator	265
—	Normans demand that all the King's male children should be surrendered to them as hostages	265
—	Gerberga resolutely refuses to give up the lad Lothaire	265
—	But consents that the Normans should have the baby Carloman	265
—	Normans insist that the Bishops of Soissons and Beauvais and others should be also added as hostages	265
—	Louis shifted from jail to jail	265
—	Gerberga solicits the aid of England and Germany	265
—	Ogiva does not make any exertion	266
—	A naval invasion threatened from England	266
—	Edmund the Magnificent, assuming an arrogant tone, demands the liberation of Louis	266
—	Hugh-le-Grand and the French retaliate by bullying	266
—	Gerberga seeks Otho's help	267
—	Otho unable to assist	267
—	Death of the babe Carloman	268
—	Hugh the Grand enforces the rigour of the King's captivity	268
—	Steadfastness of Louis	268
—	He is placed under the charge of Thibaut-le-Tricheur	268
—	Louis agrees to surrender Laon	268
—	And is released	269
—	Hugh-le-Grand "renovates" the royal authority	269
—	He settles the political relations between Normandy and France	269
—	Richard, saving his homage, declared independent of France	270
—	William the Conqueror encourages his troops at Hastings by appealing to this humiliation of the French	270
—	Richard returns to Rouen a ducal Monarch	270
—	Founders of States, their special providence	271
—	Richard-sans-Peur, not Rollo, Normandy's real Founder	271
—	National character of Normandy under Richard-sans-Peur	272
—	Richard's triumphal entry into Rouen	272
—	Early development produced by circumstances	273
—	Theory of the majority of Sovereigns	273
—	Richard's mental gifts and education	274

Contents

xxi

A.D.		PAGE
945	Careful education of children, the family tradition of the Norman Dukes	274
—	Richard's court and household	275
—	Commences extravagantly	275
—	Richard's favourites and friends	276
—	Raoul Torta;—the steward his master's master	276
—	Richard's vigour	277
—	Richard impeaches Raoul Torta	277
—	Raoul Torta banished by a <i>coup de main</i>	277
—	Popular epithets of Sovereigns	278
—	Richard, why called Sans-Peur: legends concerning him	278
—	Richard's triumphant position	279
—	Normandy a Monarchy, Richard governs as a King	279
—	Predilection of the Normans for the Monarchical principle	280
—	Alain Barbe-Torte and the Bretons	280
—	Their obedience to Richard	280
—	Hugh-le-Grand; extent of his dominions	281
—	Louis; his spirit undaunted by his misfortunes	282
—	Hugh-le-Grand; his political situation, how affected by Normandy	282
—	Hugh-le-Grand's family. Hugh Capet and Emma	282
—	Importance of Normandy to Hugh-le-Grand	283
—	Dangers from Flanders, France, and Germany, impending over Richard	284
—	Odium attached to Richard on account of his Danish ancestry	284
—	"Commendation"	285
—	Richard isolated in the Carolingian commonwealth	285
—	Tenure, Mésalliance, and Caste	286
—	Principle of Mésalliance not acknowledged by law, though gaining ground in public opinion	286
—	The two Bernards, the Bernard of Senlis and Bernard the Dane, summoned to Paris	286
—	Hugh-le-Grand's anxiety to make up a match between his daughter Emma and Richard	287
—	Hugh-le-Grand cleverly gives the hint to Richard's friends	287
—	They take the hint	287
—	Hugh-le-Grand assents, stipulating that Richard should perform "commendation"	287
—	Bernard de Senlis accepts the proposition on behalf of Richard and the Normans	288
—	Betrothal of Richard and Emma	288
—	Richard knighted by Hugh-le-Grand	289
—	Probability that Hugh-le-Grand followed the example of Anglo-Saxon Albion	290
—	Feudal dependence of Normandy upon France under the Capetians	290
—	Such dependence the result of Richard's commendation to Hugh-le-Grand	290

A.D.	PAGE
945 Richard founds the Norman Baronage	291
— The three premier Barons of Normandy	291
— Osmond de Centvilles	291
— Bernard the Dane	291
— Yvo de Belesme	291
— Development of tenure	292
— Apprehensions excited by the alliance between Richard and Hugh-le-Grand	292
— Otho and Louis; their enduring enmity against Richard	292
— Arnoul of Flanders; his unmitigated antipathy against Richard	292
— He excites Louis and Otho to combine for Richard's ruin	293
— Otho's family troubles	293
— Liudolph, Otho's son by Editha, appointed his successor	293
946—947 Grudgings between Otho and Louis concerning Lorraine	294
— Arnoul's exertions to effect the coalition between Otho and Louis	295
— Otho determines upon war	295
— Otho musters his troops at Cambrai	295
— Prominence given to Otho's nephew the Edeling	295
— Magnitude of the army assembled by Otho	296
— Equipment of Otho's army; their straw hats	296
— Learned Disquisitions thereon	296
— Otho's arrogance	297
— Reciprocated by Hugh-le-Grand	297
— Hugh-le-Grand prepares for defence	297
— Otho and Conrad of Burgundy cross the French border	298
— Otho and Louis attempt Laon but unsuccessfully	298
946 Siege of Rheims	298
— Archbishop Hugh abandons the city, which surrenders	299
— Artaldus, Archbishop Hugh's rival, restored, but uncanonically	299
— Gerberga takes the command of Rheims	299
— The allied Kings advance into Hugh-le-Grand's territories	299
— They march towards Paris	299
— Hugh-le-Grand retreats to Orleans	300
— The German army before Paris	300
— The Edeling's chivalry	300
— The Germans supported by the Flemish battalions under Arnoul	301
— Also by Louis and the French	301
— Difficulties of crossing the Seine	301
— Device whereby the German troops effect the transit	301
— Hugh-le-Grand's possessions ravaged by the enemy	301
— Arnoul excites Otho to enter Normandy, promising the co-operation of the Normans	302
— The Normans quiescent	303
— The Germans advance as far as the Andelle	303
— Otho's uneasiness	303
— He suspects Arnoul's sincerity	303
— Mutual hatred between the Danes and the Germans	304

A.D.

PAGE

946	Exemplification thereof in the murder of Godfrey by Charles-le-Gras and the Archbishop of Cologne	304
—	Preparations made by Richard for defending Rouen	305
—	Order of march of the allied armies	305
—	Situation and defences of Rouen	306
—	Otho's bitterness against the Normans	306
—	The Edeling challenges them	307
—	The Norman sortie, headed by Richard	307
—	They are attacked by the Germans; the Edeling leading them on	307
—	The Edeling slain	307
—	Richard has the credit of giving the mortal wound	308
—	The Germans completely defeated	308
—	Richard's triumphant re-entry	308
—	Rejoicings in Rouen	308
—	Germans recover the Edeling's corpse	309
—	The Edeling's obsequies; Otho's mourning	309
—	Germans throw the blame of the defeat upon Arnoul	309
—	The allies station themselves before Rouen	310
—	The German sally	310
—	The Normans headed by Richard	310
—	The French continue in the field	310
—	The German camp; the Edeling's obsequies	311
—	Otho rallies and surveys the vicinities of the city	311
—	He proposes to establish a blockade	312
—	The German leaders dissent from the scheme	312
—	Otho solicits a truce	312
—	He and his Nobles are permitted to lodge in the Abbey of Saint Ouen	313
—	Otho's "Parlement" at Saint Ouen	313
—	All his princes and captains included, save Arnoul	313
—	Arnoul accused of treachery	313
—	Otho proposes that Arnoul should be surrendered to Richard, and suffer condign punishment	313
—	The Germans refuse, and resolve to raise the siege	314
—	Otho abandons Rouen	314
—	Arnoul alarmed, determines to move off during the night	314
—	Simultaneous panic of the French and Germans	315
—	Conflagration in the German camp	315
—	Strange panic within Rouen; the inhabitants apprehend a dreadful assault	316
—	Rejoicings of the inhabitants when they ascertain the departure of the enemy	316
—	Flemings and French retreat in safety	317
—	The Germans plunge into the forests	317
—	Rising of the peasants against the enemy	317
—	Fight between the Germans and the peasants at Bihorel	317
—	Another conflict between the Germans and the peasants at Maromme	317

A.D.	PAGE
946 Ambuscade of the Normans, further on	318
— Germans completely defeated	318
— They are pursued by the Normans as far as the neighbourhood of Amiens	318
— The Rougemare	318
— Triumphal entry of Richard into Rouen	318
— History, a series of epics	319
— Undaunted spirit of Louis	319
— Otho's influence over France	319
947—948 Louis needs Otho's support against Hugh-le-Grand	320
947 Importance of Rheims	320
— Diocese of Rheims—the only territory faithful to Louis	320
— Hugh-le-Grand, Thibaut-le-Tricheur, and Hugh the Parvulus, all labour for the expulsion of Artaldus	320
— Five ecclesiastical Councils held for the purpose of discussing the claims of the rival Archbishops	321
— Placitum or mixed Council, held in the royal camp, on the banks of the Cher	321
— Hugh-le-Grand refuses to appear in person, but sends his Proctor, Sigibaldus	321
— Document tendered by the Proctor, purporting to be the resignation of Artaldus	322
948 Synod of Verdun; the Archbishop of Treves presiding	322
— Israel Scotigena from Ireland	322
— Synod of Mouzon, to which the Parvulus is cited	322
— He makes a feint of appearing, but does not enter the Synod	322
— The Proctor propounds a forged Bull on his Principal's behalf	322
— Frequency of such forgeries	322
— Hugh excommunicated until he should clear himself before a general Council of the Gauls	323
— Moral vigour of Louis	323
— Union between Louis and Otho	323
— Pope Agapet	324
— Council at Engleheim, under the presidency of Marinus, the Papal legate	324
— Mixed character of this Council	324
— Otho and Louis introduced	324
— Louis, appealing to the Council, narrates his misfortunes from his birth	324
— He notices how his life was saved by Ogiva	325
— He impeaches Hugh-le-Grand, and challenges Hugh to submit to the judgment of the Synod, or clear himself by the battle-trial	325
— No one answers on Hugh's behalf	325
— But Sigibaldus re-appears, and asserts the rights of the Parvulus	325
— Hugh-le-Grand censured, and summoned to obey the decree of the Synod	326
— Adjourned Sessions of the Council at Laon and at Treves	326
— In the last, Hugh-le-Grand provisionally excommunicated	326

Contents

XXV

A.D.	PAGE
948	Hugh takes the lead in the Council 326
—	Sources of information for this portion of history 327
—	Artaldus, Frodoardus, and Raoul the father of Richerius 327
—	Alacrity of Louis encreases, whilst Hugh's popularity diminishes 327
948—949	Military support given by Normandy to Hugh-le-Grand 328
—	Hugh-le-Grand insults Soissons, but is beat off—he then ravages the Rhemois 328
—	Escape of the Parvulus from the troops of Louis 328
—	Montaigne taken by Louis, who also invests Laon 328
949—950	Another child born to Louis 329
949	Gerberga visits Otho 329
—	Otho's splendid Court, held during the Paschal feast, at Aix-la-Chapelle 329
—	Raoul, the father of Richer, devises a stratagem for surprising Laon 330
—	The device succeeds 330
—	Louis fails before Senlis 331
—	And Hugh, equally, in endeavouring to recover Laon 331
—	Hugh-le-Grand, excommunicated by Pope Agapet, unless he should submit to his King 332
—	Conference on the banks of the Marne 332
—	Pacification then concluded between Louis and Hugh 332
—	Hugh-le-Grand becomes the King's homager 332
—	Triumphant advance of Louis 333
951	Louis confined by illness during more than a year 333
—	Louis causes his son Lothaire to be designated as King 333
—	Progress of Louis into Aquitaine 334
—	Submission of the Aquitanian and Burgundian princes 334
—	Louis falls ill again 334
951—952	He is nursed at Besançon by Count Lethaldus 334
—	Troubles in Lorraine 334
—	Bar-le-Duc founded by Count Frederick 335
—	Disturbances in the Vermandois 335
—	Ogiva elopes with Herbert the Handsome, Count of Troyes 335
—	Louis deprives his mother of her preferment, but Herbert grants her the Abbey of Saint Médard as a dowry 335
953—954	The Magyars, instigated by Conrad, devastate Germany, France, Burgundy, and Italy 336
—	They introduce the small-pox into western Europe 336
—	Revolts in the Vermandois; Hugh-le-Grand joins the revolters. Gerberga mediates 336
—	Twin sons born to Louis by Gerberga; Charles, afterwards the Pretender, and Henry. Early death of the latter 337
954	Louis prepares vigorously for the restoration of his authority 337
—	He is strangely thrown from his horse, and receives some great internal injury 337
951—954	His death occasioned by a disease, apparently unconnected with the accident 337
—	Louis buried at Saint Remi,—his tomb and epitaph 337

CHAPTER IV.—PART II.

LOUIS AND LOTHAIRE—OTHO AND HIS SONS—RICHARD-SANS-PEUR.—ACCESSION OF THE CAPETS.

951—987.

A.D.	PAGE
The Roman Empire, or Fourth Monarchy, prophetically symbolized in the Holy Scriptures by the Eagle	339
Intimate connexion between ancient Rome and modern civilization	339
951—962 Otho, the organizer of the Holy Roman Empire	340
— Intimate connexion during Otho's life, between Germany, Italy, and France	340
— Individuality of the Human soul; the foundation of history	340
— Otho's tendency to knight-errantry	341
— Chivalry said to have arisen under Henry the Fowler, his father	342
— The famous "Turnier-buch"; opinions as to its evidence	342
— Peculiar character of German heraldry	343
— Battle ordeal discouraged by the Church	343
— Otho's predilection for chivalrous enterprise	343
951 Duel, commanded by Otho for the purpose of deciding the principles of representation	344
— Liutgarda of the Silver Distaff, Otho's daughter, married to Conrad of Lorraine	344
— Accused of adultery, Otho compels her to clear herself by the battle trial	344
— The Emperor viewed as the Head and defender of the Church, and of Christianity	345
— Emperors in Italy, subsequent to the dismemberment of the Carolingian empire	346
— Henry the Fowler "Advocatus Romanorum," but not Emperor	346
— Otho seeks to obtain the supremacy over the whole Carolingian empire	347
— Political divisions of Italy—Lombardy—Rome—Apulia	347
— Berenger, Marquis of Ivrea, and Lothaire, Count of Provence, joint Kings of Lombardy	348
— Persecution of Adelaide, Lothaire's widow, by Berenger and his wife, Guilla	349
— Adelaide's imprisonment and hazardous escape	349
— Albert Azzo, Count of Modena, protects her	349
— Otho determines to conquer Italy and win Adelaide	350
— He enters Lombardy	350
— His triumphant occupation of Milan	351
— The " <i>Ottelini</i> ," his coinage	351

A.D.	PAGE
951 Berenger retreats	351
— Otho enters Pavia,—assumes the titles of <i>Rex Francorum et Longobardorum</i> and <i>Rex Francorum et Italicorum</i>	352
— Otho marries Adelaide	352
— Liudolph's jealousy and rebellion	352
952 Discontent excited in Germany, by Otho's Italian marriage	353
— Berenger appeals to Otho's mercy	353
— The great Diet of Augsburg—Berenger performs homage to Otho—fall of the great aerolithe	354
952—953 Otho's children by Adelaide—Liudolph's jealousy of them	355
— Otho's family confederate against him	356
— Conrad and Liudolph invite the Magyars	356
954—955 Suppression of the family revolt; pacification of Arnstadt	357
— Liudolph's humiliation and Conrad's repentance	357
955 Cunning conduct of the Magyars	357
— Their dreadful invasion of Germany	358
— The Magyars having attacked Augsburg, advance towards the Lech-feld	358
— Otho rallies his comparatively scanty forces	358
— Otho occupies the opposite bank	359
— Saint Michael's banner,—the winged warrior a symbol identical with Saint George	359
— Sudden attack of the German army by the Magyars, who are driven back by Conrad	360
— The eve and morn of the general battle	360
— The great battle of the Lech-feld; Conrad slain; Magyars completely defeated; cruelty of the German victors	361
— Otho saluted "Imperator" by his troops on the field of battle	361
— Importance of this victory to Christendom	362
— Conversion of the Magyars	362
— Conversion of King Stephen	362
955—956 Italian affairs resumed	362
— Berenger attacks Albert Azzo	362
— Berenger and his Queen retreat to the Castle of San Giulio, in the Lago d'Orta	363
— He surrenders to Liudolph, who, unfaithful to his father, releases Berenger	363
— Liudolph's mysterious death	363
960 Berenger recovers authority in Lombardy, but tyrannizes over his subjects	363
— Otho invited by the Lombards as their deliverer	364
— Otho the Younger (afterwards Otho II.) accepted as King by the Germans,—crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle	364
— The German army nominally headed by the young Otho, enters Lombardy	364
— Berenger and Guilla resist; but they are ultimately compelled to yield	365
— Adventures of their son, Adalbert	365

A.D.		PAGE
961—962	The elder Otho, King of Italy, crowned at Milan . . .	365
962	Otho and Adelaide enter Rome, and are lodged in the Palace of the Cæsars	366
—	Otho accepted as Emperor by the Roman Republic, and crowned by Pope John XII.	366
—	The Pontiff and the Roman people take the oath of fealty	366
—	Otho reciprocates by re-granting to the Papal see all the endow- ments bestowed by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis-le- Débonnaire	366
—	But only the usufruct is granted to the Pope, and the Emperor reserves the imperial supremacy	366
954	French affairs resumed—Death of Louis—Gerberga claims the aid of her brothers, Otho and Bruno	367
—	Otho despatches Archbishop Bruno to France as his Lieutenant, accompanied by the Lotharingian nobles	368
—	The Nations of the Gauls assemble for the purpose of electing the King; Gerberga presiding	368
—	Unprecedented introduction of the Lotharingian nation as an electoral college	369
—	Elective character of the French monarchy; rights of legitimacy defeasible by an heir's incompetence	370
—	Lothaire accepted as King, and crowned at Rheims by Arch- bishop Artaldus	370
954—955	The royal family at Laon; Gerberga, Lothaire, and the young Charles	371
—	Hugh's cautious conduct as Protector	371
—	Hugh proposes to Gerberga, that Lothaire should make his <i>joyeuse entrée</i> in the principal Cities of his realm	371
—	Lothaire, accompanied by Hugh, repairs to Paris	372
—	Lothaire receives Thibaut's homage at Chartres; their common hatred against Richard, being a bond of mutual union	372
—	Tête-d'Etoupe refuses submission	372
—	Lothaire and Hugh-le-Grand invest Poitiers	373
—	Stout defence of the City—Monastery of Saint Radegund burnt	373
—	The French suspend operations; Tête-d'Etoupe becomes the assailant, but is defeated	373
—	Second investment of Poitiers by the French	373
—	The weather exceedingly sultry	373
—	Hugh's pavilion rent by a whirlwind;—disease in the French army;—Hugh advises the raising of the siege	373
956	Hugh's depression of spirits; he retires to his palace at Dourdan	374
—	Delay of the marriage between the betrothed Richard and Emma	375
—	Hugh, on his death-bed, urges the marriage; and requests that Richard should administer the inheritance	376
—	Hugh's death and burial	376
—	Richard, by means of Hugh's directions, ousts Lothaire from the wardship	376

Contents

xxix

A.D.	PAGE
960 Richard still delays completing his marriage: but at length the espousals are concluded	376
958 Affairs of Flanders resumed;—Arnoul-le-Vieux resigns in favour of his son, Baudouin-le-Jeune	377
— Baudouin-le-Jeune's promising character; he dies of the small-pox	378
961 Arnoul-le-Jeune accepted as Count of Flanders, under his grandfather's tutelage	378
965 Death of Arnoul-le-Vieux, and full accession of Arnoul-le-Jeune	379
956 French affairs resumed;—Gerberga deprived of her dotal domains by Rainier, her brother-in-law	379
— Mons or Bergen entrusted to Alice, Countess of Hainault, by Rainier her husband	379
— Stratagem whereby Raoul, the father of Richerius, gains possession of Mons	380
— The Countess and her children captured;—Archbishop Bruno compels Rainier to restore Gerberga's domains	380
— Historical geography of Lorraine;—mediæval and modern duchies, &c., composing the same	381
— Extent of Archbishop Bruno's duchy	381
— Bruno's constant apprehension of the Danes	382
959 Meeting between Gerberga and Bruno at Aix-la-Chapelle	382
— Plans and pretensions of Herbert the Handsome	383
— Robert, Count of Troyes, rebels against the King; he gains Dijon by the treachery of the commander	383
— Lothaire, supported by Bruno's forces, regains the city, and beheads the traitor	383
— Norman affairs resumed;—Richard encreases in authority and influence	383
— Thibaut excites Gerberga and Lothaire against Richard	384
— Richard's principal supporters in Normandy, including some old veterans of his father's time	384
— The young generation rising up;—Gautier-le-Veneur	384
— Lothaire's accession ignored by Richard	384
— Hugh-le-Grand acknowledges himself a vassal of the Crown	385
— Legal necessity of such acknowledgment	385
— Hugh-le-Grand's sons;—contraventions of the royal prerogative	385
— Lothaire asserts his rights, and divides Hugh-le-Grand's dominions between his sons	386
— Duchy of France, and superiority of Poitou, granted to Hugh Capet	386
— Burgundy to Eudes; but in consequence of his early death, the fief survives to Hugh	386
— Richard's clever move;—he performs homage to the Capet as Hugh-le-Grand's heir, and becomes his vassal	387
— Richard, classed by mediæval physiologists as appertaining to the "sanguine temperament"	388
— His moral and physical portraiture described in the precepts of the school of Salerno	388

A.D.		PAGE
962	Splendid preparations made by Richard, for the reception of the French at the Fossa Givoldi	416
—	They implore Richard's intervention, promising to secure the Regnum Northmannicum to him	416
—	Richard perplexed by his Danish friends	416
—	They reject his proposition of peace	417
—	Unless he goes with them, they will win France for themselves	417
—	Richard craves time to deliberate, and contrives to delay his answer for sixteen days	417
—	He explains his conduct to the French Bishops, and nobles	418
—	Richard meets the Danish Chiefs secretly late in the night	418
—	Richard preaches a sermon to the Danes, inviting them to accept Christianity	418
—	The Danish Chieftains advocate peace	419
—	The soldiers refuse the proposition indignantly	419
—	Violent disputes amongst the Danes, during which Richard keeps away	419
—	The Danes accept a compromise; some profess Christianity, and settle in Normandy	419
—	The Heathens, upon Richard's suggestion, consent to depart for Spain	420
—	Connexion of this expedition, with the future extension of Norman power	420
—	A fleet fitted out for the Danes in the Cotentin	420
—	They invade Galicia, storm Compostella, and ravage the country	421
—	Danish occupation of Galicia during nearly two years	421
—	They are utterly expelled by Gonzalo Sanchez	421
—	Lothaire makes peace with the Normans	421
—	And guarantees the Regnum Northmannicum to Richard and his descendants	421
—	Emma's death; time unknown	422
—	Feudal relations between Normandy and the Capets, before the accession of the latter to the French crown	422
—	The last Carlovingians despised, because unfortunate	423
—	Accession of the Capets an integral portion of Norman history	423
—	Normans not fully brought into the Christian commonwealth, till the subversion of the second dynasty	423
—	Human societies and individuals governed by a special and particular Providence	423
—	Influence of women in the affairs of France	425
—	Capetian dynasty ruined by the same moral causes as the Carlovingian	425
966	Death of Frodoardus,—falling off of historical information	425
—	Richerius; his singular importance as the only historian at the close of the Carlovingian era	426
—	Gerbert, when Archbishop of Rheims, requests Richerius to compose a complete history of France	427

A.D.		PAGE
966	Richerius declines the task, wishing to confine himself to his own times	427
—	Gerbert supplies Richerius with materials	427
—	Autograph and holograph manuscript of Richerius	428
—	Richerius' personal character disclosed by his corrections, &c.	428
—	Need of grouping the historical personages	429
961—962	Death of Artaldus	429
—	Hugh, the old Parvulus, claims the See; is disappointed; and dies of vexation	429
—	Right of election at Rheims	430
962	Odalricus promoted by Archbishop Bruno's influence	430
—	Thibaut-le-Tricheur disappears from history	430
970	Adalbero obtains the vacant See of Rheims upon the death of Odalricus	431
—	Adalbero's knowledge of French history and constitutional law	431
—	Asceline, otherwise Adalbero, Bishop of Laon; his acquirements and depravity	432
—	Gerbert of Aurillac; his career, till he obtains the Popedom	432
—	Transitional stage of feudality under the last Carolingians	434
—	Increased stringency of feudality	434
—	Position of vassals and incidents of tenure, more strictly defined	434
—	Allodality decaying under the influence of Hugh-le-Grand's doctrine of "commendation"	435
965	Upon the decease of Arnoul-le-Vieux, Lothaire demands Arnoul-le-Jeune's homage	435
—	Richard of Normandy mediates; Arnoul renders the homage	436
—	The suppressed chapter in Lothaire's history	436
—	He marries a Lotharingian lady, by whom he has one son, Arnulph or Arnoul, stigmatized as a bastard	436
—	The lady separated from Lothaire, marries Theobald de Monte Acuto	436
—	Imperial history resumed;—state of Italy under Otho	437
—	He returns to Germany	437
—	The famous festival at Cologne, attended by all Otho's near relations, and all the great feudatories of the empire	437
—	Otho's inward disquietudes	438
—	Otho accompanies his mother to Nordhausen; their pathetic and final parting	438
—	Archbishop Bruno's early death	439
—	Principle of <i>Ebenbürtigkeit</i> ; not known in early times	439
—	Lothaire repudiates the Lotharingian lady	440
—	The Othonian biographies	440
966	Match made up between Lothaire and Emma, Adelaide's daughter; and their marriage	441
—	Louis and Otho, Lothaire's children by Emma; obscurity of their history	441
—	Gerberga retires from the court with Charles;—her disappointment;—sorrows;—death	441

A.D.	PAGE
966—972 German and Italian affairs resumed;—Otho's residence during seven years in Italy	442
— Wisdom of Otho's government	443
— Italy consolidated with the Teutonic empire	443
— Depravity of Pope John XII.; troubles at Rome	443
— Abuses at Rome remedied by Otho	444
967 The younger Otho holds his Court at Verona; he is subsequently crowned at Rome by the Pope	445
— Otho seeks that the younger Otho should espouse a daughter of Byzantium	445
953—973 Summary of Byzantine history	445
— Theophania twice empress; Constantine Porphyrogenitus poisoned by her	445
— Theophania married to Romanus, the son of Constantine; poisons him	445
— Nicephorus Phokas married to Theophania; she instigates John Zimiskes to assassinate him	446
— John Zimiskes emperor	446
— Opinions of the Greeks as to their superiority over the western Barbarians	447
953 Otho invites Nicephorus to grant the younger Theophania to his son, Otho II.	447
— Otho attacks the Greek possessions in Apulia. Overtures for peace made by the Byzantine court	447
— Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona; his character	447
968 Liutprand's embassy to Constantinople	448
— He is despatched for the purpose of obtaining Theophania	448
— Liutprand's report of his legation	448
— Nicephorus refuses his consent	449
— After the accession of Zimiskes, Otho renews the proposition, and with success	449
972 Marriage between Otho II. and Theophania	450
973 Otho attains the culminating point of his prosperity; returns to Germany	450
— His splendid Court of Quedlinburg	450
— Sadness of Otho's heart, Adelaide having died whilst he was hastening to meet her	450
— The feast broken off by the sudden death of Herman the Saxon	450
— Otho's dying day at Memleben	451
— Accession of the second Otho as Emperor and King	451
— Changes in the German Court, consequent upon Otho's death	452
— Detriment resulting to the French interest from such changes	452
— Jealousies between Adelaide and Theophania; and between Theophania and Emma	452
— Gerbert of Aurillac patronized by Otho II.	453
— Gerbert's influence in the French and German Courts	453
969—970 French history resumed;—Adalbero promoted to the see of Rheims, and Asceline to Laon	454

A.D.	PAGE
970—973 Marriage of Hugh Capet and Adela, daughter or grand-daughter of Tête-d'Etope	454
— Unhappy position of Charles, Lothaire's brother	455
— Charles unfairly depreciated	455
— Emma's harshness towards Charles;—He quits the palace	456
— Partisans assemble round Charles;—the times favourable to the Adventurer	456
— Plans of Charles to settle himself in Lorraine	456
— He obtains a grant from Otho of Basse-Lorraine as a fief of the empire	457
— Charles marries Bona, supposed to be daughter of Godfrey the Elder, Count of the Ardennes	457
977 Bishop Asceline and Emma accused of adultery by common fame	457
— Provincial Synod appointed at Fismes, to be held under Archbishop Adalbero to try the accusation	457
— Result unknown, Richerius having suppressed the record by cutting out the page	457
— Ill-will between the cousins, Otho II. and Lothaire	458
— Lothaire determines upon hostilities and allies himself with Hugh Capet	458
— Large army raised by Lothaire	458
978 Lothaire's raid against Aix-la-Chapelle; flight of Otho and Theophania	458
— Lothaire plunders the Pfaltz, which he abandons forthwith	459
— Supposed insult given to the French by Charlemagne's eagle;—their revenge	459
— Otho challenges Lothaire after the fashion of chivalry	460
— Otho invades France; Lothaire retreats beyond the Seine	460
— Hugh Capet shuts himself up in Paris	461
— The garrison of Paris challenged by a German knight	461
— Ivo accepts the challenge and slays the German	461
— The Hallelujah of Mont Martre—Otho's prelude to the abandonment of the siege	462
— Lothaire marches against the retreating enemy	462
— The passage of the Aisne	462
— Otho challenges Lothaire to single combat	463
— Tepidity of Geoffrey of Anjou contrasted with Godfrey of Verdun's chivalry.—The duel goes off	463
— The Sovereigns respectively return to their own dominions	463
— Anticipations of the Capetian revolution	463
— Hugh Capet's numerous partisans	464
— Archbishop Adalbero and Richard of Normandy the most influential	464
980 Lothaire endeavours to obtain Otho's co-operation	464
— Conference between Lothaire and Otho at La Marlée	465
— Lothaire cedes to Otho all his rights over Lorraine	465
— Otho and Theophania at Nimeguen	465

A.D.	PAGE
980 Birth of the third and last Otho, the second Otho's only child	465
— Otho repairs to Rome and continues four years in Italy	465
981—983 Agitation in France; Hugh Capet assembles his vassals:	
Richard of Normandy their chief	465
— They advise him to detach Otho from Lothaire	466
— Hugh Capet repairs to Rome	467
— Arnoul, Bishop of Orleans	467
— Remarkable interview between Otho and Hugh in the Imperial Palace	467
— Otho consents to become Hugh's ally against Lothaire	467
— Hugh Capet commences his homeward journey through the Alpine passes	468
— Emma and Lothaire invite King Conrad to intercept the Capet	468
— Emma's remarkable letter to Conrad containing the Capet's "signalement"	468
— Hugh Capet, apprehending danger, disguises himself as a groom	469
— The inn-keeper's impertinent curiosity punished	469
— Hugh arrives safely in France	469
— Great disturbances consequent upon Hugh's return;—the whole country in confusion	469
— Lothaire proposes that the succession should be secured to Louis	470
— Louis is proclaimed, Adalbero officiating	470
— Court intrigues	471
— Louis consents to marry the dowager Countess of Toulouse, Constance Adela	471
— Great political advantages promised by this matrimonial alliance	471
— Lothaire accompanies his son to Brioude where the marriage is celebrated	471
— Imprudent conduct of Louis; quarrels between him and his Queen	472
— They separate after a short cohabitation	472
— Lothaire advances to Aquitaine and brings Louis home to Compiègne	472
— Constance takes a third husband	472
— Otho's fortune turns; he is defeated before Squillace, and loses the Sclavonian marches	472
983 His death and burial at Rome	473
983—985 Accession of the third Otho, a child	473
— Troubles in Germany; Henry the Quarreller Regent	473
— Lothaire's unsuccessful attempt to regain Lorraine	473
— Increasing ill-fame of Emma and Bishop Asceline	473
— Lothaire vigorously renews the war in Lorraine; captures Verdun	474
986 His strange illness and death; attributed to poison	474
— Lothaire buried at Rheims;—magnificent funeral procession	475
— Louis and Emma both absent;—Louis according to the advice which his father had given	475
987 Louis universally recognized as his father's successor	475

A.D.		PAGE
987	But the two parties, the Legitimists and the Revolutionists, give discordant advice	475
—	The latter advise that Louis should accept Hugh Capet's tutelage	475
—	Louis throws off Hugh's protectorate, and charges Archbishop Adalbero with high treason	475
—	The Capet and his party remonstrate, but dare not disobey	476
—	Adalbero's contumacy; Louis besieges Rheims	476
—	Adalbero submits, and gives bail to appear to answer the charge	476
—	Day appointed for his trial at Senlis; the King and Nobles assemble there accordingly	476
—	The trial being close at hand, Louis dies—mysterious report	476
—	Universal supposition that his death was occasioned by poison	476
—	Contrary to his directions he is hastily interred at Compiègne	477
—	Hugh Capet taking the lead, Adalbero is put, <i>pro forma</i> , upon his trial	477
—	No appellant appearing, Adalbero is discharged from accusation, and takes his seat as President of the Estates	477
—	Upon his proposition the Convention is adjourned	478
—	Nevertheless an oath is taken by the Prelates and Nobles to Hugh Capet and Adalbero	478
—	Charles appears before Adalbero and prefers his claim	478
—	Adalbero's insolence; Charles retires to Lorraine	478
—	The Estates assemble at Senlis; Richard of Normandy pre-eminent in the assembly	478
—	Archbishop Adalbero's argument in favour of the rights of the people	478
—	He concludes by diverting the argument in favour of the Capet, who is accepted by acclamation	479
—	A great council convened at Noyon; Hugh Capet crowned by the Archbishop	479
—	Hugh requires that the succession should be secured to Robert, his son	480
—	The Archbishop raises the objection that two Kings cannot be crowned in the same year	480
—	The objection being overruled, Robert is proclaimed and crowned	480
—	" <i>Hic defecerunt Reges de stirpe Karoli</i> "	481
—	Charles rallies the Carolingian party, which becomes numerous	481
—	Asceline (Emma cohabiting with him openly) in possession of Laon	481
—	Charles surprises Laon	481
—	Asceline escapes by dropping from the walls, but is caught and put in confinement	482
988	Emma, treated sternly by Charles	482
—	She disappears from history	482
—	Ineffectual negotiation between Charles and the Capets	482
—	Hugh Capet and his son Robert invest Laon	483
—	The Capetian campaign terminates discreditably	483

A.D.	PAGE
938 Charles makes preparations for defence, but Asceline escapes through his window	483
989 Hugh and Robert open the second campaign	483
— The famous battering-ram constructed by the Capet's directions	483
— The machine proves useless in consequence of its enormous weight	484
— Capetian blockade prosecuted sluggishly	484
— Sortie made by the citizens and soldiers	484
— Blockade raised: Charles encreases in prosperity	484
— Adalbero's illness and death	484
— Rights of election at Rheims, as vested in the clergy, knights, and citizens	484
— Rival candidates;—Gerbert of Aurillac and Arnoul, Lothaire's son	485
— Hugh Capet perplexed	485
— Gerbert supported by the prelates and clergy	485
— Also by the knights or Curiales	485
— Hugh Capet's cautious proceedings; he grants a <i>congé d'élire</i> to the citizens	485
— Hugh submits the whole question to the citizens	486
— Their cautious answer	486
— Hugh submits the question to them again; their answer again ambiguous	486
— Hugh consults his Nobles	486
— They advise that Arnoul should enter into a special covenant of allegiance	486
— Decree of election by the bishops and clergy	487
— Arnoul receives the Sacrament of the Altar in confirmation of his engagement	487
— Arnoul installed and obtains the Pallium from the Pope	487
— Arnoul's treachery, he seeking the restoration of his uncle Charles all the while	487
— Complicated plot whereby he puts Charles in possession of Rheims	488
— Hugh besieges Laon for the third time, but ineffectually	488
— Charles's triumphant position;—decrease of the Capetian interest	488
— Archbishop Arnoul and Bishop Asceline offer themselves as mediators	489
— But with the intention of betraying Charles into the Capet's power	489
— Asceline returns to Laon, where Charles receives him with great favour	489
— 18th of April, Asceline takes the oath of fealty and is created Count of Laon	489
— Asceline submits to a singular adjuration	489
— Charles entrapped by Asceline's treachery	490
— Charles, together with his wife and children, surrendered to Hugh Capet	490
— Hugh Capet consults with his Nobles as to the disposal of Charles	490
— Charles's wife and children prisoners at Orleans	491

Contents

xxxix

A.D.		PAGE
994	Death of Charles	491
—	Establishment of his children	491
991	Council of Saint Baseul; Arnoul's deposition in which Gerbert is the prime agent	492
—	Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims, then of Ravenna, and ultimately Pope (Sylvester II.)	492
—	Ascelino's prosperous career till his death	493
—	Deaths of Theophania and of Adelaide	493
—	Otho III., his aspirations and troubles	494
—	He opens Charlemagne's tomb	494
1002	Death of Otho III., extinction of the Saxon line	494
996	Death of King Hugh Capet	494
—	Richard's quiet life at Rouen	495
—	Dudo de Saint Quentin	495
—	Richard dies of apoplexy	496

ERRATA

- page 2, line 10 } for Louis-le-Bègue read Louis-le Bègue
 ,, 518, ,, 31 }
 ,, 46, ,, 19 } for Acques read Aix or Dax
 ,, 575, col. 2, line 2 }
 ,, 140, line 15, delete and namesake
 ,, 140, ,, 26 } for Otho read Henry
 ,, 219, ,, 5 }
 ,, 212, ,, 16, for Hugh-le-Grand probably read Hugh-le-Noir
 ,, 214, ,, 19, for son read brother
 ,, 243, ,, 7 } for Mortaigne read Mortain
 ,, 255, ,, 12 }
 ,, 277, ,, 41, for father read son
 ,, 374, ,, 7, delete Hugh's brother-in-law
 ,, 379, ,, 25, for brother read nephew
 ,, 379, ,, 27, for sister-in-law read aunt
 ,, 385, ,, 38 }
 to } See Table IV A, also vol. I, Table IV and vol. III, pp. 65-68.
 ,, 387, ,, 1 }
 ,, 399, ,, 24, for Ponthieu read the Vimeux
 ,, 418, ,, 34, for Lorraine read Louvain
 ,, 440, ,, 12, for sister read cousin
 ,, 491, ,, 23, for Godfrey the First, Count of the Ardennes and Verdun read
 Godfrey the Second, Count etc., or Godfrey the First, Duke
 of Lower Lorraine
 ,, 491, ,, 27, for Hainault read Louvain
 ,, 493, ,, 40, for step-daughter read daughter-in-law
 ,, 494, ,, 33, for Uncle read cousin
 ,, 502, ,, 8, for Talandre read Taillandier
 ,, 502, ,, 51, for Hoek read Hock
 ,, 502, ,, 55, for Varse read Barse
 ,, 503, ,, 13, for Lisle read Rheims
 ,, 504, ,, 55, for Schwardtner read Schwartner
 ,, 505, ,, 38 }
 ,, 564, col. 2, line 50 } for Houard read Houard
 ,, 539, line 30, for Cambria read Cambrai
 ,, 539, ,, 36 }
 ,, 542, footnotes, line 1 } for de la Duché read du Duché
 ,, 540, line 50, for gestas tradiderunt read gestas memoria tradiderunt
 ,, 545, col. 1, line 19, for 430 sq. read 431
 ,, 557, ,, 2, ,, 62, after 404 add 409
 ,, 560, ,, 2, ,, 47, after 431 add 457
 ,, 562, ,, 2, ,, 62, for Table XI read Table IV A
 ,, 570, ,, 1, ,, 29, for *ib.* read 125
 ,, 577, ,, 1, ,, 51, delete 140, 219
 ,, 581, ,, 1, ,, 62, after Riquier, St. 463 add Map V(D 1)

For *errata* in the Genealogical Tables, see slip at beginning of Tables.

BOOK I.—PART II.

912—927

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE, ROBERT AND RAOUL IN FRANCE—ROLLO
AND GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE IN NORMANDY.

912—927.

§ 1. INGENIOUS allegories and fables have been devised, exemplifying the humiliating discrepancies between open speech and secret thought—Palaces of Truth, for instance, where the surprised coquette declares, with downcast eyes, how long she has been carefully lying in wait for the unexpected admirer in the bower. Language elucidates these deceits more forcibly than any such allegory or fable ; enabling us to discover, through the veil of words, the inward tendencies of the heart : the agreeable cheat we pass upon ourselves by euphemizing sins, or rendering crimes glorious by glorious sounds. Amongst moralists, this self-delusion has become a threadbare theme ; but less attention has been paid to the more subtle temptation, dictating the mental artifices whereby we annex the ideas of ridicule or contempt to the sanctity and the self-denial against which our hearts revolt, without having the honest courage of avowing the rebellion.

Charles-le-Simple, his reputation destroyed by the epithet.

An *Innocent*, in Shakesperian vocabulary, signifies an Idiot ; whilst the absence of common sense implied by the term *idiot*, bespeaks the popular judgment passed upon the lowly-minded retiring man, not troubling himself for fame or wealth, but living contentedly where his lot is cast.—The *Selig*, or “blessed one,” is the *Silly* one—The *Beneit*, of the antient Romane language—that is to say the *Benedictus*—is the *Benêt* or dolt of modern French.—It is slighting to say such an one is a “mere child” ; and our slight displays our scorn for those who become as little children by humility. No sarcasm is more cutting than to be

912-927

designated as "poor-spirited." Would you bear it for the promised beatitude?—*Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est Regnum celorum. Beati Pauperes, quia vestrum est Regnum Dei. Pauperes enim semper habetis vobiscum; me autem non semper habetis*¹.—Pregnant is the comment appended to all these texts by the legislation, the policy, the opulence and the prosperity which have incorporated and naturalized the epithet *Pauper* in our mother-tongue as the vilest and foulest, most loathed, most debased and degraded that opinion can bestow.——

Charles, Louis-le-Bégué's posthumous son, like Charles-le-Gras, is the victim of an epithet—stupidity imputed, and therefore taken for granted; and the slur once admitted has never been investigated or denied. Possibly the sobriquet was first bestowed in some satirical song or ribald minstrel ballad. How many a vaudeville has influenced the fate of France, and contributed an essential element to French history! Modern Historians, when speaking of Charles, vie with each other in ringing the changes of contemptuous depreciation—"ce roi si imbécile,"²—"ce roi hébété,"—"d'un esprit si obtus"—and so on. From the highest and most philosophical writer to the pragmatic "*Précis*" and the conceited "*Manuel*," they are all consentient in this view.

Honesty
and open-
ness of
Charles-
le-Simple.

*Carolus simplex*³, or *Carolus stultus*, as the old Capet chroniclers call him, was, however, as appears from the very facts related by his detractors, right-minded, clever, active, full of expedients, profiting by experience, excepting that he never acquired the Statesman's indispensable qualification,—he lacked the power of maintaining constant vigilance, or, in other words, constant distrust. He was wary, yet not suspicious, unable to defeat craft by cunning. He proceeded too openly, never attempting to circumvent the factious against whom he had to contend, by machinations like their own. In a worldly sense honesty is not always the best policy,—frequently quite the contrary. Charles was honestly simple: this simplicity was folly before the world. Many and grievous faults had Charles to answer for; but the contumely cast upon him as *Charles-le-Simple*, is his highest praise.

Difficulties
of Charles-
le-Simple's
situation.

§ 2. The traditionary depreciation of his character so implicitly adopted, denaturalizes the history of this crisis, by attributing to the monarch's alleged incapacity the misfortunes he sustained. We must rehabilitate his reputation, not for his sake, but for our instruction. Unless Charles be properly

estimated, we shall have to wonder (as his gainsayers confess they do) at the successes obtained by him,—successes which, according to the popular historical assumption, become unaccountable. Considering the extreme adversity of the times, Charles had been eminently prosperous. A miraculous regeneration of moral principle amongst the Franks, could alone have sustained the expiring monarchy. 912-927

Review his career:—an Orphan in a far country, the prepossessions which the Boy had inspired suggested his recall to his father's throne. Opposed to Eudes, the valiant soldier, the exalted chieftain, the experienced statesman,—abandoned by his lieges during his conflict with that Soldier, Chieftain and Statesman, Charles made head against calamity, and regained his authority. Whilst his nobles turned the country's misfortunes to their profit, Charles maintained his post, and concluded that settlement with the Northmen, which, so long as he reigned, procured security for the Realm. Peace was purchased by Charles at a very high price, yet not so dear as that which Alfred paid: those who enlarge upon the cession made to Rollo as a proof of Charles-le-Simple's weakness, must, in fairness, extend the like, or a heavier censure, to our Anglo-Saxon King. The creation of the English Danelaghe, the dominion legalized by Alfred to the Danes in East Anglia and Northumbria, was a fatal dismemberment, which worked the ruin of Anglo-Saxon England.

King Charles had but small capital of any kind, political or financial—no revenue, according to the proper sense of the term. A Danegeld might be levied, because the Pagans aided the Collector: the people paid the money to ransom themselves. But except indirectly, and by aiding him to keep the common enemy at bay, these contributions did not raise a sol for the wants of the King. Whether pecuniary, or rendered in the form of stock or kind, his resources for duly maintaining his state and household arose only from the very few royal domains as yet unalienated from the crown,—Laon the chiefest:—perhaps occasionally a vacant abbey, which, after farming awhile, he would then be compelled to cede to the prayer of a needy favourite, or to some growling discontented leader of the opposition party. No army—If the king of the Franks summoned the *arrière-ban*, those who answered the summons were purely volunteers, serving with an eye to booty: no discipline could retain the troops under their standard, no proclamation assemble the lieges who chose to keep away.

Scanty resources of Charles.

912-927

Weakness
of Charles'
position as
a restored
monarch.

§ 3. Charlemagne's heir had been recalled: the true Carolingian monarch was re-instated upon the throne of his ancestors. But the restoration of a Monarch is royalty's defeat disguised as a royal victory. The successful experiment of expulsion is permanently cogent;—the precedent of restoration implies a power of defeasance. The King does not come in again by *descent*, but by *purchase*, by a new title; he is not really remitted to the old title. The Thanksgiving on the twenty-ninth of May for the Stuart's return, is consistently followed by the commemoration of the Stuart's exclusion on the fifth of November¹—consistently, for the very act of Restoration bears testimony to the popular power of rejection, and tells the nation, that, when they like, they may do it again.

Powers of
government
re-
main-
ing to
Charles.

Yet, however dilapidated were the means belonging to Charles, he employed them wisely, availing himself of all that could avail, carefully avoiding any conduct which might be construed as an indication of timidity. The royal domains, though narrow, were compact. Proudly, in the midst of the old Soissonnais², rose the Celtic Laudunum, *Clachduin*³, the lofty rock of Laon, crowned by Laon's lofty tower. Some valuable prerogatives, whether usurped or lawful, continued undiminished. Competitors might quarrel with one another for the donative abbeys, yet, when vacant, the presentation could only be obtained from king Charles. Vastly more influence than properly belonged to him, did king Charles also enjoy in the nomination of bishops: when his political power was nigh zero, we find him interfering in elections, or rather effectually superseding them. With respect to the Crown Benefices,—the lay Benefices or Fiefs—the right reverting to the Sovereign upon the death of the ancestor might be merely nominal, nevertheless the vassal could not obtain a valid admission otherwise than through the Senior's instrumentality. The necessity of owning a superior as the channel of conveyance was a legal doctrine so firmly established, that, abstractedly from all other reasons, the nation could not dispense with a king. Almost all the secular muniments of this period have perished, but the few royal documents of this class that exist are principally precepts of *saisine*⁴, evidencing how the king's writs *ran* (according to the English legal phrase) into the most remote parts of the Gauls.

Benefices
or Feuds:
necessity
of applying
to the
Sovereign
for grants
thereof.

Lastly, the prestige of antient authority and ancestry subsisted undisputed: great respect was still commanded by the person of the anointed King, his purple robe, and golden buskins, and

arched crown. Charlemagne's memory inspired encreasing reverence : men marvelled at his legendary magnificence. Poetry and romance now began to adorn his name. Nine feet in height, his gallantry and wisdom corresponding, invincible in love and war, was the mythic Charlemagne, sung in the Minstrel's lay. The poverty of Charles as a king compelled him to economize the material resources of government, and to support himself as much as possible by sentiment. He was consistent in his monarchical theory, and under more favourable circumstances, his consistency might have been rewarded by success. He repudiated such a doctrine of national election as had been so prominently brought forward upon his father's accession. King by right, he treated the hereditary principle as indefeasibly acknowledged by the Constitution. Whenever Duke Robert obtained an additional abbey or a further benefice, the parchment grant warned him that his brother had been a usurper. In every Charter, Charles declared by his regnal date that the death of Eudes had "re-integrated" the suspended authority of the Carlovingian Sovereign, whose laurelled effigy was embossed upon the seal.—Charles claimed all his ancestor's powers, as rights which might be rebelliously resisted, but never denied.

912-927

Charles endeavours to govern by sentiment.

§ 4. Who was to succeed the now childless Charles in the troubled monarchy?—Beyond him, a blank :—the uncertain future encreased the irksomeness of present anxiety. After his death, unless King Bernard's progeny—the disinherited branch of Lombardy-Vermandois—supplied the want, there would not be any lawful representative of the Carlovingian race. Urged by his Proceres, he had espoused Frederuna for the purpose of perpetuating the Carlovingian succession—that hope was disappointed ; and how numerous were those aspirants to the throne who would not wait until his death for the realization of chance or claim !—Therefore Charles determined to take a third wife and Queen, and sought her in that country then so celebrated on the Continent for richness and splendour, the realm of England.

Juncture when Charles was without an heir.

Five Continental Princes or Sovereigns became the husbands of five daughters of Edward the Elder, five grand-daughters of King Alfred, five sisters of Athelstane, whether attracted by the personal or mental gifts of these Princesses, or seeking to honour themselves by an alliance with Alfred's name, with Alfred's son, or with the triumphant Basileus of Britain.—Louis of Provence, as has been already noticed, had won an Eadgiva.—The perplexing similarity of the names or epithets bestowed upon the English

Alliances between the daughters of King Edward and the continental sovereigns.

(See Vol. I. pp. 348-349).

912-927

Athelizas extremely confuses their identities; but another Eadgiva, called Ogiva in France, became the Queen of King Charles, at no distant time after the pacification with Rollo.—Subsequently, Eadhilda was married to Hugh-le-Grand.—A third Eadgiva, or Elgiva, whose name was transmuted in the Romane dialect to Emiliana or Adela or Aliana, espoused Ebles of Poitou, Ebles the Mamzer, whom we last met at the battle of Chartres;—but Eadgitha or Editha, most illustrious amongst Edward's daughters, was given to Otho the Great. The damsel had been selected by his father, Henry the Fowler, who by his splendid embassy invited her from her insular home.

Marriage
between
Charles
and the
English
Eadgiva
or Ogiva.

These marriages, connecting England with the continental empire, are clearly to be reckoned amongst the many influences subsequently contributing to attract William the Conqueror. Probably owing to the troubles and disturbances of court and country, we are deprived of any notices concerning the marriage of Charles and Ogiva; she does not even appear in history till we behold her fleeing from her dethroned husband's realm. The Empress Editha's beauty, virtue, talents, excited Germany's admiration and loyal love: the amatory disposition of Charles justifies the supposition that his Ogiva shared her younger sister's beauty. Adversity enabled Ogiva to give full evidence of her talent and energy. Charles himself had found in England a partner to his home. He knew the perils of his station. When wooing the fair Ogiva, the thought perhaps flitted before his mind, that his child, if one were granted, might also need a safe asylum *outré mer*, a sanctuary beyond the sea.

Charles
continues
to cultivate
the friend-
ship of the
Northmen.

§ 5. The friendly relations with the Danes, as the means of availing himself of their fresher energy,—the political device adopted from the early era of his reign,—continued to be diligently cultivated by Charles. The pacification with Rollo answered all reasonable expectations. If any coldness had arisen on account of Rollo's conduct to Gisella¹, the grudges were forgotten after her death. Charles could confidently rely upon the ready assistance to be rendered by the Northmen of Rouen. The Danish expeditions and settlements in England diverted their attention from the Gauls: nevertheless they observed the coasts. Powerful fleets of Pagan Danes hovered in the Loire, and fed the Danish colonies in the adjoining countries. These Danes generally united with Rollo, and might, if peril arose, assist King Charles, old Rollo's friend.

Upon his own people, Charles could not reckon. Charles

shewed a cheerful countenance towards his nobles, pleasant and debonnaire. Charles never bore malice, yet he could not help knowing that they were all Luegenfelders, the best of them with one foot ever standing upon Luegenfeldland. Their irremediable inconstancy compelled him to look elsewhere for friends. Charles-le-Chauve, his grandfather, under the like feeling of anxiety, innovated by raising the brave new men to secular honour and power; but in the second generation, the descendants of the plebeians ripened into an aristocracy, proud as if their dignities of the day before yesterday had dated from Charles Martel.

912-927

Charles distrusts his nobles—places his confidence in Hagano a plebeian.

Charles pursued his grandsire's policy, or rather went beyond it. Prelates and nobles crowded the presence-chamber, but no one was admitted into his secret cabinet except his confidant and friend, Hagano.—The individual so perilously distinguished, a soldier of mean birth, was appointed by Charles to be his Secretary or Notary, honoured moreover by the title of Count. Prime favourite and prime minister, much reviled was this Count Hagano; but, judging by the aspect of affairs, and still more by the odium which he excited, able and energetic; a trusty counsellor, and presenting a solitary example of unshaken fidelity.

Hagano the favourite.

§ 6. Arnolph and *Ludwig das Kind*—spurious Carlovingians—*unächte Karolinger*, as the Germans call them,—had reigned, however questionably, upon their irregular hereditary right. Like Lancaster¹ and Braganza², national sentiment or political partizanship ignored their illegitimacy.

910-911

State of Germany upon the extinction of the spurious Carlovingian line.

Charles, the true Carlovingian heir, should, upon the death of *Ludwig das Kind*, have therefore been unquestionably called to the Imperial supremacy; but the Germans now finally renounced the antient family. Very little is known with certainty concerning this *gran' rifiuto*³. The Saxon Chroniclers, Witikind⁴ the Monk of Corbey and the noble Dithmar⁵ of Waldeck, Bishop of Merseburgh, who flourished two or three generations after the event, give a few details, not improbable, yet supposed to have been preserved only by tradition, sung perhaps, as some critics think, in popular ballads. The coeval memorials are of the briefest, such as the line jotted down by the Monk of Weissenburgh⁶ upon the sheet of parchment—"Ludovicus rex obiit, cui Conradus successit."⁷ Without doubt, this paucity of information was occasioned by the confusions of the country; and the distresses of the times are graphically illustrated by that very same Chronicle. A line or two lower we read, "Ungarii vastando venerunt usque

(See Vol. I. p. 400.)

912-927 Fuldam¹'';—and then,—a blank for three years, the scared monks much too harassed to have a thought of writing.

910-912 The German nations were distracted by internal feuds and external enemies—Magyars driving in—Baioaria, Thuringia and Saxony covered by their hordes. This was the juncture when the Hungarians were most dreadful, their savagery inspiring the traditionary horrors perpetuated by the *Hünengrab*².

911, 912
Conrad of
Franconia
elected by
the Ger-
manic
nations
(see Vol. I.
p. 391).

Germany had irretrievably separated herself from France, and the wise Franconian Duke, Conrad, was called to the throne by the absolute need of some leader who could in any wise impart an acting unity to the Teutonic populations, so mutually antagonistic that danger alone induced them to combine for any common object or end. The principle of hereditary succession was for the nonce completely repudiated in Germany.—Blood stands for nothing.—Conrad was purely an elective king;—powerful, honoured, yet only the head of an anomalous, immatured and discordant confederacy.

911, 912
The Lotha-
ringians
adhere to
the Carlo-
vingian in-
terest.

§ 7. Lotharingia refused concurrence: here nobles and people held to the old imperial dynasty. In Lotharingia, Charlemagne's institutions had not degenerated into mere administrative forms, but still retained a certain degree of vitality. Opinions, customs, traditions, still rendered the Lotharingians mainly members of Romanized Gaul. They severed themselves from the Germans beyond the Rhine, separated by influences more powerful than the stream. But ultra-Rhenane Germany continued purely Teutonic. Amidst her vast forests, the Romans never introduced their institutions. Camps there were and military stations, where the sepulchral stones are oft dug up, bearing the conventional symbol of the ruling race, the mounted Legionary riding over the half-clad dishevelled barbarian, Gaul, Briton or Teuton, who agonizingly contends against his panoplied foe. No Roman colonization had however been effected, no cities were founded. Charlemagne attempted to establish civic communities; yet, anterior to the extinction of the Carolingian dynasty, the *Stadt* cannot be said to have existed. But Lotharingia gloried in her ancient Roman municipalities, imperial Cologne and her Capitol,—Italian Trèves,—Metz, exulting in her ancestry,—meet sisters of the flourishing cities of the Gauls, deducing their common parentage through the Empire.

Lotharin-
gia, preva-
lence of
Roman in-
stitu-
tions.

The Romane language prevailed extensively, and still prevails in Lotharingia; and every observant traveller is struck by the interspersion of the Walloon³ or French-speaking populations, amongst the districts retaining the German tongue. Long before

the mutation of the Empire, Roman jurisprudence had tintured the dooms and institutions of the Ripuarian Franks, which in many cases were retained as customary laws. Sentiment operated forcibly in favour of Charles: the Lotharingians were drawn to Charlemagne's lineage by the honour and affection rendered to the great Emperor's name. Material and moral memorials of Charlemagne abounded. Aix-la-Chapelle was his city, a holy city,—endeared by misfortune,—even now, his Imperial Eagle with outstretched wings, crowned his splendid palace rendered more interesting by decay—here was the sepulchre of the hero-saint; and in Lotharingia were composed those national poems, so vast in their influence, the *chansons-de-geste*, each distinct, yet all combining themselves as they arose into that epic of epics, the Carlovingian cycle of romantic fable.

912-927

911, 912

Amongst the Lotharingian Counts none was so prominent as Count Rainier, Rainier-au-Long-Col¹, Count of Hainault, Mansuaria and Hasbey, ruling also the districts subsequently erected into the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar. Genealogists try to provide a father for him, but in truth Rainier-au-Long-Col must be honoured amongst those whose distinction resulted from their merit, a new man, promoted by Charles-le-Chauve. Rainier, aided by his bold and sagacious consort Alberada, had fought valiantly against Rollo, in the earliest part of his career, when the Northmen pestered the North Sea shores. Rainier was strongly affected in favour of the only-surviving Carlovingian monarch; and he, taking the lead amongst the willing nobles and people, decided them to accept Charles as their King. Twice did King Conrad attempt to win Lotharingia and reunite the Rhine-kingdom to the German realm: he succeeded in obtaining Alsace, but the remainder was resolutely retained by Charles.

Charles by
the assist-
ance of
Rainier-
au-Long-
Col
acquires
Lotharin-
gia.

The acquisition of Lotharingia was a great event: Charles commemorated his accession by adopting it as the third era of his reign. Henceforward his charters bore a triple regnal date—the years thrice reckoned—from his Coronation, from his Restoration after the death of Eudes, and from his recovery of the more ample inheritance, as we may read for this very year. *Anno decimo nono regnante Karolo Rege gloriosissimo, redintegrante decimo quarto, largiore verò indepta hereditate primo*²—a significant declaration, implying that he had not resigned his claims to the residue of his inheritance in Charlemagne's Empire. Some short time after that Rainier had succeeded in promoting the prosperity of Charles, he died. Charles thereupon granted the Duchy of

916

Death of
Duke Rai-
nier,—

912-927

Lorraine to Gilbert¹, Rainier's eldest son, the proud, the ambitious, restless Gilbert, the faithless Gilbert, who became a most effective agent in the revolutions which ensued.

912-914

Lorraine granted to his son Gilbert.

Contests between Conrad and Henry Duke of Saxony. Charles assists the latter.

Lotharingia thus added to his dominions, rendered Charles a German Sovereign, opening the other German territories to his power. The times were exceedingly evil, the Magyars overspreading Germany and threatening the Gauls. Fierce contests prevailed between King Conrad and Henry the Fowler, Duke of the Saxons, the illustrious Otho's son. Impatiently did the Saxons endure the supremacy of Franconia, and bitterly were the Franconians incensed against the Saxon race. Old Hatto², Archbishop of Mayence, was a strenuous partizan of King Conrad: a story was in circulation that he had made a chain of gold for the purpose of hanging Duke Henry, and the Saxons believed it. These emergencies tended to encrease the importance of Charles, furnishing occasions which enabled him to display his vigour. Henry was in danger of being overpowered by the Franconians, and he appears in the character of a suitor to Charles, perhaps a liegeman. Charles crossed the Rhine into the real Saxon land: fortresses and strongholds had been gained by Conrad: these possessions Charles reconquered: he restored them generously, and, without exacting any conditions from Henry, returned to his own realm.

919-920

Conspiracy formed against Charles.

§ 8. Whilst Charles laboured to exercise his powers of government, usefully and efficaciously, a venomous opposition was festering against him,—a small and compact party, by whom all the previous revolutions had been occasioned, and who now resumed their schemes with condensed energy.

Pre-eminent, and the acknowledged leader, scarcely concealing the extent of his designs, stood Robert Duke of France, or of Celtic Gaul, as the Germans called him. Other titles were accumulated upon him, whether by intrusion or by right: Robert-le-Fort's vast ecclesiastical preferments also descended to his son. Practically they had now become inheritable, like any other benefices. "Robert Count of Paris" could scarcely have sustained his courtly splendour, but for the revenues enjoyed by "Robert Abbot of Saint-Denis" and "Robert Abbot of Saint-Germain."—At Tours, the dignity of the Duke of France was absolutely obscured by the importance annexed to the Prelatical station usurped by the Military Chieftain,—Robert, to the grief of all right-thinking men,—Primate Abbot of the Gauls,—Robert, by royal grace and favour, Abbot of Saint-Martin.

Increasing importance of Robert Duke of France.

Age gained rapidly upon Duke Robert: his long-streaming beard was grizzled gray; but the son of Robert-le-Fort wielded his father's sword with his father's might, fully equal to that father in astuteness and pertinacity. Robert had delayed in performing homage to Charles: he had submitted insincerely and grudgingly; ill-contented was he in his high station;—he claimed the Crown which had belonged to Eudes—Neustrian France could alone satisfy him. Robert in all his enterprizes was supported by the talent, vigour, and the moderation of Hugh-l'Abbé, Hugh-le-Blanc, Hugh-le-Grand, his son, who in all contingencies appears so distinguished by prudence, vigour, and talent. The alliance contracted through his daughter, the noble Emma, with the House of Burgundy, added worthily to the family dignity;—Hildebranda¹ her sister, was scarcely less illustrious as Countess of Vermandois.

912-927

919-920

Richard-le-Justicier Count of Burgundy, his son Raoul married to Emma daughter of Duke Robert. (Vol. I. p. 222.)

Richard-le-Justicier², King Boso's³ brother, was at this era a most influential potentate: historical criticism seeks to shew that he held his Principality by a revocable grant; his contemporaries, his rivals, and his subjects knew and felt that he was a Sovereign. The epithet which distinguishes Richard, had been well earned by his stern administration of the law:—and in his own political conduct he was rigidly consistent, perhaps the only one amongst the French princes who never swerved from his fidelity. But these sentiments were not inherited by Raoul⁴ his son. Married, and happily, to Emma, Raoul entered heartily into the league against King Charles, his wife influencing his course and encouraging his ambition. Affectionate and spirited, Emma, like the matron Hermengarda⁵, retraces in her character the Bradamante⁶ of ideal chivalry.

Herbert of Vermandois coalesced with Robert of France his father-in-law. Herbert's authority was encreasing, but his appetite was unsatisfied. If you look at the historical map of Vermandois, you will see how numerous are the white districts, the enclavures left uncoloured, as not being subjected to Herbert. He had no map to look at, hanging against his walls; but these white spaces were mentally eye-sores, and he was working to colour the whole with the Vermandois colour: most particularly did he covet lofty Laon and hallowed Rheims. The military tenants of the See mustered and moved under Herbert's command, and the clergy were equally docile; he was gaining the advowson of the Archbishoprick; yet his dominion was not so complete as he wished. His talents and influence were counterbalanced

Herbert of Vermandois coalesces with the Capet party.

912-927 by the universal dislike which his fraudulence inspired.—
 918 “Amongst the Franks,”—said those who were no better than he,
 —“none is so wicked as Herbert of Vermandois.” Yet, provoked by the traditions of his House, Herbert, humanly speaking, was not entirely without excuse. The recollections of injustice teach evil to the injured; and the memory of the blinded Bernard might excite his descendants to retaliation or revenge.

See Vol. I.
p. 392.

Gilbert, son of Duke Rainier, that trusty friend of Charles, so lately promoted by the King's kindness, had conceived a spiteful enmity against his benefactor. Aspiring, versatile, handsome, active, athletic, he was preparing to gain the sovereignty of Romane Lotharingia: Gilbert even entertained some designs upon the throne of France, whilst Henry the Fowler, now King of Germany, machinated for the recovery of the *whole* Lotharingian kingdom.

918
Accession
of Henry
the
Fowler.

The dying Conrad had surrendered Germany to his prosperous rival by transmitting to him the insignia of the royal dignity. The East Franks, the old Franks of the Franconian land, honoured as the chiefest amongst the Teutonic populations, united with the Saxons and Thuringians in accepting the Monarch. Henry joyfully ascended the throne, but he repudiated the rites of consecration bestowed by the Church, nor would he allow the diadem to be placed upon his brows by priestly hands. He was unworthy, as he professed, of such sacred honours. But the humble language he employed does not harmonize with his lofty and ambitious bearing; and it has been conjectured that his desire was to cast off all subjection to spiritual authority. Thus did the great restorer, or rather the founder of the German Empire in the proper sense of the term, commence his reign, unanointed, unblessed, uncrowned, but ruling discreetly and sagely.

All Henry's progeny occupy an important, some a splendid, position in history.—Hathburga¹, the only daughter of Count Erwin, noble, opulent, lovely, upon the death of an unnamed husband,—probably her first love, and young as herself,—had, rashly yielding to the first bitter paroxysm of grief, entered a monastery. Henry then Duke of the Saxons, in the full bloom and vigour of adolescence, easily persuaded her to elope. The scandal of the transaction was not diminished by a marriage, nor did that marriage ensure durability to the union. Hathburga gave her noble lover one son, the bold Thankmar; but Henry's affection for the mother declined. He was attracted by the charms and also by the virtues of Matilda,—a lovely damsel of

the right old Saxon line, a daughter of the heroic Wittikind. Ecclesiastical censures satisfied Henry's conscience that his connexion with Hathburga was null, and he solemnly espoused Matilda.—Otho, who received the name of his illustrious grand-sire, was their first-born—and after Duke Henry had obtained the German kingdom, four other children followed,—Henry and Bruno, sons—Gerberga and Hadwisa, daughters.

912-927

919-920

§ 9. A great object sought by the Opposition was Hagano's ruin. Always in their way, the butt of general obloquy, everybody pelted Hagano.—Hagano, on his part, unquestionably provoked personal dislike. Deficient in that discretion which might have enabled him to temper the obloquy, so inevitably heaped upon the talented parvenu, Hagano profited by the King's bounty, and grew richer and more odious.—The King's great Tower, which crowned the rock of Laon, was an affront in the landscape to all who believed that the walls protected Hagano's treasures.

The proceedings of the revolutionists.

Hagano obtained the monastery of Chelles, an appointment ludicrously scandalous; but shewing how currently the manse of a religious house was treated as secular property. This appointment occasioned great discontent, not on account of its impropriety, but because Duke Robert wanted it. Duke Robert was himself an Abbess, at least he occupied the station of an Abbess, by holding the manse of Morienvall in the Valois, founded by Charlemagne, a distinguished and well-endowed nunnery.

Hatred excited by Hagano.

The only tangible charge preferred against Hagano, resulted from the privilege least profitable to the favourite, but which renders him the most obnoxious to the multitude, unrestrained companionship with the King. Charles gave Hagano the higher room, a courtesy which the kings of France yielded to those whom they wished to honour. Sometimes Hagano would lift the King's cap off the King's royal head, and drop it on his own. The real gravamen, however, appears to have been Hagano's affectionate though rough fidelity. Affronts were taken where none were meant; and, as was so often unhappily the case, the solemn festivals of the Church became the seasons of angry discord. Charles held his Court at Aix-la-Chapelle. Henry the Fowler and Duke Robert were not readily admitted into the royal presence.

Hagano's indiscretion.

The strutting usher delayed opening the door. The noble Visitors introduced, they saw Hagano and Charles sitting on the same couch, Hagano above the King. The embittered Henry scolded the French Monarch. "You, King Charles, must stand or fall with Hagano."—"Hagano must reign with King Charles, or

The affront taken at Aix-la-Chapelle.

912-927 King Charles must descend from the throne with Hagano"—
 Duke Robert threatened, if the King did not rid himself of Hagano,
 919-920 he, Robert, would hang him.

Gilbert
begins the
insurrec-
tion in
Lorraine.

Gilbert's
varied for-
tunes.

All were preparing to execute their plans; but, if the chronology adopted by the best informed historian of Lorraine be correct, Gilbert began the Revolution. Usurping the supreme authority in that country, he bestowed land and fee most liberally. Some nobles deserted to the intruder; yet the majority of the Lotharingians were stanch. Charles took the field, and the Loyalists rallied round the Eagle-standard. Charles promised an amnesty, and more—he would confirm the grants of Crown-lands which Gilbert had pretended to make—Charles marched against the rebel, besieged him in the strong hold of Harburgh, precipitously situated between the Meuse and an influent rivulet, the Goul, and protected on the third side, by a deep ravine choked with bramble and brier—the real *gueule* or gully. Gilbert dropped down the walls and down the rock, swam across the Meuse, and fled to Henry the Fowler, who received him kindly, and supported the cause of the revolter, on whom he afterwards bestowed in marriage the proud and energetic Gerberga his favourite daughter. Charles, much to his damage, pardoned his old friend Rainier's son, restored to him many of his fiefs, amongst others Utrecht,—a noticeable place, as marking the extent of the Lotharingian Duchy. A fine domain was thus obtained, giving ample verge to Gilbert for gratifying his rancour against the King.

920-923
Progress of
the Civil
Wars.

§ 10. During these transactions the Magyar hordes scattered themselves over Lorraine far and wide. Gilbert and his adherents were raising the country for the profit of the Tartars¹. The Scythians swept the population from off the land. France was fearfully threatened, Charles, unassisted as he was, had erected excellent fortifications on the Seine, which might have been useful had the Magyars crossed the border; but no exertions, no merit of his could mitigate the rancour which assailed him.

Fierce disputes, all previous kindnesses forgotten, arose between Charles, the Carolingian King, and the Teutonic Henry. Henry interfered in French affairs, and made strenuous exertions to regain the Lotharingian Kingdom. Gilbert increased the dissensions, urging Robert Capet to action. Robert did not immediately march with banners displayed, but the threatening attitude of the Duke of France and Count of Paris, the brother of King Eudes and the son of the heroic Robert-le-Fort, was equivalent to the hostility of a rival Sovereign. King Henry and Duke Robert

came to a mutual understanding: Charles, guarding himself against both, entered Soissons, whilst a great council was proclaimed to be held in the antient Merovingian capital.

912-927

920-923

920

Their plans fully matured, the confederates gladly obeyed the summons:—Charles thereby gave them the very opportunity they wanted. One and all, they peremptorily required him to discard his minion Hagano. Charles replied as they had hoped, peremptorily refusing the demand, nor, mischievous as the consequences became to him, can it be said that he resisted unwisely, —for a Sovereign acceding to any such demands divides the nerve of his power,—and they forthwith *dishonoured* him, casting him off as their Senior.

Charles required by his nobles to discard Hagano. On his refusal, they defy him.

They had counted the cost and the gain.—In what manner could they most satisfactorily to themselves, and most conclusively before the nation, completely extinguish the rights of the insulted Sovereign?

A king defeated in battle might again collect his forces and retaliate upon his enemies—A king compelled to abdicate might reclaim his crown—A king dethroned by the Prelates might be recalled by the Prelates:—an imprisoned king might escape:—the blood of a murdered king would draw down vengeance. But there was an antient privilege, common to all the barbaric nations, existing in full vigour, yet most rarely exercised, and therefore the more solemnly impressive, a tradition which the youngest had heard from the oldest, the franchise they inherited from their forefathers, a mystic rite whereby they could annul his authority, —with the very root of his power.

According to modern principles, the Subject's allegiance is indefeasible, sailing with him across the ocean, binding him from cradle to grave; but the primeval legislation of the Teutons permitted to the vassal or liegeman the right of *diffidation*—he might undo his faith; and, to employ the technical expression, which in modern language has swerved from its original signification, they *defied* him.

Diffidation, or right of renouncing allegiance or fealty.

§ 11. It is a marvellous portion of the human constitution, that our belief in objective existence can only be obtained absolutely through the grossest and least spiritual of our senses. Seeing does not bring such conviction as feeling: we cannot always trust our eyes, the touch is never distrusted. We bear the strongest testimony to this law of our nature by our analogical language. In our judgments of the human character, *insight* does not afford us a sufficient practical guidance, unless

912-927 the rare faculty, figuratively denominated *tact*, accompanies our
 powers of social knowledge—intellectual vision is not adequate
 920-923 unless perfected by intellectual feeling. No description of a
 Lisbon *auto da fé*¹, no narrative of the sufferer burnt alive at the
 Smithfield stake, enables you to realize the horror of the execution
 so palpably as the roughness of the Forfar witch-collar, calcined
 and scaled away by the oft-repeated fire. No charm of verse or
 eloquence of prose can teach you to appreciate the devotion of
 Kilmarnock and Balmerino², so intimately as the pressure beneath
 your own neck of the block at the Tower.

Confirma-
 tion of
 legal acts
 by material
 symbols.

Hence amongst the Teutons, nay indeed amongst all the antient
 nations, the universal custom of effecting legal acts by the agency
 of specific, material and tangible symbols, which, accompanying
 the spoken formulæ, possessed a sacramental power. Words
 were essential, writing an adjunct, a useful record of the trans-
 action, employed to aid the memory; but the ratification was
 given by the hand³.

When the simplification of our English modes of conveyancing
 was discussed, men least disposed to resist innovation out of
 reverence for antiquity, objected to abolish the ceremony which
 requires the grantor to confirm the writing by word and action,
 placing his finger upon the seal—"This is my act and deed."—
 The delivery of the turf conveyed the land: net and cobble passed
 the fishery: the house-key, the house; and the pulling of the
 bell-rope still invests the incumbent; but no symbol was of such
 universal application amongst antient nations as the *stipula*⁴,
 the *festuca*, the *culm*, the *hawm*.—Thrice was the hawm to be cast,
 when the Teuton bequeathed his land to the stranger in blood.—
 Thrice was the hawm to be flung down before the Sovereign when
 the lieges refused their assent to the doom;—and once was the
 hawm to be cast up in the air before that Senior whom his lieges
 rejected and spurned away. To this usage, therefore, the sternly
 indignant Frankish Proceres resorted, proclaiming that they cast
 off their faith, and with one act in the open field, the field of
 council, did they cast the hawm—they, no longer Charles's lieges;
 Charles, no longer their Senior or king.

Act of
 Diffidation,
 how per-
 formed.

The revo-
 lution con-
 tinues in
 abeyance.

§ 12. Had Charles any intimation of their intentions, could
 he avoid discerning the extreme danger impending? Ceasing to
 be his subjects, his lieges became his masters—whenever they
 chose, they might make security doubly sure—the cell at
 St Médard, where Louis-le-Débonnaire had groaned, was ready
 to receive his descendant. They surrounded him in his palace,

made him prisoner, and prepared to march him away.—But he was rescued. There is such a whirlabout amongst the parties in these transactions, always changing sides, that it is impossible to account for their movements, or to explain their intentions. Archbishop Hervé¹ entered Soissons, accompanied by a large body of troops. Charles sheltered himself under the protection of the good but vacillating prelate: he afterwards returned to Tongres, and an interval of seven months ensued, the Gauls continuing in an anomalous state of partial interregnum. The revolutionists had only obtained an imperfect success. The diffidation released none but the chieftains who personally performed the act, and those populations whom they represented.—The Aquitanians had not defied their King,—the Northmen of the Seine had not defied him;—and, more potently competent to aid their sovereign than any others, the Lotharingian people, as a body, had not defied him. Moreover during these disasters, Ogiva gave birth to a son. Could it be said that the infant heir had lost his right? The father reappears, reinstated, surrounded by his loyal lieges, with courage unbroken, spirit undepressed, and, scanty as his court might be, assuming full royal state and exercising full royal power.

§ 13. A new persecutor now came over; Regnald² from Northumbria, who, having submitted to Edward the Elder, grew weary of England, fitted out a fleet, and sailed to France, emulous of Rollo's good fortune. Regnald first attacked the oft-devastated banks of the Loire; but we have few correspondents, so to speak, in the South of France, and we obtain only an extremely imperfect notion of events, scarcely discernible on the clouded verge of our narrow historical horizon. The Northmen, already extensively settled in the Loire country, are frequently confounded with the Norman Northmen, and they must have consented to acknowledge Rollo's supremacy. Otherwise we cannot understand how Poitou should have been rendered tributary to the Patrician of Rouen³, the geld continuing payable by the Counts, till Guillaume Longue-épée's free favour released the burthen. Gerlo, Rollo's kinsman, probably still held Blois. The Palace, now so bright in the renovated elegancies of the *renaissance*, stands on the site of the Danish Burgh. Regnald campaigned in all the adjoining country, and became a threatening and annoying enemy to Duke Robert.

The Danes had been gaining ground exceedingly in Armorica—all the Provinces to the North of the Loire were on the point of becoming Danish territory. Distracted by internal dissensions,

912-927
921-922

921-922
Regnald in
the Loire.
Operations
of the
Northmen
favourable
to the
cause of
Charles.

The Danes
in Armo-
rica.

912-927

the feeble authority of the native Sovereigns quite precluded the Bretons from availing themselves of any advantages which they

907-926

had won under Alain-le-Grand, or opposing the inroads of the indomitable enemy. Alain-le-Grand left several children, some

Death of
Alain-le-
Grand.
Misfor-
tunes of the
Bretons—
They aban-
don the
country.

of whom obtained appanages, but others did not. Gurmhallion, Count of Cornouaille¹, descended from the great Conan Meriadec², acquired the Sovereignty. He disappears in the turmoil; and, as we are told, the illusory honour of the Breyzad supremacy devolved upon Mathuedoi, Count of Pohér³, who married Alain's daughter.

This was an era of peculiar misfortune to the ever-persecuted Celtic family. Whilst the Anglo-Saxons were consuming the Cymri on the Mercian borders, and Edward establishing his supremacy over all the Celtic Sovereigns, even so were the Breyzad failing before the Pagan hosts, those Danes who in Britain were as inimical to the cognate English, as to the antagonistic race. The native population of Armorica was almost wholly hunted out or scared away, the land left waste and unoccupied. The Clergy dispersed themselves in Romane France, and the relics of Breton Saints, enshrined in the French churches and monasteries, recorded the national dispersion. Many of the nobles crossed the Channel, and were cordially welcomed in their day of distress by the Anglo-Saxons who had dispossessed their ancestors. Mathuedoi was honourably received, and with his compeers, Hoel⁴ and Cledauc and Idwall, and the other Celtic Reguli of East Wales and West Wales and South Wales and Strath Clyde, graced the Anglo-Saxon Court; and Mathuedoi obtained equal protection for his young son, Alain, in age of manhood called "Barbe-torte"—Alain, the worthy descendant of Alain-le-Grand, who companied at the English Court with Edward's heir and successor, glorious Athelstane.

Mathuedoi
and his son
Alain re-
ceived in
England
by King
Edward.

921

Cession of
Britanny
made by
Duke Ro-
bert to the
Danes.

The desolations and conquests inflicted or obtained by the Northmen effected a powerful diversion in favour of King Charles. Duke Robert, quitting his own country, proceeded against them. Robert presented himself before the Danish foe, whom he dared not assail: after protracted operations, a territorial cession ensued. Duke Robert granted to the Danes "Britanny," and also Nantes and the Nantois Marchlands. Upon his persuasion, or as a condition of the treaty, or of their own good will, the Pagans became Christians; but many contests ensued before they were pacified. These perplexed but important transactions confirmed that supremacy of the Northmen over Armorica, which ultimately

concurrent in rendering Brittany the arrière fief of the French Crown.

912-927

922-923

Renewal of
the war
between
Charles
and the
Capetians.

§ 14. A year elapsed, distinguished by the cessation of hostilities,—a pause enforced upon both parties by debility. The Capetians desisted from attacking King Charles, and he remained at Laon, not merely unmolested, but fully exercising his Royal authority and always relying upon the help he could obtain from the “*Terra Normannorum*,” whenever Rollo should be required to aid. Rollo fully justified his honesty of character. Despite of the spiritual affinity, *Rollo-Robert* had no further concern with his rebellious Godfather. He kept entirely true to his father-in-law¹, and renounced all connexion with the Duke of France. But Gilbert rekindled the war in Lotharingia, again seduced some of the nobles, again pretended to the Dukedom, and kept up the continuity of revolt. The loyalists opposed him; and he revenged himself by ravaging the country, burning, plundering. No holy-tide was honoured, Lent brought no respite, and Charles marched to suppress the rebellion, Hagano faithfully adhering to his royal master. Some might say that the pledge for Hagano’s fidelity was his treasure in the tower of Laon:—as for Herbert of Vermandois who had joined king Charles, he only waited an opportunity to display his treachery.

Charles, now in the Laonnais, occupied a very disadvantageous military position, notwithstanding the importance of the capital city which he retained. The Isle-de-France proper, surrounded by Seine, Marne and Oise,—a tract as nearly as possible deserving the insular name,—was filled with forces commanded by Hugh-le-Grand. On the South, Raoul and the Burgundians² threatened the King’s troops. Rollo and the Northmen, the King’s surest allies, and with whom he communicated by his messengers, were separated by the enemies’ country. Charles crossed the Meuse into Lorraine. Gilbert avoided battle, and effected a junction with the Capetians. Rapid movements and crossings ensued. Herbert of Vermandois abandoned Charles, and with the fullest determination to do the worst for him. Raoul and the dreaded Burgundians joined Hugh-le-Grand. Count Robert, Duke Robert, Robert Abbot of Saint-Martin, came up. Charles, nothing daunted amidst his adversities, assembled a large force, attracted by personal affection—what other motive could have brought them?—and then boldly re-entered and spoiled the Vermandois, taking his station in the Soissonnais, between Marne and Aisne.

Dangers of
the King’s
position.

Charles re-
treats be-
yond the
Meuse.

Charles re-
enters the
Verman-
dois.

Encamped within three miles of the King, the Capetians dared

912-927 not attack him. It was expedient to gain time, and conferences
 were held between the Chieftains of the respective armies. All
 922 the great men were consulted save two,—Charles and Hagano ;
 —but at the end of this tampering truce, hostilities were resumed.
 Laon taken by the Capetians. Duke Robert surprised Laon, and plundered the tall Tower,
 rejoicing in the spoil,—what spoil so grateful as Hagano's treasure?
 Charles desired to reduce Rheims : he encamped before the walls
 on the morrow of the Ascension. Pentecost was drawing nigh,
 but all Church-observances were neglected, the work must be
 done ; and he celebrated the Feast of Pentecost by attempting
 to storm the city. He was beaten off discreditably. The royal
 forces melted away ; even the Lotharingians returned home.
 June 9. Charles is beaten off from Rheims. Charles, wholly unapprised of the capture of Laon, determined
 to fall back upon the city, marched thither, and found the gates
 closed. Thus shut out from his last stronghold, Charles retreated
 to Tongres, yet boldly preparing to renew the conflict.

922
 June 29. Robert, the second Capetian King, crowned at Rheims. Hitherto the Franks hesitated to follow up their *defiance*. They
 had not treated the throne as vacant. Possibly they might not
 be unanimous, but Robert now vindicated his family's glory ; the
 Proceres assembled at Rheims, and Robert the brother of Eudes
 was proclaimed King. The Prelates were reluctant : Hervé
 dreaded the responsibility ; but some of the Bishops were bullied,
 others cajoled, and the second monarch representing the new
 dynasty was crowned and anointed before the altar, at Rheims,
 by Walter Archbishop of Sens.

922
 July 2. Death of Abp. Hervé. Three days afterwards Archbishop Hervé died—opportune-
 ly for the Capet party. As elsewhere, according to the universal
 Canon-law, occasionally modified by local usages, clergy and
 citizens concurred in choosing the Archbishop ; but power, in-
 fluence, and corruption, sorely infringed the liberty of election.
 Herbert of Vermandois was working to obtain the patronage. If
 the House of Vermandois could make a Vermandois Archbishop,
 the Vermandois Archbishop might make a Vermandois King.
 Such a project might be remote—Herbert's nearer and more
 feasible object was the promotion of his son Hugh ; but inasmuch
 as little Hugh could but just walk alone—he was about two years
 old,—Seulph was created by King Robert, a wise and learned
 clerk, and if he had come in rightfully, the appointment would
 have been unobjectionable. But it was one of the numberless
 mischiefs of this corrupt system that good men, when *bishopped*,
 could scarcely avoid tricks and intrigues : the making spoiled
 them.

Seulph became immediately involved in troubles. Hervé had granted certain possessions of the See to Eudes his brother, and to a namesake, another Hervé his nephew. Upon the accession of the new Archbishop the grantees withdrew their fealty: they would neither wage battle nor answer in judgment. Robert and Herbert assisted Seulph strenuously. The Count apprehended the spoliators and brought them before the King, and they were kept in custody till Robert's death released them. Seulph reciprocated—he testified his gratitude by sanctioning some obscure and reprehensible arrangements intended to secure the reversion of the See for the boy. No vacancy however could occur until after Seulph's death; translations had not as yet ever been practised in the Church. And we cannot conjecture that there was any mode of forwarding Herbert's designs, otherwise than by appointing the child to the station of Chor-Episcopus¹ or coadjutor in the See, thus nursed for him by Seulph. These abuses were not to be rebuked until the raising up of that Pontiff² who united the soldier's heart to the martyr's faith and fortitude.

912-927

922-923

§ 15. Charles continued unflinchingly in the field, vigorously employing himself in offensive and defensive measures. He took no cognizance of his dethronement. We have a charter sealed by him as King during the hurry of the march,—and the instrument is attested by Hagano,—two days previous to his arrival before Rheims. He besieged the ungrateful Gilbert in his strong castle of Chevreumont, and continued corresponding with his son-in-law, the aged Patrician of Rouen. Rollo prepared to set a large body of troops in motion. Other Danish forces under Regnald were joining the Rouen levies, and marching onwards. Besides their operations in the Loire country, these Danes invaded Auvergne. They were checked, or, as it was said, defeated, by William of Auvergne³ and Raimond of Toulouse⁴—twelve thousand slain. But the blow hit by the Frenchman rarely left a mark upon the Dane; and after their alleged discomfiture we behold them as powerful as ever. King Robert was equally active. He advanced into Lotharingia, met Henry the Fowler, and the two Sovereigns entered into an alliance. Yet King Charles would not bate a jot of his regal dignity, and the King *de jure*⁵ concluded a truce with the King *de facto*⁶, to last until the following October.

923
Charles
continues
the war
actively.

Rollo and
the Danes
prepare to
assist
Charles.

Truce con-
cluded be-
tween the
two Kings.

This respite Charles diligently improved: he consulted with the few who were faithful, exhorted them, encouraged them, declared he would encounter any danger,—he would die rather than yield the Crown. The Lotharingians flocked round the

912-927 Carlovingian Eagle : picked men, chosen men, the flower of the country. War broke out again furiously. Charles directed the route of his army towards the Aisne. Mustering at royal Attigny, he marched onwards towards ill-omened Soissons, where King Robert encamped in the plain without the city.

Charles resumes the war.

The Capetians surprised in their camp.

923
June 15.
Battle of Soissons

Charles had marshalled about ten thousand men, six thousand were Lotharingians, the remainder of his army having been probably collected from districts where loyalty still lingered—such as the Soissonnais, or Aquitaine, whose nobles steadily refused to acknowledge the Capet. These were speedily increased by a very important reinforcement—four thousand Northmen under the conduct of Harold the Dane¹. Count Fulbert, bearing the Carlovingian standard, commanded the vanguard, Harold the Dane the rear. The Capetian forces were much larger : the warriors engaged on either side were chiefly the ancestors of the first Crusade's heroes—forefathers of those who desolated the Holy Land. So sudden and well-contrived were the military movements of Charles, that the Capetian troops, estimated at twenty thousand, continued unwarned of his approach till their camp was stormed. It was Sunday, and they were dining ; but they were all fully armed—up and to horse—and the fight began with malignant fury.

King Robert slain.

Amongst the Capetians one warrior dealt his blows with desperate valour.—Is this the usurper Robert !—was the Carlovingian outcry. An instant response was given. King Robert waving his royal standard, drew out from beneath his hawberk his long-flowing grey-grizzled beard. Instantly surrounded, Count Fulbert charged at the Capet, and thrust him through ; but Robert, mortally wounded, gave a mortal wound, and struck Fulbert down. The assailants thronged round the dying King : seven spears transfixed him ; one, whose trenchant iron clove through tongue, palate and brain, was claimed by the Carlovingians as the weapon of King Charles. The legitimate monarch enjoyed the renown of giving the traitor the finishing blow.

But the second Capetian King gained a posthumous victory. Whilst groaning in mortal agony, under the bloody shafts which pinned him to the ground, Hugh-le-Grand and Count Herbert rallied their troops, and drove the Carlovingians off the field. Yet they dared not pursue the fugitives. Where was their leader ?—their King had fallen.—Soissons field enjoys the miserable honour of humbly emulating the carnage of Fontenay. Eleven thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine Capetians were killed,—

seven thousand one hundred and eighteen Carlovingians : more than the half of each army. Therefore, though the loss was numerically greater on the Capetian side, the proportion of the forces continued nearly as before ;' and, under such circumstances, the smaller residue is much more crippled than the larger. The Lotharingians were dispirited, and dispersing themselves, returned home, whilst Charles appears reinstated in Laon.

912-927

922-923

But the
Carlovin-
gians are
compelled
to retreat.

The Capetians had gained a dull funereal triumph. In the preceding generation, the calamity of Brise-sur-Sarthe¹,—the death of Robert-le-Fort inflicted by the Norman shaft, had been construed as the vengeance incurred by sacrilege. An undefined horror attended the fate of King Robert his son. If we enquire where Robert was interred, all the usual sources of information are silent : no chronicler designates King Robert's sepulchre : no monastic necrology records his death : no charter testifies the endowment offered for the good of his soul :—we are not even certain that Robert received Christian burial.

All the regular constitutional assemblies of the realm had ceased—for the tumultuous conventions which had been held were partial, irregular, and revolutionary. But the ecclesiastical legislature was in full activity. A Synod was shortly afterwards held at Soissons, hard by the field of slaughter ; and the Church, mourning for the crimes and miseries of the nation, bore Her testimony against war. All who had engaged in the conflict were condemned,—all who had fought, the vanquished or the victors—were alike blood-guilty, and must submit to the discipline which the Church imposed. No combatant was permitted to enter the walls of the sacred edifice until canonically reconciled ; and during three years were the penances to be continued, public testimonies of contrition before God and man.

Penances
imposed by
the Church
upon the
combat-
ants.

Whilst the Capetian masters of the field were joyless, the expelled monarch abounded in expectation and alacrity.—Charlemagne's descendant, the rightful King, will not own to his authority being a whit impaired, let Fortune frown as she may.—His allies the Northmen gathered in the Amiennois, the Beauvoisin, throughout all Picardy, all preparing to assist king Charles—old Rollo sending up his troops from Rouen, and grim Regnald marching from the Loire for the occupation of the Vermandois.—Charles peremptorily required Hugh-le-Grand and Count Herbert and Archbishop Seulp and the other revolvers, to return to their allegiance ; but all bonds between them and Charles were irreparably dissolved ; submission was impossible ;

923

The Danes
support
Charles.

912-927 more strength was urgently needed ; and they invited the Burgundian Raoul, the son of Richard-le-Justicier, Robert Capet's
 922-923 favoured son-in-law, brother-in-law of Hugh-le-Grand.

The Capetians invite Raoul of Burgundy.

See Vol. I. pp. 129, 222, and 349-350.

Raoul advanced rapidly, heading a powerful force, and with him his wife Emma, beautiful as she was ambitious and bold. Emma longed to encrease her husband's renown : she did her part as a true helpmate, prepared and ready, should exigencies require, to take the command of a garrison, stand a siege, and defend a city against an enemy. Had the Normans reached Laon, the Capetians would have been hard pressed : reinforced, however, by the Burgundians, their combined forces took their station on the Oise, cutting off the communication between King Charles and the Northmen.

The crown offered to Hugh-le-Grand,

and refused by him.

The energetic few who now directed the destinies of France proceeded to choose a king. Without a King, no law, no State, no political existence.—Parentage, power, prowess, designated Hugh-le-Grand as the successor of his father. The Duchy of France and all its appurtenances, the Abbey of Saint-Denis and the Abbey of Saint-Germain, and the Abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours, now virtually his inheritance, would be united to the Crown. Wise, vigorous and opulent, who could wield the sword and the sceptre with equal might and equal splendour ? But when the Frankish chieftains unanimously offered to raise Duke Hugh to his father's kingdom, he refused ; not Cromwell's faltering nay-say, nor Cæsar's affected disdain, but with the firm resolve of repudiating the diadem.

Such a phenomenon as the voluntary rejection of wealth, station or honour, is a moral problem perplexing the world, and for which the world anxiously seeks a plausible solution. Hugh, as many believed, was deterred by the judgment which had fallen on his father ; yet, if so, his scruples were not sufficient to induce him to make restitution : that which King Robert had Duke Hugh as firmly held ; Hugh kept all his father's Abbeys, and more besides, to the day of his death. Possibly Hugh's sagacity and prudence prevailed over ambition ; he dreaded, may be, the distressing insecurity of the throne. Emma had been yearning to obtain the Crown for her husband ; the phrase popularly imputed to her,—she would rather kiss her Husband's knees than the knees of her Brother,—seems to have been a true expression of her sentiments. In after times Hugh was designated as a king's son, a king's nephew, a king's brother-in-law, a king's son-in-law, a king's father, but not a king himself ; but as yet he was childless,

no son to call his heir, and so he was contented to be a subject greater than a king. 912-927

The Southern Counts and Dukes, those beyond the Loire, severed themselves from the Capet party, and for the present continued neutral. None next to Hugh could be so competent to resist the Danes, now threatening further conquests, as the Burgundian Raoul; and Raoul the husband of Emma was accepted, proclaimed and crowned at Soissons by his own metropolitan, Walter, Archbishop of Sens. Why not at Rheims, and by Archbishop Seulp? Possibly some jealousy on the part of Vermandois prevented this most solemn inauguration. King Charles had retreated beyond the Meuse, still in safety; but henceforth we lose sight of Hagano, until years afterwards, when we meet him again in Mitre and Cope,—Hagano Bishop of Chartres. 922-923

923
July 11.
Raoul of
Burgundy
elected
King of
France,
and
crowned
at
Soissons.

§ 16. Notwithstanding the success of the Capetians, they did not yet venture to assail the legitimate King. Charles had lost France, but he was King in Lotharingia,—King in the Aquitanian Gauls, which had neither recognized Robert nor Raoul,—King and Senior over the Rouen Northmen. All these disturbances and revolutions very much enhaunted the influence of the Danes: from their first touching upon the Frankish shores every national trouble told to their advantage. Rollo's Northmen were gathering valiantly, pouring in from Rouen where they had mustered, and joined by the Danish armies from the Loire, Regnald's men, all trusty and hearty. The situation of Charles was not more desperate than under former contingencies; and had he been as clear-sighted as he was warm-hearted, he might have regained his authority; but he fell into the toils spread for him by the most crafty of deceivers. Authority
yet re-
main-
ing to
Charles.

Herbert of Vermandois, who had so lately concurred in Raoul's elevation, now declared himself the enemy of the Burgundian King. Not merely did Herbert ostensibly abandon Raoul, but he proclaimed that the usurpation was a crime, and he opened a negotiation with Charles, expressing an earnest desire of restoring him to his rights.—If King Charles would be pleased to place himself under the protection of Herbert, the Count of Vermandois would speedily take counsel for the King's restoration. For the avoidance of dissensions, it would be prudent that the King's attendants should be few. Bernard de Senlis, Rollo's friend and their common friend, conveyed this proposal; and if the King required any security, it would be given by the pledge and oath of Bernard.—Such was the import of the communication; Bernard Herbert of
Verman-
dois: his
plan for
deceiving
Charles.

912-927 de Senlis, the unconscious instrument of fraud, executed his
 commission successfully. Charles assented; he had none to
 922-923 counsel with; yet there was no palpable imprudence, certainly
 no folly.

Charles
 gives trust
 to the pro-
 posals
 made by
 Herbert.

§ 17. Had Herbert of Vermandois been an honest man, and the counter-revolution accomplished through his intervention, Charles, instead of being sneered at for his weakness or stupidity, would have been praised for his bold and generous confidence. Those who blame a drowning man for catching at a straw, have never themselves been in danger of drowning. Charles acted upon reasonable grounds. His very conviction of Herbert's ambition and unworthiness would make him give credence the more readily.—That a Frankish noble should desert his own party, and pass over to the other side, was entirely consistent with the moral standard of the times—the seeking of profit by political treachery, equally so; and that Herbert would demand, as the requital for his good services, some tempting enclavure, marring the integrity of the Vermandois territory, would be possibly anticipated by the King. But Charles did not fathom the depth of Herbert's cunning,—nor was the treachery a sudden thought prompted by opportunity. Ere the battle of Soissons had been waged, before Robert had fallen, the Capet, confident in success, had demanded from Herbert that Charles should sustain perpetual captivity.

Charles
 imprisoned
 by
 Herbert.

Herbert however really required no incitement. The plot was deliberately matured, and the artifice which Herbert meditated, might be extenuated to his conscience, by the recollection of the fraud practised upon his progenitor the murdered Bernard. Twelve were the confederates, Herbert the chiefest, who had pledged themselves to accomplish the King's destruction. Herbert was merely seeking to get him into his grip for the purpose of playing him off against King Raoul. Oaths were given, and oaths were taken. Charles advanced to Saint-Quentin on the Somme: he was there respectfully received by the Count, and carefully and hospitably entertained; but the honourable arrest soon assumed the aspect of irretrievable captivity. The royal prisoner was removed to Château-Thierry, and then transferred to Peronne, which ultimately became his dungeon and place of sepulture.—And now for the first time Ogiva appears before us with her child, the little Louis, despairing of her Husband's rescue, fearing even for the life of the boy.—How she escaped is not exactly known; yet certainly she did not accomplish her evasion otherwise than with great difficulty. Louis himself

relates the homely device adopted for his safety, he was concealed in a truss of forage. She reached the coast, and fled to England : the glorious Athelstane received his luckless sister kindly and royally;—Ogiva and Louis are “*outramer*,” rescued from the enemy, far beyond the sea.

912-927

922

Ogiva and the child Louis escape to England.

§ 18. During the period intervening between the pacification of Clair-sur-Epte and the fatal crisis when Charles-le-Simple's calamities became so urgent, whoever resorted to the Norman Court found old Rollo growing older and older : mostly employing himself rightly and wisely in works of peace. Norman traditions affectionately exhibit the antient warrior administering the law, improving his Capital, draining and embanking, encouraging the building of churches, and surveying the rising walls of palace and castle : or disporting himself in the chase, whether in the game-abounding “*Foresta de Leonibus*”¹—that favourite and remarkable hunting ground,—or in the woods surrounding the fabled Roumare, or in the forest-park of Quevilly, between the Roumare and Rouen.

Internal tranquillity enjoyed by Normandy.

Tall in stature, gentle in manner, Guillaume, Rollo's only son, was encreasing in general favour. Amongst the mournful hope-disappointing promises of youth, the blossoms blooming only for the blight, Guillaume displayed much early piety, and a childish inclination towards retirement and solitude ; but the advantages of birth and station tempted him to indulgence, and designated him for power. Rollo was about fourscore ; and there were many amongst the chieftains who began to deliberate whether it would not be expedient that the Octogenarian should retire from the functions of government, and resign the authority to his son ;—but Rollo had no such mind. The deposition of his father-in-law², King Charles, disturbed his tranquillity, and excited the very natural desire of profiting by the convulsions which France sustained : he would fain enlarge his dominions before he should die, and render Normandy tight and round.

It is a moot point among topographical archæologists, whether Rollo had or had not yet gained the *Lieuvin* or Lisieux territory. The young Alain, Mathuedoi's son, having returned to Armorica, was accepted as Count of Vannes, whilst Juhel-Berenger, the son of Judicael, appears enjoying the County of Rennes. These Chieftains, though attached to the French, a people more congenial to them than the rougher Northmen, fully acknowledged Rollo's supremacy, recognizing Rollo as their common sovereign ; and, by such submission, the two great Breton Counties were in a

Rollo's supremacy established in Armorica.

912-927 manner united to Normandy. Nevertheless the authority of
 { Rollo was fluctuating ;—and though many districts yielded
 922-923 obedience, his pretensions and possessions were uncertain beyond
 the Dive.

923
 Renewal of
 the Danish
 ravages.
 The Danish war now burst out afresh with all the pristine
 Vikingar fury. From Loire to Seine, all France was in confusion :
 Regnald came up, and Rollo's Rouen troops combined with him :
 the banks of the Oise were no longer defended, the Danes occupied
 the Vermandois, which they plagued as in days of old. Obstinate
 conflicts ensued, fought point to point, blade to blade. Count
 Herbert beat the invaders, and released a thousand prisoners.

Vicissitudes of
 the Danish
 war.
 The Amiennois was in fire and flame. Aldelelm¹ Count of Arras
 gave the Danes battle and defeated them, and they immediately
 started up in more strength than before. The Beauvoisin was
 burning, further help was needed : King Raoul himself advanced
 in all haste from Burgundy, and affairs assumed a new aspect.
 The Franks now determined to act upon the offensive.—Whatever
 treaties might have been concluded with the Danes, the national
 conscience of the French ignored these solemn compacts : the
 Danish occupation was not legitimated by opinion or sentiment.
 —Baptism did not entitle a Dane to be dealt with as a fellow-
 Christian. Settled in the land, the Danes were still abominated
 as the outlawed freebooters. The political cordiality originally
 grounded upon the personal friendship between Charles and
 Gisella's consort was dissolved, and the Franks determined to
 resume the territories, which, when under the terror of Rollo,
 the "Dux Piratarum," they had urged their sovereign to cede.

The
 Franks
 cross the
 Epte and
 invade
 Nor-
 mandy.
 King Raoul, and Duke Hugh, and Count Herbert, with Arch-
 bishop Seulph, summoned and united all their forces. Normandy,
 well governed, tranquil, and flourishing, was as tempting to the
 Christian Franks as France had been to the Pagan Danes. Much
 therefore was to be gained—Raoul and the Frankish chieftains
 crossed the Epte, and overspread the "Terra Normannorum,"
 which they wasted with fire and sword.

But they won no profit by waging this warfare against the
 irrepressible Northmen. The conjoined armies of Rollo and fierce
 Regnald, the latter long since set in movement at the bidding of
 Charles, crossed the Oise, ranging and foraging. Raoul prepared
 for the coronation of bold Queen Emma ; but when the inaugura-
 tion was celebrated at Rheims, the Frankish squadrons were
 stationed all around the confines, lest these most unwelcome
 visitors should disturb the solemn ceremony. The French

earnestly solicited peace, and Rollo consented upon the usual basis, the Frank to pay and the Dane to receive. Rollo demanded land and money, a large additional expansion of the "Terra Normannorum" beyond the Seine, and a copious Danegeld. The first proposition was reserved for future discussion, the second immediately conceded: hostages were required to secure a due performance of the conditions. None but individuals of the highest rank would be accepted by the Danes. Eudes, afterwards Count of Amiens, son of Herbert of Vermandois, being therefore delivered to Rollo, was held in pledge by the Northmen during five years and more.

912-927

923-924

923

The Franks sue for peace.

Rollo demands a further cession of territory.

Some pacification, some breathing-time, was indeed earnestly needed for France: the Franks were in a great strait; the Mogors again doing exceeding mischief in the Alpine passes and in Italy, swarming also into the Gauls. The Northmen had become ravenous, Regnald in particular. He had plundered and ravaged sufficiently in France, but he had not obtained his heart's desire; he had not gained any compensation for his abandonment of his Northumbrian kingdom. Regnald and his Danes had not acquired any landed settlement; and he was preparing to create a "Terra Normannorum" in Burgundy, often touched and often wounded, but never permanently held by the enemy.

Regnald in Burgundy.

King Raoul was unwillingly compelled to march from "France" towards his own country. Hugh-le-Grand, Count Herbert, and Archbishop Seulph, remained in the Vermandois as his Lieutenants. The Danegeld was collected throughout France, and the Regents agreed with Rollo for a considerable encrease of territory, the whole *Pagus Baiocacensis*¹, as it should seem: probably also various portions of the Armorican marches, and the noble County, or rather Commonwealth, of Maine. This obscure transaction indicates important political doctrines. The great respect still commanded by the Carlovingian Crown is evidenced thereby. Otherwise than through the assent of the King of France no constitutional title was imparted by mere possession or conquest. All these territories had been more than once occupied by the Northmen. Maine also was locally included in Hugh's "Duchy of France," yet the Cœnomanni enjoyed great independence, and recalcitrated vigorously against the supremacy claimed by the race of Rollo. Nevertheless, Rollo's anxiety to obtain a formal or diplomatic cession, and the tardiness displayed by the Franks in giving their assent, must be considered as testifying that the veteran had made a very important acquisition for his descendants.

924

The Bessin and Maine ceded to the Northmen.

912-927 —These surrenders, so extorted from the French, added more than a third to the “Terra Normannorum.”

924-925

925
May 6.
Battle of
Mont-
Chalus.

§ 19. Regnald continued ravaging Burgundy. A fierce battle took place at Mont-Chalus, in the rocky Avallon range, about four leagues from Vezelay. Ansegisus, Bishop of Troyes, was wounded, Warner, Count of Sens, killed; but large numbers of the Northmen were slaughtered. King Raoul marched up with another unhappy fighting bishop, Abbo, Bishop of Soissons. Raoul was the Northman's active opponent. Regnald retired from Burgundy, but the war spread to Paris; and the Danes, after entrenching themselves on the borders of the Seine, returned to the Loire. The campaign against them was negligently pursued. The narratives transmitted by the French writers concerning Regnald's devastating career appear to have been embellished by vague reports and exaggerated rumours. Regnald was a dreadful tormentor to the monks of Fleury, and their terror did not spare his memory. An ugly face, grinning in stone, and inserted in the Abbey-wall, was long afterwards pointed out as a memorial of Regnald's wretched death. Unquestionably this mask was merely one of the usual Romanesque freaks of the chisel; but there is an innate propensity in us, which renders us dissatisfied with the *meaningless*,—therefore the erudite and the ignorant are equally prone to bestow significations upon things which have none.—“*I do not know*,” is an answer which is not to be given without some exertion of moral courage. We do not like to confess we are beaten, even by an amphigouri nonsense verse.

925-926

The
Northmen
re-enter
France.

§ 20. Rollo suddenly proclaimed that the truce between the Patrician of Rouen and the Frankish rulers was at an end. Though the Danegeld had been rigidly levied, yet the money-bags halted on their way, the instalments were unpaid. Rollo ordered his Northmen to march beyond their border. Too feeble to lead, the withered warrior animated them by his spirit. The Beauvoisin, the Amiennois, the Artois, suffered dreadfully,—Amiens and Arras partly burned, the suburbs of Noyon burned, and all the sea-board countries harassed and wasted.

Origin of
the county
of Pon-
thieu.

In their hostility against France, the Danes included Flanders unsparingly. Arnoul, the son of Baudouin-le-Chauve, and grandson of Baudouin Bras-de-Fer¹ and Madame Judith, now at the commencement of his lengthened reign, and who dreaded and hated the Danes, was organizing resistance and revenge. Arnoul was well-supported by Helgaud the Second, under whose

government the antient country of the Maritime Franks, whilome held by his ancestors the famous Lay-abbots of Centulla, and now formed into a distinct dominion, entirely separated from the Monastery.

912-927

791-926

Since the reign of Charlemagne, the employment of that great Foundation had furnished an exquisite example of irregularity. Charlemagne began by bestowing the Abbey as the dowry of his daughter Bertha, upon Angelbert, Count Nithard's father, who married her. But when she died, Angelbert entered the cloister as a shaven monk, and the establishment became a most distinguished school of learning and piety. Count Helgaud's grandfather, dynastically reckoned "Helgaud the First," who is supposed to have been Count Nithard's son, erected the abbatial territory, afterwards Ponthieu, into an hereditary temporal sovereignty, acting much in the manner of the Teutonic Grand Masters at the era of the Reformation.—Without justifying the abuse in any instance, it must be confessed that except for the scandal, less practical harm ensued from these Centulla transactions than might have been anticipated;—the Lay-abbots appointed Priors, under whom the house was excellently well managed, pre-eminent in discipline. The fact is, that Centulla was rich enough for two, or more; and the proportion remaining to the Church was vastly more liberal than would be allowed in analogous cases amongst us by a Lay-rector,—a Lay-abbot's cater-cousin,—at the present day.

The Lay-
abbots of
Centulla
or Saint
Riquier.

Centulla of the hundred towers had been, according to antient traditions, one of the chief cities of Belgic Gaul; but the hundred towers were decaying and falling, Centulla was reduced to comparative insignificance, and the Counts of Ponthieu created a new capital. At the mouth of the river Conches, a small and antient monastery, dedicated to Saint Sever, standing upon a steep and rugged hill, whose base adjoined the sea-coast, had become the nucleus of a hamlet. Here, equally for the purposes of government as for defence against the Danes, Helgaud built a palatial castle, around whose protecting battlements a town arose. The spreading tidal estuary of the stream constituted an excellent haven; and the port, after the decline of Quantovick, became a considerable emporium. Such was the origin of "*Monasteriolum ad mare*,"¹ *Montreuil-sur-Mer*, now separated from the sea by six leagues breadth of alluvial soil, in which the mingled bones of extinct and existing animals perplex even the accommodating chronology of geology.

Montreuil-
sur-Mer—
its origin.

912-927

Eu garri-
soned by
Rollo.

925-926

Much jealousy existed between Ponthieu and Normandy; and Arnoul's alliance with this new principality was a great check upon the Danes.—Decrepit Rollo, though his subjects compassionated him as more than half imbecile, retained his clear-sighted acuteness and vigilance. Eu on the Bresle, the river dividing Normandy from Ponthieu, was the key of the country on that side. Here Rollo placed a numerous garrison, a thousand valiant Kempers¹, men of the right sort from Rouen. Besides the fortifications of Eu, an island opposite to the town, now obliterated, offered an additional point of defence. The Franks, on their part, were provoked into unusual vigour: the people of the Beauvoisin rose against the Normans. Hugh-le-Grand collected forces from Paris, they took the offensive, crossed the Epte, invaded the Rouennois, and rejoiced, as Northmen ravaging France would have done, in the abundant booty. Helgaud and the Ponthieu men harried the fertile Norman borders. King Raoul, now in Burgundy, returned hastily to France, summoned the *arrière-ban*, and strenuously recommenced the war.

925-926

Eu taken
by storm.

§ 21. Eu must be considered as the barrier-fortress of Normandy on the North: could Eu be taken, Normandy would be at the mercy of France and Flanders. Arnoul and Herbert of Vermandois, the Knights of the Archbishoprick of Rheims obeying Herbert's orders, joined the French and Burgundians. Eu was stubbornly defended, and valiantly stormed. Infuriated by resistance and enmity, the victors inflicted an indiscriminate slaughter. No quarter was given or asked on either side—Rollo's Northmen fought in the fosses, fought on the ramparts, fought in the streets. A remnant of the garrison escaped to the island, not seeking safety, but courting the opportunity of self-sacrifice. The desperate combat on the holm lasted longer than the conflict in the town. The primeval spirit of the Berserkers flamed out again—death and Walhalla. When resistance became utterly unavailing, the last surviving Danes slew themselves with their own swords.

War re-
sumed
through-
out the
Artois, &c.

The French army and their Flemish confederates were permitted by their commanders to disperse after the siege, but they reassembled in the course of the following year. King Raoul opened the campaign: though he had triumphed at Eu, the victory gained against the Normans counted for nought in the reckoning, and they infested the Artois and beyond, fierce as ever. Raoul chased a large detachment of Normans, and pent them up in a wood. Evening drew on, and the French forces, thus far

successful, became a corps of observation, encamping round the fugitives. But the Normans watched, while those who ought to have watched were sleeping: they sallied forth during the night, wounded King Raoul, and killed Count Helgaud. It is possible that the young Guillaume may have here first fleshed his maiden sword. According to the French accounts, the Danes sustained considerable loss, eleven hundred and upwards; but the advantage, if it were one, could not be improved. The Mogors had crossed the Rhine; and, when merely the distant roar of the monsters' approach was faintly heard at Rheims, such terror was excited, that shrines and relics were hurried away. The Northmen were urgent and threatening. Rollo obtained an instalment of his subsidy, the Danegeld was levied in France and Burgundy; and the peace between the Northmen and the Franks was ratified and celebrated, as a joyful event, throughout the kingdom.

912-927

927

§ 22. Rollo's incapacity for the labours and toils of government became painfully obvious to every one except himself: he was now past fourscore, broken by age and infirmity, but he still held on,—he would not be brought to acknowledge that his time for giving up his work had arrived. His mind began to fail, and he was therefore but the more obstinate. The honour, respect and affection which he had inspired, far from diminishing, had increased among his people: his fear was still upon them; they could not cast it off. Raised to the supreme authority by the consent of his chieftains, any one amongst them might have been tempted to seek the same power, but none thought of striving for the sovereignty. Loyalty prevailed: the sovereignty belonged to Rollo and to Rollo's progeny. The majority also amongst the influential classes sought to include the Terra Normannorum permanently within the sphere of Romane civilization; so that Normandy should continue a member of the French monarchy, whereby they would be placed on a level with the other states. As Northmen they might be contemned; but no sovereign was more calculated to maintain their national dignity than Guillaume—qualified by education, language and parentage—a kinsman of Vermandois¹, imperial Charlemagne's descendant.

Rollo re-
signs in
favour of
Guillaume.

The Counts and Chieftains, Northmen and Bretons, having therefore finally determined, presented themselves to the old man, humbly and gently urging him to appoint a successor. Let Rollo select a fitting Duke and Patrician for the government of Normandy, and they would yield faithful obedience. There could be

912-927

927

Guillaume
accepted
as Duke
and Patri-
cian of
Normans
and Bre-
tons.

no doubt whom Rollo would nominate, but they made the proposition delicately, avoiding to present the son as the rival of his father; it was prudent not to excite the old man's morbid irritability. Though Rollo was still reluctant, yet he could not resist any longer, and he presented to the assembly his son Guillaume as their future sovereign, and besought them to accept that son as their Patrician and Count, Duke and Defender; "Yet he is more inclined," said his father, "for a life of contemplation and seclusion."—But the chieftains would not allow their prospect to be clouded: they rejoiced in accepting the domination of the finely proportioned, robust, bright-haired, winning youth. Northmen and Bretons, Juhel-Berenger and Alain, Count Botho and Count Bernard, all took the oath of fealty; and placing their hands in Guillaume's hands, became his men, they his vassals, he their hereditary Duke and Patrician.

931-932

Circum-
stances of
Rollo's
death and
interment.

This submission was in a manner dictated at Clair-sur-Epte, a corollary to the treaty, for in that compact there was no one point so explicitly and plainly expressed, or so solemnly confirmed, as that Rollo should hold the land, to him and his descendants from heir to heir for ever. Henceforward Rollo disappears from history. The exact time of his decease is uncertain: probably he survived his resignation about five years. When at the point of death, the awful rendering up of life's recollections became manifest in him,—the shadows of terrene existence rising and passing by in dim succession, preparatory to the soul's departure. In his case the reminiscences of the wandering mind were horrible—he beheld an hundred human victims slaughtered to appease the anger of Thor and Odin.—But he recovered from his waking trance, bestowed additional donations upon Church and Poor, and his body was deposited in the Metropolitan Basilica, Notre Dame of Rouen.

Rollo's grave was dug in the Sacristy, but when Archbishop Maurilius reconstructed the dilapidated Cathedral, the remains were translated by him to the Chapel of Saint Romanus, on the northern or right-hand side of the Nave as you go down from the Choir, in a line with Saint Romanus' tower. The recumbent statue which represents the Danish Jarl, clad in ducal robe, may date from the reign of Saint Louis. The sculptor has happily succeeded in embodying the notion conveyed by tradition and history—the once mighty man of war, thoroughly worn out,—the sunken lips,—the furrowed brow,—the strength of fourscore years come to labour and sorrow.

CHAPTER II.

927-942

RAOUL AND LOUIS D'OUTREMER—GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE.

927—942.

§ 1. HAGIOLOGY, in this our “age of progress”—of progress certainly, yet whither tending?—is an unpopular theme; at best but tolerated.—It goes against the grain of our fancy. Popular writers most favourable to the “*Acta Sanctorum*” treat their glorious company, their goodly fellowship, their noble army—in a patronizing tone, hesitatingly, half ashamed,—making the most of their recommendable qualities or talents, asking excuses for their simplicities, queernesses and superstitions.—Gregory the Great kindly patted on the back by the Essayist,—or Bernard of Clairvaux¹ encouraged to come forward by the Historian, rather afraid of losing caste in the intellectual circles through his owning to such an acquaintance—somewhat after the manner of a fashionable chaperon, introducing a *protégée* of dubious connexions or questionable style.

The term “Hagiology,” however, though none more appropriate can be substituted in its stead, is a mistake, a source of misconception. Turn which way we will, in any mental enquiry, we are confounded by the fallacy of human language. We may be certain that those whose lives and actions are included under that category, would mourn the epithet bestowed upon them. The biography of Saints is but the biography of Sinners; amongst whom, each would contend he was the chiefest. It is the exaggeration of human perfectibility which destroys the edification that such narratives of patience, piety, self-devotion, charity, humility, and fortitude, would otherwise impart. Nothing like this glozing view of human frailty has been taught to us. No veil has been cast upon the prevarication, the lust, the untruth, the blood-guiltiness, the denial, the anger, the incredulity,—the weaknesses, failings, transgressions, iniquities and sins of those who have been loved, chosen, called. All these things have been written for our edification, in order to refuse us any excuse for feigning that the holiest servants of God are exempted from the

927-942

original corruption. We flatly contradict His holy word, if we exhibit the Just as never falling. No miracle fancied in the Golden Legend, could be so utterly incredible as the undeviating perseverance ascribed to Humanity.—

The false tenderness of Hagiography has become catholic in the worst sense,—as nearly as may be universal: in secular literature it runs riot. Posthumous biography, posthumous memorials, in every variety, guise and form, are pervaded by this debilitating, deluding, and mischievous influence.—To lie like a pedigree might be a proverb, to lie like an epitaph is so. Could we imagine the disembodied spirit grieving over the profane adulation bestowed by man upon man, how deep would be the affliction, how poignant the sorrow, sustained by the most humble and lowly-minded amongst Philosophers, becoming cognizant of the inscription upon his tomb :

“Nature and nature’s laws lay hid in night:
God said, Let Newton be, and all was light.”—

Every concealment of a blemish detracts from the living verity of the portraiture. No truthful representation of any popular hero can approach the fine ideal of popular fame. The heroic Protector¹ was in the right when he directed courtly Lely² to delineate him with every roughness, every pimple, every blemish, every scar: he knew the picture would not be himself without them. Rare, indeed, are the sitters gifted with a Cromwell’s contempt of favour-seeking; and the unburthened easel of the artist who should work according to the spirit of his rough injunctions, would testify to their unpalatableness. It is the clever dissimilitude which renders the likeness agreeable. We depreciate the Heliograph because it is honest as the sun.

But the historian need not place himself under such coercion, he is not compelled to paint for a patron’s pleasure: his primary vocation is to instruct; nor should he blench at the risk of displeasing. Let him not fawn either upon the living or the departed.—He will be thanked in the long run.—Let him bide his time.—He is in no wise responsible for the defects of his personages, still less is their vindication obligatory upon him. This conventional etiquette of extenuation mars the utility of historical biography by concealing the compensations so mercifully granted in love, and the admonitions given by vengeance. Why suppress the lesson afforded by the depravity of the “greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind”³—he whose defilements teach us that the

most transcendent intellectuality is consistent with the deepest turpitude? The labours of the panegyrist come, after all, to naught.—You are trying to fill a broken cistern.—You may cut a hole in the stuff, but you cannot wash out the stain.—Forget the worse than meaningless phrase, which represents the stiffened corpse as standing at the bar, and appealing to the “tribunal of posterity.” It is not before the judgment-seat of man that the dead will have to plead.—

927-942

§ 2. Guillaume Longue-épée is one of the stereotyped heroes of French history; nay, he is included, though unauthorizedly, in a national martyrology. When Rollo said that his son was better fitted in spirit for a monastery than a sovereignty, the old father’s judgment was as nearly correct, as any which could be prospectively pronounced concerning the young prince’s character. Charity, devotional taste, candid acceptance of reproof, a yearning for quietness and seclusion, are all attributes of Guillaume. Succeeding to an absolute authority—for the “Senior” and “Patrician” of the Rouen Northmen was unfettered by any restraint except his own discretion—Guillaume never sought, in governing, to exercise his self-will. The “Senior,” “Patrician” or “Duke” of Normandy might have written himself King: his subjects boasted that Normandy was a “Monarchy.” Sole legislator, chief military commander, paramount administrator of justice, Guillaume never desired to rule by force, or otherwise than through the law’s supremacy: his sword was the symbol of order, the sword of peace. When borne aloft, the golden-hilted, long, glittering blade awed the beholders into tranquillity. Unstained by blood, the protecting weapon commanded obedience wherever displayed.

Character
of Guil-
laume
Longue-
épée.

Guillaume was amply endowed with mental and bodily talents, but great disadvantages were the correlatives of these natural advantages—the compensation by which our pride is judicially confounded. Athletic and graceful, Guillaume possessed extraordinary vigour. His stroke, as the minstrel sung, was that of a giant: his features beautiful, his complexion bright as a maiden’s. Gracious in manner, spirited and cheerful, having an eye for splendour, well spoken to all, Guillaume could quote a text to the priest, listen respectfully to the wise saws of the old, talk merrily with his young companions about chess and tables, discuss the flight of the falcon, and the fleetness of the hound. Sober men were fain to think that Guillaume was weaning himself from the world’s vanities; and yet that same world well knew, how fully

Guil-
laume’s
talents and
defects.

927-942

Guillaume enjoyed all the world's delights and pleasures. In short, he was one of those who (when not put out) are sure to have every man's good word—and every woman's also. Was it probable that Guillaume would live discreetly and wisely? He never could hold fast either to the good or to the evil; always wrestling with himself and failing; inwardly warned, yet disobeying the warning; ardently affectionate, yet destitute of fidelity; seeking to do right, yet backsliding,—unstable in all his ways. Human life is a continued warfare, but in Guillaume's case the strife was more than usually disclosed.—Peculiarly ill calculated therefore was Guillaume Longue-épée to cope with the difficulties of his political situation, for whose due regimen, clear views, firmness, decision and consistency, were pre-eminently required.

The antagonistic parties of Normandy.

The Romanized or Christian Northmen.

§ 3. Duke of Normandy—we give him that familiar title, though not formally assumed till the third generation,—it was needful that he should adjust his course between two rival interests grounded upon antagonistic principles; and mutually unsusceptible of any satisfactory compromise. These two parties were the Romanized or Christian Northmen, and the Pagan Northmen, whose coexistence constantly threatened the stability of the rising commonwealth. The Norsk never appears to have been retained by the clergy as the medium of Christian instruction: hence the “gentile language” was worn out or wearing out before the spread of Christianity; whilst the *Romane* dialect was cultivated so successfully, that Normandy was the earliest of the French provinces in whose idiom the peculiar or special characteristics of the French language, properly so called, were distinctly evolved.

Partly the descendants of the earlier Danish colonizations, and partly consisting of those who, like Rollo and his contemporaries, had been habituated to France during the greater part of their lives, the Romanized Northmen constituted the ostensible nationality of the State. Their acceptance of Christianity was the condition upon which the French government and nation had sanctioned their settlement in the land; and they had conformed to the condition. Some were sincere: but a sluggish indifference seems more generally to have characterized these converts: all were good friends, however, with the Priesthood and the Archbishop of Rouen. Opulent and influential, the powers of government were chiefly vested in the members of this party, who were placed about the person of the “Senior,” to whom they rendered

a patriarchal reverence, loving him for his father's sake as much or more than his own. 927-942

Guillaume was the natural head of the French party : born to be so. French was the first language the boy heard upon his mother's knee¹; and, through that mother, Guillaume claimed to be a branch of the noblest family in the monarchy. This species of ancestral dignity had been a weighty recommendation in his favour when the chieftains' voluntary submission called him to the succession of the dominion which Rollo won. Guillaume Longue-épée had few natural connexions, the pleasing Gerloc his bright sister, the only near relative. Our knowledge of his paternal kinsmen is very limited; Gerlo² and Malahulch merely flit before us; we can hardly recognise them distinctly, and we never hear of them consorting either with Rollo or with Guillaume. They were probably envious and inimical; whilst his mother's Vermandois kinsmen were Guillaume's most assured friends. They were probably only of the half-blood, not very nearly related, —inclination, however, combining with interest, makes much out of little in such cases. In the practical table of affinities, the agreeable are texted in gilt and illuminated characters, the disagreeable blurred away. These French connexions were congenial to Guillaume, they really and truly deserved his confidence: and none loved him more dearly than his uncle Bernard de Senlis, to whom Guillaume, and Guillaume's son after him, turned in those days of peril, when home-help seemed to fail.

Guillaume's education, carefully and systematically pursued, had rendered him familiar with the manners of France, and imbued him with the opinions of the Christian Commonwealth. Botho, the sapient and courteous antient warrior, selected by Rollo as his son's governor and guardian, who had so faithfully executed his trust, was indeed a Dane by birth, but he, so accustomed to the ways of the country, so intimate with the people, that all his influence tended to maintain the Christian party.

§ 4. In the same manner as the Romane had become the symbol of Christian nationality, so did the Norsk continue the emphatic token which distinguished the Pagan Danes, who adhered to the conversation of their ethnic progenitors. The Heathen party came less into evidence than the Romanized or Christian party; they are not always discoverable with equal distinctness, nevertheless they were widely dispersed and thickly disseminated, even in Rouen within the sound of Notre-Dame's bells; not the less powerful from their partial concealment. We

Duke Guillaume the natural head of the French party.

Guillaume's French education.

The Danish or Heathen party.

927-942

well know how frequently the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes relapsed into idolatry :—witness the laws of Canute,—the repeated endeavours of Synods and Councils to extinguish the latent heathendom. In Normandy, the traces of Scandinavian belief are exceedingly faint : the respective masses of semi-christianized as well as unconverted Northmen probably included more freethinkers than idolaters, yet in such cases, the enmity towards an antagonistic creed supplies the place of religious zeal amongst slack professors of their own. Christianity languished : having oftentimes been introduced merely by treaty and bargain :—monastic establishments, the fortresses of piety, universally broken up,—discipline shamefully relaxed,—the succession of bishops interrupted,—the priesthood few in number and degenerate, and inveterately concubinary.—But the antipathies mutually entertained between the Christians and the Pagans were selfish and political. Hatred against a common enemy is a stronger bond of union, than love amongst brethren.

Geograph-
ical distri-
bution of
the Chris-
tian and
Heathen
popula-
tions.

In Evreux and the Evrecin, probably also throughout the Seine country, districts in which the Danes had been so long hiving and swarming, they were very generally christianized : perhaps also in the Armorican Marches, where the Romance language had supplanted the Breton at an early era ; but the parties or nationalities were intermixed, dispersed, and straggling. The Danish element was strongest in the Bessin, the province which had first received a Teutonic or Scandinavian colonization, subsequently nourished by fresh supplies. Ample immigrations had arrived from the North, such as Ragnald and his followers, Pagans fresh from Northumbria, these accessions of Danish population were reiterated throughout the reign of Guillaume Longue-épée ; and, notwithstanding all checks and vicissitudes, the Baltic ports and the Norwegian fiords were in familiar relation with Normandy.

Romanized or even French chieftains encouraged this Danish party ; Riulph, for example, who, either from Rollo or from Guillaume, obtained a County in the Breton border. Riulph also held possessions in the Evrecin, where Danish Christianity was the strongest. On the other hand, Bernard the Dane adhered to the French party ; Bernard was, as his name imports, a native Northman : he loved his own people, he had not repudiated Scandinavia, his antient fatherland : nevertheless he was a sincere and affectionate supporter of the Romanized Guillaume Longue-épée, as he had been of Rollo before him, and entirely cordial to the ethos adopted by Guillaume. Such amalgamations and

anomalies are found in all similar cases: the theoretic homogeneousness of national parties is never completely realized, nor are the best of men logically consistent in their politics or their faith, their affections, or sentiments. Sons do not take after their fathers: conscience, caprice, a purse of gold or a gold-stick, guide, lead, or tempt us in spite of every connexion or tie which religion, birth, blood, or kindred, may impose. We have seen an O'Neale¹ the Grandmaster of the dire Orange confederacy:—the gentle and high-minded Geraldine² perishing in defence of Shamrock and Harp.

927-942

Botho, the kind and wise director of Guillaume's youthful education, and Oslac, his chief counsellor, appear as the representatives of a neutral party. All the prudence of the Statesman was required for the adjustment of these rivalities: no parliamentary leader compelled by hard fate to govern through an opposition could have a more anxious task than Guillaume. If zealous for religion, zeal might be abused, and degenerate into grasping persecution. And, if he sought to be moderate, the Duke's short-comings were equally liable to produce mischief,—a toleration grounded upon indifference, might allow the Church to sink deeper into degraded apathy. So also in Guillaume's social converse—favour to this or that set of kinsmen, or neglect of them—his predilection for his mother's family or a quarrel with his father's—a contention for the higher place at the Christmas festival—a squabble at a hunting party,—an involuntary frown or an inconvenient smile might disengage the conflicting elements, and generate a destructive civil war.

§ 5. Guillaume Longue-épée's external relations were replete with scabrous difficulties—the Patrician of Rouen claimed to be a vassal of France; and, under any contingency, the freshly implanted Norman Duchy would be involved in the Kingdom's fortunes. The drooping and the springing dynasties, Second race and Third, were, at this juncture, equally in abeyance. Raoul, a rootless trunk, was thrust in between them, but his authority was limited and contested. Crowned at Soissons, Count in Burgundy and King in "France," or, as some were then wont to call the region, "Belgic Gaul," the remaining provinces knew him not. Powerful Aquitaine refused to acknowledge Raoul: the Aquitanians wholly denied the validity of the imprisoned King's deposition, and protested against the intruder. In all their solemn instruments of State,—Precept, Deed or Charter,—the Princes of those regions recorded their dissent: they reckoned the date

923-927
Political
situation of
France.

Raoul not
acknowledged by
the
Aquitani-
ans:

927-942

923-927

they
protest
against
him in
their
public
docu-
ments.

from the year when the unfaithful Franks had disgraced their King—*anno tertio quo Karolus rex per infidos Francos dehonestatus est*¹,—or they viewed the throne as wholly vacant, nay, as never having received the intruder. *Christo regnante, sed Rege expectante*², was the impressive declaration of their feeling. Thus they testified their inherent conviction that the State would not subsist otherwise than as a Kingdom.—“We will have a King over us, that we also may be like all the nations,” is the acknowledgment ultimately enforced from human society.—The Aquitanians rejected the spurious monarch : they could not prognosticate who would follow, yet they themselves would wait patiently till the problem should be solved.

The recall of the banished dynasty was confidently contemplated by their partizans. We, who look back upon the past, can clearly discern, that, admitting the possibility of a temporary Carlovingian restoration, the ultimate accession of the Capets was inevitable. Raoul the Burgundian, though powerful by opulence, character and influence, was only maintained in his royal dignity by a mightier potentate, more distinguished as the supporter of the State than as its Sovereign, Hugh-le-Grand,—Hugh who might have ruled there had he chosen, who could rule whenever he would. It was therefore a truthful expression of his influence and position that he should be accredited throughout Britain as the *Rex Francorum*, the French King.

926

Hugh-le-Grand, his vast influence. His marriage with Ead-hilda.

Hugh was childless when he received the offer of the Crown.—How far the absence of an heir may have dictated his negative must be left to conjecture ; but, if so, he soon afterwards determined to give himself the chance of a son. A splendid legation was despatched to the Court of Athelstane, bearing with them such treasures as England never yet had seen ;—the precious onyx vase embossed by Grecian art, exciting the marvel of the beholders, who declared that the corn seemed waving, the tendrils growing, the figures instinct with life :—brilliant gems, amongst which the emerald shone resplendent :—caskets filled with the richest spices, —and, rarer than any gem, those antient historic relics, honoured and hallowed by tradition and faith—the sword of Constantine the Great, on which you read his name, the hilt containing a nail of the true Cross :—Charlemagne’s spear, which, brandishing when he assailed the Saracens, he never returned from battle except as a victor :—the banner of Saint Maurice³, chief and chieftain of the martyred Theban legion,—and, highest revered, the particle of the Crown of Thorns. Long after the Conquest, the

Malmesbury monks, though they dared not assert, were willing to believe that the relic preserved their Abbey from calamities and misfortunes. The Chief ambassador, Adolph Count of Boulogne, and Lay-abbot or Impropiator of Saint-Bertin, besought, on behalf of Hugh, the hand of Eadhilda, Ogiva's sister. Gladly did the damsel and her royal brother yield their assent : the alliance greatly encreased the honour of King Robert's son and heir ; but the second marriage disappointed Hugh's expectations, even like the first. The bed of this Anglo-Saxon Adeliza was barren—Eadhilda never gave Hugh a child.

As in all the former revolutions of France, the heads and *meneurs*, including the sovereigns, belonged to a constellation of families located in the northern regions of the Gauls, connected by consanguinity or marriage. Duke Guillaume Longue-épée reckoned himself with Vermandois. The King and the Duke of France, and the Count, Raoul and Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert, were brothers-in-law, whilst Hugh-le-Grand, Eadhilda's husband, was also brother-in-law to Queen Ogiva, and uncle to Louis beyond the sea. As this history advances, we shall find such connexions multiply, so as to invest their members with the aspect of a chosen caste, to whom the powers of government appertained : alliances, however, of discord, not of harmony. It was always more than an even chance, whether any two brothers-in-law were not two enemies.

927-942
924-928
Connexions between the leading heads of parties by reason of intermarriage.

§ 6. Normandy was becoming highly influential in the politics of France : Rollo always stood true to King Charles, never acknowledging Raoul as his Senior ; if Guillaume Longue-épée thought fit, he might instigate a Carlovingian restoration. A friendly intercourse subsisted between the opposite coasts of the Channel : the *Terra Normannorum* welcomed the emigrations from the Anglo-Saxon Danelagh, and Athelstane, the banished Prince's kind uncle, sought to be reckoned as Guillaume's ally. France, if she offended Guillaume, might suffer severely from his hostility. Let him but be provoked to make the venture ; and he might at any time summon a sufficient Danish force to threaten, perhaps to expel, the Burgundian sovereign. But Guillaume on his part might profit through wary management. By adhering to Raoul, who much required his aid, he had the opportunity of further consolidating his own power. Herbert of Vermandois, improving all the contingencies of the times for his own advantage, was preparing to obtain the countenance of Guillaume. Herbert had a right to seek his kinsman's friendship¹, but the Count had a great deal upon his hands.

27-942

24-928

It is extremely difficult to trace this consummate intriguer through the doubles and dodges of his tortuous course; but we may observe that, as long as he lived, a primary object was the acquisition of Rheims. Herbert's dealings in this matter, which we must briefly notice as a key to his subsequent proceedings, also constitute an interesting paragraph in the history of the Western Church: we shall find the import of these Rheims transactions in our own English history.

overeigns
Latin
urope:
eir de-
potic em-
loyment
f preroga-
ve
gainst the
erty of
piscopal
lections.

The Sovereigns and Princes of the Gauls, Germany and Italy, Emperors and Kings, Counts or Dukes, discrepant as they might otherwise be in their views, were labouring with one consent to extinguish the freedom of episcopal election; the object sought being the conversion of all ecclesiastical dignities, from the Pope-dominion downwards, into absolute donatives. In Germany, where the bishopricks were approximating to that station which they afterwards unhappily assumed in the Germanic Empire—Prince-Prelates, whose temporal panoplies almost stifled the spiritual authority—the exertions of the State were now most strenuous. Henry the Fowler, he who had, upon his high appointment, rejected the consecration imparted by the Clergy—Henry, the unanointed and uncrowned king,—enforced his claims with stern prepotence. At Metz, entirely against the people's will, he intruded the anchorite Benno into the See. Metz, proud of her liberty, proud of her antiquity, deeply resented the injustice. The provoked citizens opposed the Sovereign's illegal act by a villainous crime. They conspired against the Prelate, mutilated him shamefully, and put out his eyes.

Metz—re-
sistance of
the citizens
to the no-
mination
of Bishop
Benno by
Henry the
Fowler.

Simony
and other
corrupt
motives
actuating
the
patrons.

Benno was a faithful and holy man:—a better choice perhaps than the citizens would have made, had they been left to themselves;—but the selection of a proper individual did not diminish the inherent evils of the system. A competent prelate, owing his dignity to a prerogative nomination, was only a happy accident. In the ordinary course of affairs, the qualifications or disqualifications of the Bishop-designate were slurred over, or wholly disregarded, by the royal or princely patron. Direct and unmistakable simony was not unfrequent, money or money's worth: yet, from its very grossness, this most vulgar form was the least injurious to the Church, whose interests received far more damage when the preferments were dictated by the temptations which, tripping in, velvet-shod, do not startle the slumbering conscience,—policy, convenience, or family aggrandisement.

Occasionally, the prerogative appointees were men of secular or disreputable lives,—bowling Bishops, sporting Bishops, drunken Bishops, campaigning Bishops ; but even when they were of an average character, decent and tolerable, the preferments were vitiated in public opinion by the certainty that the proportion of good was a chance, and that the patronage was exercised solely for patronage sake ; of which the most flagrant examples were such as that which Herbert of Vermandois now so anxiously sought to afford. In the cases belonging to this class—and they had become matters of common occurrence—the absurdity was even more revolting than the scandal. An ordinary man, decorously lukewarm, smatteringly-learned, moderately dull, or cleverly worldly, might be useful in the See, but to instal a little fellow, bigger than a baby, yet hardly grown up into a boy, was an outrageous mockery of the Christian community. The ceremony was equally sorrowful and ludicrous : the child, taught to repeat the responses, or to spell them if he could not get them by heart, usually behaved pitifully. Sometimes the terrified urchin would whimper, not in fear of losing the bishoprick,—a loss which he could nowise appreciate,—but lest, as a dunce, he should receive the accustomed chastisement for not knowing his lesson. The bystanders laughed—some cried shame. Such is the naïve description given by a contemporary, who had too often witnessed and deplored these grievous spectacles, Hatto¹, Bishop of Vercelli. They were amongst the heavy abuses and tribulations of the Church which Hatto records : not to be mitigated until the age of reform,—the age of Hildebrand.

924-942

924-925

Mere
children
appointed
to bishop-
ricks.

§ 7. According to the most plausible hypothesis concerning the obscure arrangement entered into with the view of securing Hugonet's² promotion, Herbert proposed, according to the modern mode of transacting analogous kinds of business, to run Seulph's life against the life of the child. Seulph's age was not such as to promise a speedy vacancy : nevertheless his health was closely watched by those in the Vermandois interest, and equally so by their adversaries ; Frodoardus, our faithful historical guide, from whom we derive great part of our story, and who had himself received good preferment from Seulph, being included in the latter party.

Seulph's years, months, and days, were carefully counted ; and when Seulph, according to the reckoning of Frodoardus, had held his primatial see during three years and five days, he suddenly died. Poison had been poured into his cup : Frodoardus implies,

Death of
Arch-
bishop
Seulph—
Count
Herbert
procures

924-942 in very intelligible terms, that Count Herbert's familiars had
 enjoyed access to the Archbishop's buttery. Count Herbert,
 925-927 though exercising a most powerful influence in and over Rheims,
 electors and non-electors, clergy, citizens, soldiery, was not yet
 absolutely master : it was expedient that he should deal consider-
 ately with the constituency, persuade, and manage them gently
 and agreeably. He repaired to Rheims.—Able advocates, Abbo,
 bishop of Soissons, and Bovo, bishop of Châlons, Queen Freder-
 una's brother, assisted Herbert in his canvass. Moreover, he was
 energetically counselled and supported by his brother-in-law,
 King Raoul.

the
election of
his little
son Hugh.

Upon little Hugh's nomination, no opposition was manifested,
 because such of the clergy as were not of Herbert's colour dared
 not shew their faces : Frodoardus—who was afterwards imprisoned
 by Count Herbert—being one of the number. The Vermandois
 candidate, five years old, was duly elected, and placed under the
 care of Guido, Bishop of Auxerre, who superintended his education,
 and a Chorepiscopus was appointed to do the duty, Odalricus, the
 Bishop of Acques, who had been ejected from his see by the
 Saracens.

Custody of
the tempo-
ralities of
Rheims
granted to
Herbert.

King Raoul, the transactions thus far completed, granted the
 custody of the temporalities to Count Herbert during his son's
 minority. Wife and children, dogs and horses were immediately
 housed and stabled by Herbert in the Archevêché or Palace, close
 under the wing of the Cathedral. Moreover, Herbert appropriated
 to himself the fine Archiepiscopal domain of Couci, which never
 afterwards reverted to the see, but became the proudest Baronial
 seignory in the kingdom. These most unseemly proceedings were
 the commencement of troubles which lasted during the joint lives
 of Hugh and of Artaldus, who speedily arose as Hugh's competitor.
 Count Herbert rode through the Church—so to speak—booted
 and spurred. The recusant clergy, our faithful witness Fro-
 doardus included, sustained the deprivation of their benefices ;
 and a violent quarrel having broken out among the Cathedral
 canons, military force was employed as a sedative ;—a deacon
 and sub-deacon were killed in the cloister by Count Herbert's
 soldiery.

Disputes
and dis-
sensations
occasioned
by these
pro-
ceedings.

Jealousies
arising be-
tween
Herbert of
Ver-
mandois
and King
Raoul.

§ 8. Mutual assistance in those times always implied mutual
 suspicion. Each man distrusted his neighbour, even as his
 neighbour distrusted him. Those who drank out of the same
 cup had to pledge each other that they would not use the dagger :
 your friend was always the man against whom you were bound

to guard yourself—if a connexion or relation, most of all. Herbert had co-operated efficiently with Raoul, and Raoul had abundantly reciprocated. By Raoul's aid, "Hugo parvulus" (as Frodoardus calls him) had obtained the Archbishoprick, of which Herbert was now in possession; and Herbert repaid Raoul by keeping King Charles safely in Peronne dungeon. Yet notwithstanding this apparently cordial partnership, the brothers-in-law were incurably jealous of each other.—May we not reasonably suspect that their sister-wives helped to foment the dissension,—Hildebranda the Countess rivalling Emma the Queen?

924-942

927-928

In Burgundy, Raoul was a rich man, a powerful Prince, his domains wide and extensive; but, as King in France, he had no more than King Charles before him—no revenue,—no army,—no city save the *Clachdwin*, the rock, palace, burgh and tower of Laon. This only possession, Herbert now endeavoured to wrest from him. Herbert had five sons, Eudes (the hostage at Rouen),—Albert,—Robert,—a namesake Herbert,—and the boy Archbishop, Hugh. This youngest enjoyed an excellent provision, but Count Herbert was very anxious to gain a firm footing for the eldest, and he insisted that King Raoul should grant to the young man the County of the City. Urgently as Raoul had felt the need of conciliating his brother-in-law, he would not yield.—Upon this point he was impracticable—the concealed grudges exploded, Herbert revolted, and attempted to surprise the rock. Laon's garrison repulsed him; and he adopted a course, which in any one but Herbert of Vermandois, would have seemed inconceivable. A greater humiliation than dethronement now befel the unhappy Charles: he, the descendant of Charlemagne, to be bandied about as a puppet between contending tricksters and parties.

Herbert demands Laon for his son Eudes.

If Charles had not been betrayed into captivity, Raoul could scarcely have maintained himself upon the throne.—Were Charles brought forward again, might not Raoul be in the greatest danger of losing that royal authority—his delight and Emma's pride? Aquitaine denounced the Burgundian as an usurper: Lotharingia's loyalty was unsubdued: the Northmen, sturdy allies of Charles to the last, had shewn themselves Raoul's determined and desperate enemies. Herbert immediately calculated upon employing these hostile elements as the means of intimidation, and he forthwith commenced negotiations for the restoration of the legitimate king, treating with that very Pope John the Tenth¹, to whom the Normans owed their conversion.

Herbert's machinations; he seeks to play King Charles off against King Raoul.

Herbert negotiates with Pope John X.

924-942

927-928

924-928
Promotion
and ponti-
ficate of
John X.

The mysterious history of the Popedom abounds in awful and painful contrasts between the Supreme Pontiff's sacerdotal efficacy, discretion, and wisdom, and the weaknesses or crimes by which the man was disgraced and condemned. Such a Pope was John the Tenth—so earnest and sound in his endeavours to implant Christianity amongst the Danes.—The handsome Clerkling (whom the Cenci claim as belonging to their family) originally earned his promotion by the influence of the lovely Theodora¹, the mother of Marozia², and emulating that daughter in profligacy and beauty : yet, in St. Peter's chair, his conduct was blameless and edifying. From this Pope John, Herbert of Vermandois solicited spiritual support, calling upon him to excommunicate the rebels who deposed their sovereign. The Princes and Prelates of Lotharingia and Germany were invited to aid. Henry the Fowler himself, sympathising with a fellow-monarch, promised co-operation ; but most important was it for Herbert to secure the assistance of the young Guillaume Longue-épée. Eudes of Vermandois, for whose sake Herbert his father had besieged Laon, continued in Guillaume's power, still kept under arrest at Rouen, a pledge until the remaining instalments of the weary Danegeld due from France, should be fully discharged : unless Eudes was released, how could he receive investiture of his County ? The preliminary measures accomplished, life was suddenly given to Herbert's schemes by the appearance, in bright day, of one who had been forgotten as a dead man in the grave. The captive Charles was brought forth from Peronne, and produced to the public as King at St. Quentin. Raoul hastily retreated to Burgundy : he must abandon Laon. There was but one to whom he could confide his city, heroic Emma, whom he placed in command there.

King
Charles re-
leased
from
prison, and
produced
as King by
Count
Herbert—
Raoul re-
treats to
Burgundy.

§ 9. The way was opening rapidly for the Restoration. Guillaume Longue-épée unhesitatingly adhered to the resuscitated monarch. The obligation contracted by his father Rollo had descended to him : it ran with the land. Through Rollo, he owed his dominion to Charles, and he prepared to afford hearty and uncoerced assistance. Charles, carefully escorted by Herbert, crossed the Norman frontier, and took up his residence at Eu. Here a conference was held with the Duke and Patrician of Rouen. Guillaume performed solemn homage to King Charles as his lawful sovereign, placing his hands between King Charles's hands, and becoming his liegeman, even as Rollo had done at Clair-sur-Epte. Words and actions—*la bouche et les mains*—

927

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
performs
homage to
King
Charles at
Eu.

testified that Guillaume had entered into the service of his father's liege lord earnestly and sincerely ; and, concurrently with this submission to the legitimate King, he concluded an alliance with the Count of Vermandois. Guillaume confided implicitly in his uncle Bernard de Senlis¹, or Senlis-Vermandois ; and possibly, Bernard's intervention brought the young nephew more readily into the confederacy.

924-942

927-928

Thus countenanced, thus supported, Herbert proceeded actively in the good cause. The country was everywhere disturbed, dangers threatened from without. Rumours filled France—the Magyars are coming !—and the terrified inhabitants prepared to abandon the country, so as to escape even the chance of encountering these hideous enemies :—the Northmen alone seem never to have heeded them. The report was premature : the Magyars did not come this time, but the Saracens² were near at hand, advancing through the Alpine passes, now so familiarly known to the sons of the Desert. Raoul stationed himself in Burgundy, unquestionably for the purpose of defence : had the Mahometan forces once descended the Jura, France would have been lost. But Herbert's hostility compelled him to quit his position ; and during the Christmas festival he marched northwards, towards and into the Vermandois, wasting and destroying as he proceeded.—King Charles must be considered as a nullity, and Hugh-le-Grand offered himself as a mediator, far more inclined to favour Herbert's pretensions than those of Raoul. The terms imposed upon Raoul pinched him very hard—he must surrender Laon unconditionally. But Queen Emma stoutly refused to comply with the extortion : she would not give up the royal fortress ; and Raoul, having vainly endeavoured to induce his wife to open the gates, returned to Burgundy. However, after an interval, the heroine was content to yield, and Herbert possessed himself of the much-coveted city.

King
Raoul re-
turns to
France.
Hugh-le-
Grand me-
diates.

§ 10. In the meanwhile, the friendship between the Norman Patrician and Herbert of Vermandois cooled : the cause of the disunion is uncertain ; perhaps Guillaume Longue-épée, being at this juncture earnest for the restoration of King Charles, or supposing himself to be so, distrusted Herbert, and therefore withdrew from him. Hugh-le-Grand intervened, again quelled the dissension, and the dissidents pledged themselves to peace ; but, in order to ensure Herbert's support for King Charles, Count Guillaume stipulated that Herbert, as well as the other counts and bishops of his party, should commend themselves to the King

Coolness
between
Guillaume
and
Herbert.

Guillaume
supports
Charles,

924-942 and perform homage. Until Herbert complied with this condition, Guillaume continued to detain the son of Herbert, Eudes, the expectant Count of Laon, at Rouen.

927-928
and insists
that
Herbert
should do
homage.

Strange that any validity should be ascribed to forms and pledges and promises so utterly futile—which those who demanded them knew to be valueless: for there was no prophylactic against the Luegenfeld contagion. The inveterate practice of contracting illusory obligations had rendered men thoroughly insensible to the existence of truth.—How forcibly contrasting with the French character, as displayed when we behold the golden *fleur-de-lys* shining in the azure shield,—the period when the principles of Honour were evolved,—the most exalted of worldly sentiments, so nearly analogous to Christian duties as often to prove their most fatal bane.

Yet, after all, nothing has been gained. There is no extirpation of any human failing. Diseases may wear out: the leprosy of the body has disappeared from the catalogue of human afflictions, but there is no eradicating any leprosy of the soul. Our age juggles with moral responsibility by swamping individual conscience in the delinquencies of the aggregate community. My Lord Coke¹ was legally correct when he pronounced the famous dictum that corporations cannot be excommunicated, because they have no souls: but he forgot that souls compose the corporation. Faithlessness continues to be the esoteric doctrine of all nations; and the well-known member of Parliament who put on the Journals his notice of an address to the Crown,—that, in future, no treaties be concluded with foreign powers, inasmuch as they are never observed—conveyed a true lesson, though a useless one, by his somewhat ponderous drollery.

Henry the Fowler made the best of his opportunities: he crossed the Rhine, encamped upon the Meuse, and proceeded to establish himself in Lotharingia. Lands were liberally distributed, oaths and promises given and taken, and a settlement of affairs concluded between the King of Germany and the leading Lotharingians. No further use could be made by Herbert of the unhappy Charles. Whatever influence he expected to obtain through Papal authority soon vanished. Old battered Marozia, and her husband, Guido² Marquis of Tuscany and then also Lord and master of Rome, determined to rid themselves of Pope John. Their soldiers surprised the unhappy Pontiff in the Lateran: cast him into prison, and smothered him under a pillow. Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert held a conference with King Henry, settled—for the time

928
Reconcili-
ation
between
Raoul and
Herbert.
Charles
imprisoned
again.

—their course of action, and repaired to Raoul. The King and the great Vermandois were reconciled. Herbert had accomplished his ends: Laon, castle, rock, city, and tower, were won. He commended himself again to Raoul, and King Charles descended again into his dungeon.

924-942

928-929

§ 11. Herbert marched with King Raoul to Burgundy. Vienne was granted to the Count of Vermandois—the bargain did not hold. But a most astounding event next ensued, unaccompanied by any note of preparation. We meet King Raoul at Rheims. Without any warning, the prison-doors are opened, and we behold King Charles honoured as a king by Raoul, and reinstated in the royal domain of Pontyon and the palace of Attigny.—Another sudden change, and, as by the wand of a magician, Charles is replaced in the hard custody of Herbert of Vermandois. These marvellous mutations imply a maze of intrigues, now wholly inexplicable; but they were effected smoothly and silently. Amongst these kings and princes all pacts and promises were lies; and nothing so easy as lying.

Unaccountable reappearance of King Charles at liberty.

Never was Charles seen again alive beyond his prison-walls. He was lingering in his dungeon, bound in fetters. About a year afterwards, his corpse was carried out—he was buried at Peronne, "*Peronna Scottorum*,"¹ in the church dedicated to famous Saint Fursæus², the anchorite of Burgh Castle. Many believed that Herbert had caused the sinews of his legs to be divided: a horrible device occasionally adopted by those, who, unable to tread out the last glimmering spark of conscientious compunction, sought, without inflicting death, to render the sufferer impotent and helpless. This report however, was probably an exaggeration: the cruelty would have been needless, otherwise than as a vindictive retribution for the death of the blinded Bernard. Herbert had no need to employ violence: he might safely trust to grief, close confinement, heavy irons, stinted diet, and foul air. Herbert's Physicians, well read in such writers as Constantinus Africanus³, discreetly pronounced that the complaint of which the prisoner died was a "*macronosia*,"—that is to say,—a decline produced by malignant humours and natural causes. Charles was very patient during all his sufferings: after his decease he was secretly honoured as a martyr; and the imperial line of Charlemagne was now reduced to one individual, the child Louis beyond the sea.

Oct. 7, 929.
Death of King Charles at Peronne.

§ 12. Guillaume Longue-épée avoided, for the present, any direct intervention in French affairs. But the Danish Northmen, acting independently, and possibly reinforced from Northumbria,

930
The Danes beyond the Loire—defeated by Raoul at Limoges.

924-942

930-931

were raging south of the Loire, punishing the country as in the darkest times of their invasions. Raoul issued a general summons. The King was obeyed by the French with extraordinary alacrity. It was indeed for their own interest that they should exert themselves heartily in repelling the marauders from their own confines. Twelve legions were assembled : it is difficult to conjecture the number of troops implied by this expression, yet we may construe the awkwardly employed classical phraseology into the fact, that Raoul commanded a strong and well-marshalled army. He advanced to Limoges. A single battle ensued, which ended this Danish war : the Danes were defeated, and the greater part slain. Rarely indeed had the prowess of the Franks been rewarded by such a decisive victory. The splendid triumph gained at Limoges by Raoul over the Pagans, accomplished another conquest, but pacific. Raoul won the fealty of many amongst the Aquitanians : he had relieved them from their enemies, and their obedience testified their gratitude ; it was well to have such a helpful king. But Burgundy was troubled, and required his presence : the Saracens blocked the Alpine passes ; and Queen Emma, whom Raoul had stationed as his lieutenant, acting over-much as a virago, had provoked a family rebellion.

Queen
Emma.
Disturb-
ances in
Burgundy.

Gilbert¹, married to Hermengarda, Richard-le-Justicier's daughter, and therefore Raoul's brother-in-law, was Count, or, perhaps, Governor of great part of Burgundy, including the Dijonnais, under Raoul's supremacy. It seems as if it were impossible that any relatives in those times could live without a quarrel : quarrelling was meat and drink to them. For some unknown, but perhaps justifiable cause, Queen Emma mustered her troops, and boldly expelled the husband of her husband's sister from his favourite stronghold—dark mountainous Avalon². Gilbert retaliated : Raoul came to the help of his wife, checked Gilbert's progress, and the brothers-in-law thenceforth really became and continued friends,—a social phenomenon. Emma's unrecorded achievements and exertions were probably far more numerous than those whereof the history is preserved. Very meagre and obscure are the memorials of Burgundy.

Feud be-
tween
Hugh-le-
Grand and
Herbert of
Vermandois.

§ 13. Raoul now hastened to France—France in utter confusion. A bitter feud was raging between the original confederates, Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois, dating from the year when King Charles died at Peronne, and possibly connected with that event. Raoul had made great exertions to pacify them—worked hard as a mediator ;—but, after every truce, the bickering,

impatient rivals, resumed their strife with renewed pertinacity. This feud must be considered as a running accompaniment of discord to all the incidents of Raoul's reign until its conclusion. The dissensions between Hugh and Herbert became perplexedly complicated with the virulent contest carried on between King Raoul and Count Herbert for the Archbishoprick of Rheims. Raoul, who previously had worked so strenuously with Herbert for the purpose of accomplishing little Hugh's promotion, now laboured just as strenuously, or more so, to undo his own work, and to place Artaldus, a monk of Saint Remi¹, in the See. Artaldus was a good man and wise, but tainted by the miserable politics of his time; a political deserter also, who, having abandoned Herbert, had become the retainer of Hugh-le-Grand.

924-942

931-933

Raoul issued his precept to the clergy and citizens, commanding them to elect Artaldus, a command which they consistently refused to obey—Hugonet was their Archbishop—their election was made. Raoul, aided by Hugh-le-Grand, brought them to reason. After a siege of three weeks they opened their gates, and Artaldus was consecrated and enthroned: Raoul did not condescend to go through the form of an election. These hostilities between the King, the Duke, and the Count, intermixed with numerous incidental feuds,—of which I omit many and abridge all,—however petty they appear, are, in truth, of the highest importance. At this period, they constitute the history of France, and, in a set history of France, should be given with minuteness of detail: for they dispel the various brilliant theories which represent the contests between Charlemagne's descendants and the descendants of Robert-le-Fort as disclosing the deeply-rooted sentiments resulting from race or nationality. Except in the case of the Lotharingians, and amongst them, not purely, we discern no other motives save the private, mean, sordid, ambitious or angry passions of the contending parties.

Raoul
abandons
the party
of Herbert.
Artaldus
appointed
Arch-
bishop of
Rheims.

Henry the Fowler, a bystander, but not indifferent, was waiting to assail France. There was a lurking ambition in the German king, and in his son Otho after him, to acquire all Charlemagne's Empire westward of the Rhine. Was it not theirs—did not the German people retain the golden eagle, Charlemagne's Pfaltz and Charlemagne's tomb?—Reckless Herbert, reckoning upon this yearning, now abandoned Raoul wholly, and performed homage to King Henry, who crossed the great Rhine. Raoul, equally alert, and acting in conjunction with Hugh, invaded Herbert's territories, and cleverly overreached him for the nonce. If he

Henry the
Fowler
interferes.

927-942 could not separate Herbert from King Henry, he might separate
 King Henry from Herbert. Hugh-le-Grand negotiated, and King
 930-931 Henry was content to retreat beyond that great Rhine, leaving
 930-931 Herbert to settle his accounts with King Raoul.

The great
 revolt
 of the
 Bretons.

Perplexity
 of the po-
 litical state
 of Armo-
 rica.

§ 14. A heavy tide of troubles was rolling towards Normandy. Armorica wasted, harassed, and depopulated, was preparing for insurrection. The political state of that miserable country was extremely perplexed: an aggregate of Provinces, Territories, and Marchlands, diverse in their interests, divided by their rivalries, and only occasionally united by their enmity against the Normans and the Northmen. Juhel-Berenger, who seems to have been thoroughly a Frenchman, had, as we have seen, been the strenuous supporter of Guillaume Longue-épée. Alain had concurred with Berenger in acknowledging Rollo's authority, but they construed this acknowledgment simply as an honourable relation, in which temporary dependence and alliance were blended. The four Counts, of Nantes, of Goello, of Léon, and of Cornouaille, had never performed homage to the Patrician. Many parts of Brittany were occupied by bands or garrisons of Northmen, who, though not inimical to Rollo or to Guillaume, did not depend upon the Senior of Rouen. But, far more formidable to the Bretons than any direct hostility, was the Danish or Norman colonization, insulting the Celts, and rendering them aliens in their own native land. Many of the Northmen, both Romanized and Pagan, had settled themselves in Cornouaille and the Nantois, domineering amongst the Bretons—an occupation exceedingly annoying. The Norman Count or Chieftain who commanded in Cornouaille is called "Felican," a name evidently given incorrectly, but so unsusceptible of emendation, that we cannot attempt to rectify it.

Sept. 29.
 931.

The evil
 Michael-
 mas-day.

The law of nations, clear and consistent when expounded by grape-shot and shrapnel-shell, congreve-rocket or colt-revolver, furnishes irrefragable arguments in support of any right claimed by power and prosperity, and an irrefutable vindication of any wrong inflicted upon weakness or misfortune. This code, so comprehensively elastic, declares that resistance against usurped authority becomes justifiable, when there is a reasonable prospect of succeeding:—the correctness or the erroneousness of the calculations made by the oppressed, decides whether their attempt shall be honoured as patriotism, or punished as rebellion. The Bretons attempted to cast off the grievous yoke. On the Feast of Saint Michael, and during the very hour that the mass was sung, they rose simultaneously against the Northmen, inflicting a general slaughter.

The insurrection spread throughout Armorica: Rollo was dead; the battle of Limoges had given courage to the Bretons—a proof was afforded that the Northmen were not invincible. Felican's forces were numerous and sturdy, but the Bretons,—excellent archers,—shot them down. Armorican traditions extol Juhel-Berenger as the champion of national liberty, the first who had raised the war-cry; but the Normans bestowed that honour upon Alain Barbe-torte, whom they vituperated as the chief rebel. The accusation may be very true; for Alain emulated the glory of his namesake and grandsire.

927-942

931-932

The Bretons summoned by Guillaume Longue-épée to their allegiance.

Guillaume Longue-épée forthwith enjoined the Breton Counts to present themselves at Rouen, renew their allegiance, and submit themselves to their Senior's mercy.—They girt their loins for the battle and faced the danger—Their reply is imperfectly known from the report preserved by the Norman historians, yet the main purport of the Armorican protestation may be also collected from the reminiscences of history.—A King they had, the King who sat on the throne of Charlemagne: the King of the French sufficed for them: they needed no Norman Duke, no Patrician of Rouen. Cornouaille had long since been granted by Charles-le-Chauve to Pasquitain and Solomon. The Senior had no power to transfer the vassal's allegiance without the vassal's consent. Admit that portions of Armorica had been ceded to Rollo by the Crown of France, to be held by him during his life, for the better support of his newly-created dignity; yet, with Rollo's life, the bond expired. Friends the Breton chiefs would be to Guillaume, his peers and equals; but to no land except the land of France would service be rendered by Armorica. This declaration scarcely agreed with their own personal acts, if those acts have been fairly represented. Alain and Berenger had been foremost in acknowledging Guillaume as Rollo's successor while Rollo still lived; and they had repeated that voluntary acknowledgment, when, after his father's decease, Guillaume assumed his Ducal power.

They refuse, denying the validity of his claim.

Guillaume disclaimed the responsibility of pronouncing judgment in his own cause, and he therefore refrained from hostilities, until, as he professed, he could examine into the validity of the Breton pleadings. He convened his Court, his Counts and Counsellors, and claimed their opinion; but it does not appear that the defendants had any opportunity of reply.

Proceedings of Guillaume Longue-épée. He asks the opinion of his counts and counsellors.

Bernard the Dane, and Botho, Count of Bayeux, stood up equally as advisers and as witnesses. They had been present at the famous conferences on the island of the Epte, they rehearsed

927-942

931-932

Bernard
and Botho,
their "re-
cord" of
the Nor-
man right.

the discussions which had ensued, and the stipulations concluded between the parties :—in the terms of Anglo-Norman jurisprudence they "made record" of the compact. The undeniable successes obtained by the Northmen constituted the staple of their argument. Had not the Northmen oft and oft chastised the audacious disobedience of the mean Breton race? Had not Rollo subjugated the land the Bretons lived in? Had he not enforced the submission of the Bretons? Would not the Normans be disgraced, were they now to allow such insolence to prevail?—The statement thus made by Bernard and Botho was grateful to the hearers, and if, as may have been the case with old men, their recollection failed upon certain points which might have tended to support the Breton claims of exemption, there was no one present by whom the correction could be made.

Guillaume
invades
Armorica.
Subjuga-
tion of the
Bretons.

Anyhow, the argument was irresistible :—*mickle will aye have more*.—Guillaume unfurled his standard and summoned his lieges. The Northmen, notwithstanding their recent disasters, were still very powerful in Brittany. A commander, "Imicon," of whom we have only confused notices, wasted the country. Crossing the river Coesnon, Guillaume penetrated into the very centre of Armorica, burning and ravaging: the Bretons dispersed themselves before him, and Guillaume returned triumphantly to Rouen. But the Breyzad spirit was not yet broken. Relieved from the Duke's immediate presence, they rallied, repossessed themselves of Cornouaille, and insulted Danish Bayeux.—Another bloody foray.—Guillaume and the Normans again entered the Celtic territory, which they devastated ferociously. Famine and misery compelled the Bretons to implore the victor's mercy. Juhel-Berenger purchased his pardon by renewing his homage, and regained his Suzerain's favour. Well settled in his County of Rennes, Juhel-Berenger's lineage, subsisting during four generations, will become very noticeable in our Norman history. Alain Barbe-torte did not experience the like forbearance; the embittered Guillaume would not hear of pardon. Armorica could not protect Alain, France denied safety. As a child, Alain's father had found a home for him in Britain beyond the sea; and again he fled to that island of refuge, sheltering himself beneath the shield of friendly and glorious Athelstane.

Juhel-
Berenger
pardoned
on con-
dition of
performing
homage.
Alain
Barbe-
torte takes
refuge in
England.Counties
of the
Avranchin
and
Cotentin.

Guillaume Longue-épée's successes determined the Duchy's South-western frontier. All the territory North East of the Coesnon, henceforward the boundary separating Brittany from Normandy, became the "Avranchin" and the "Cotentin."

Riulph, sagacious, eloquent and bold, but who soon appears so rebelliously conspicuous, acquired a County, subsequently denominated the "Bocage Normand," nigh the Vire. 927-942
931-932

The Channel Islands, rich orchards of the sea, appendages of the Cotentin, shared the political destiny of their mainland. No portion of the Ducal dominions became more thoroughly Normanized; and here the antient Norman jurisprudence flourishes at the present day. The judgment of forfeiture pronounced against John Lackland did not disturb their allegiance. Faithfully have the people adhered to England—or, as they are reported to say, England appertains to them, it was their Duke who conquered England. They may adduce grave authority for the indulgence of their pretensions.—My Lord Coke lays down as law, that the possession of these islands is good seizin for the rest of the Duchy. During all vicissitudes, and notwithstanding all mutations of religion and policy, it is in the right of the Norman Coronal—and displaying the Leopards of Normandy¹ on her Ducal seal,—that this remnant of Rollo's dominion is ruled by the Sovereign of the British Empire.

The
Channel
Islands.

§ 15. Guillaume Longue-épée acquired great renown by these Armorican exploits, equally conducive to the interests of the Normans, and gratifying to their pride:—he flourished in glory and apparent prosperity. Nevertheless his chieftains began to be anxious concerning the future destiny of the State. How could Normandy exist as Normandy, should the race of Rollo fail? In the same manner as the French, even the most lawless, could not conceive a Commonwealth otherwise than under a King's supremacy, so did the Northmen connect the very existence of their Domination with the individuality of their Ruler. An opinion prevailed that the young Duke was inclining to adopt a life of celibacy, perhaps profess in some monastery. Should Guillaume Longue-épée die heirless, childless, would not the rising State be doomed to anarchy or extinction? His counsellors therefore urged him to marry—a hint is given that the pressure of solicitation may have proceeded from the French or Romanized party. Guillaume made his own choice,—perhaps had already made it—yet one satisfactory to his advisers—the fair Espriota, a gentle, wise, and affectionate damsel, distinguished by her amiability and beauty.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée and
Espriota.

The happy ambiguity of the term *nobilissima*, enables the family historian to avoid any confession that Espriota was destitute of that ancestry which would surely have been extolled,

927-942 had she possessed the honours of distinguished lineage. Dudon,
 931-932 who addresses her son's son, either assumed that any particulars concerning Espriota were needless, or felt that it was more prudent to avoid them. We know nothing whatever concerning Espriota's station or origin, save that an expression employed by those who despised her, gives us some reason to conjecture (though without much confidence) that she was born in the Breton Marchlands—possibly the daughter of some Romanized Frankish soldier, yet certainly altogether French in manners; inasmuch as the French was the language which alone came natural to her children.

They are married according to the Danish or Pagan usages.

Guillaume Longue-épée having pleased himself in the selection of his consort, became a husband, following his father's example, and his own wilful way. He would not bring the bride to Church—why should he disgrace his mother's memory? had *her* union with Rollo received the benediction of the priest before the altar? Therefore Guillaume took the maiden to be his "*Hustrue*," *more Danico*¹, pursuant to the antient Gentile usages of the North. Guided by a deliberate and carefully considered determination, Guillaume refused to wed his true-love otherwise than in conformity to the ethnic Danish custom:—exhorted to espouse her as be seemed a Christian, the advice was peremptorily refused.

Icele ama moult e tint chere;
 Mais à la Danesche manere
 La voutl aveir, non autrement;
 Ce dist l'estorie, qui ne ment².

Pagan and Christian marriages.

When the French vituperated Espriota's son, they called his parent a concubine—or even applied a more disgraceful appellation to her. This accusation belongs to the numerous class of judgments which are, in a measure, both true and untrue. The Teutonic nations in general, had been slack in comprehending the difference between the civil and the ecclesiastical marriage; and however strongly a marriage contracted according to the traditional secular or Gentile rites, might be reprobated by the Church, it was binding according to popular opinion. The English Church wisely incorporated the civil *sponsio*³ in her ordinal; and amidst prayer and benediction she yet preserves the substance of the original *wedding*, the alliterative verses echoed from primeval ages, softened and sanctified. In Normandy, both modes continued equally common, so that in the following century it was still needful, when speaking of a marriage, to state whether the matrimony had been concluded *more Danico*

or *more Christiano*¹,—the mere notice of the fact did not raise any presumption for or against the Danishry or the Christianity of the ceremony.

927-942

931-932

In the tenth century, France and Germany had begun to exhibit more decency of morals than during the earlier periods ; and such scandals as those occasioned by Charlemagne's licentious liberty were comparatively rare. Example therefore did not encourage Guillaume Longue-épée, and if he, well taught, well knowing his duty, adopted the before-mentioned course for the purpose of conciliating the Pagan or Danish party, the compliance was an unworthy concession.—If he acted with the intention that thereby he might reserve to himself the liberty of discarding his companion, when he might think fit to rid himself of her, he would deserve a far heavier censure. Anyhow, he could not conceal from himself, that, according to the principles he professed, he was doing wrong.

§ 16. Whilst Guillaume Longue-épée was consolidating his dominions by the reduction of Armorica, King Raoul was also gaining ground, strenuously supported by Hugh-le-Grand. They prosecuted the war against Herbert of Vermandois, pertinaciously and successfully : castle after castle, city after city, town after town, were wrested from their wily rival, though every position was obstinately disputed. After two months' siege, Saint Quentin surrendered. Saint Médard, the citadel of Soissons, though defended by a strong garrison, also surrendered ; Hamme and Arras capitulated ; Château Thierry was besieged by Raoul during six weeks : he was then called off, but Queen Emma beleaguered the fortress, until Gualo the commander came out and laid the keys at the feet of the valiant lady.

Raoul's
successes.Successes
gained by
Raoul and
Hugh in
the Ver-
mandois
territory.

Hildebranda fully vied with her royal sister in martial prowess. Count Herbert had erected additional fortifications at Laon, rendering the place very defensible. There, as his representative, he had left his Countess with her two daughters, Alicia or the Adela, and Liutgarda. Alicia had been betrothed to Arnoul of Flanders since she was a child ; and ere long we shall meet both damsels crowned with bridal garlands, but now they had to sustain the duress of a siege. Raoul assembled a large army, eight thousand men. Having with this overwhelming force captured the city, he blockaded the citadel. Hildebranda held out nearly a quarter of a year, when she was compelled to offer a surrender, and Raoul allowed his sister-in-law to depart with the honours of war. Almost all these places were taken and again

927-942 retaken. Each success or loss created further conflicts ; mischiefs bounding and rebounding.

931-932

Sub-
mission
of the A-
quitainian
Princes.

South of the Loire, Raoul's influence extended rapidly. The Princes of Aquitanian Gaul, hitherto shy or inimical, became friendly. The Count of Vermandois they detested : but though alienated from the King as an intruder, they did not entertain any personal antipathy against him. Vienne, which had resisted Raoul's authority, surrendered. Raymond Count of Toulouse, and Hermengaud of Rhodéz¹, the Counts of Septimania, who also ruled Albi and Cahors, came forward. With them appeared Lopé Aznar², a Gascon Duke, accompanied by his famous steed, a hundred years old, as men believed, and sound in wind and limb—the horse as celebrated throughout Gaul as his master. These very powerful chieftains, meeting King Raoul on the banks of the Loire, became his vassals or liegemen, placing their hands in his hands, heartily promising to aid him in carrying on his war : they honoured Raoul because he was vindicating the pretensions of his royal Crown.

Social and
political
situation of
Guillaume
Longue-
épée in the
period im-
mediately
succeeding
to the con-
quest of
Armorica.

§ 17. We have reached the happiest era of Guillaume's chequered reign.—Honours fresh—an easy conscience as a sovereign—his Court joyful and splendid, the loving husband of Espriota, in her own mind an honest woman, though a wife we can hardly dare to call her.—Guillaume Longue-épée, like his father, employed himself in improving the country ; but Rollo's palaces sufficed not for his son ; and seeking his own pleasure, Guillaume constructed a palace nigh the sea-shore, a situation which the mediæval princes of Gaul rather avoided. But Guillaume dreaded not his kindred Danes, and the Normans courted commerce with rich and amicable England.—Rollo had been aided and distinguished by Athelstane's friendship ; and the Anglo-Saxon Basileus extended the same countenance and courtesy to Rollo's son.

At this period Normandy's Northern coasts, her channel-shores, possessed but a small proportion of those towns by which the Province was subsequently protected or adorned. Havre-de-Grace did not exist :—the banks on which Havre stands were, in Guillaume Longue-épée's time, a fathom below the neap-tide level of the Seine. That magnificent commercial mart is, comparatively, a creation of yesterday, dating—saving the presence of learned Cellarius³, who identifies the locality with the *Corocotinum* of the *Itinerarium Antonini*—from the discovery of the New World.—In the chronological table of French trade and

commerce, the date of Havre's foundation ranges even with the planting of the *drapeau blanc* on the shores of the Saint Lawrence¹. 927-942

On the banks of the Dieppe,—the *deep*-water,—nought could be found except the germ of the flourishing sea-port and town to which the name of the river has been transferred, and that germ might have escaped the glance of the well-mounted knight, or even been passed unnoticed by the weary pilgrim—the hovels of a few fishermen, dependent upon the Castle of Hasdans², afterwards the lofty bulwarked Arques. 931-932

Comparatively modern origin of the principal towns on the channel-coast of Normandy.

Caen, as a city, had not been formed—Poetical imagination, or popular tradition, when Caen became the seat of the Ducal Court, ascribed *Cathom*, *Cadun*, *Chaem*, *Kame*, *Kane*, *Kan* (Caen bears a score of names in antient documents), to *Caius*³, King Arthur's seneschal; but we can scarcely affirm that there was such a bourgade, till we reach the time of Guillaume Longue-épée's grandson. And when Guillaume Longue-épée began his reign, the desolate ruins in the Campus Fiscanni,—the wide field watered by the river Fécan,—alone indicated the site where Duke Ansegisus⁴ had, in the Merovingian age, founded the monastery which had been utterly desolated by the Northmen's fury.

Vast surrounding woods extended southward and westward to the winding Seine; and it was probably whilst hunting in the country that the amenity of the vicinity, and the convenience of the haven, suggested to Guillaume the idea of providing himself with a Palace there. Huge, skilfully planned and lofty, a portion of the edifice existed about an hundred years ago. The precious fragment is now demolished, nor has any representation been preserved; but the name the structure bore, "the Tower of Babel," conveys some notion of its altitude and design. But, that a chapel should be included in the scheme of the splendid residence, was an idea which never entered Guillaume's thoughts. During the progress of the building, the workmen, exploring the neighbourhood, discovered certain ruins which offered hewn stone applicable to the new constructions—the remains of Saint Eulalia's dilapidated Basilica. Fécamp: a palace built there by Guillaume Longue-épée.

The dread of profanation restrained the labourers from such a use of the consecrated materials. When the circumstances became known to their noble employer, he lamented the abandonment of the antient fane: and, having expressed great contrition for the negligence which left his palace without an altar, Guillaume (casting all the blame upon the architect) directed that an oratory should be built on the hallowed ground. But the devotion which

927-942

931-932

Guillaume's
conduct with
respect to the
chapel he
promised
to build.

warmed him in the first instance, suddenly cooled: an endowment could not be spared; and the expenditure, lavished on his own house, was withheld from the House of God. "Let it be such as may remind me or my successors," quoth Guillaume, "to do something better." Guillaume kept his word—he made the memorandum according to his promise, but he had promised nothing save the memorandum, and he gave nothing more. The scattered fragments and worthless rubbish were employed in raising a small mean chapel, over which his Ducal palace frowned. From this settlement originated the town of Fécamp, where the Abbey, testifying the piety of Guillaume's son and grandson, who compensated for their ancestor's neglect, became afterwards so conspicuous in the civil and ecclesiastical annals of the Duchy.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée con-
nects him-
self more
closely
with the
French
party.

§ 18. Socially, morally and politically, Guillaume Longue-épée now connected himself more intimately with the Frenchmen and with France, adopting the terms "Frenchmen" and "France" according to their widest modern meaning. The difference of languages and the severance of the dynasties had estranged Germany:—Italy, always least congenial, despised the *Tramontanes*, herself despised by them:—the antient unity which once pervaded the *Carlovingian Empire* was feebly recognized:—yet all *Carlovingian France* was animated by a consentaneousness of feeling, of sentiment, and of nationality, in the aggregate, however chequered in the detail. Counties and Duchies and Populations, and Counts and Dukes and People, quarrelled amongst themselves. Gibes and taunts were exchanged: they waged mutual wars, and wars against the Sovereign; yet no one absolutely repudiated the other as an alien. Guillaume Longue-épée acknowledged this principle of comprehension to the fullest extent: he opened his dominions to all who sought him. Gracious to his inferiors and cultivating the acquaintance of his compeers—he was peculiarly proud of his alliance with *Hugh-le-Grand*, though he equally courted the friendship of Count *Herbert*, *Hugh-le-Grand's* formidable rival. Was not Count *Herbert* Guillaume's kinsman? Did not Guillaume also belong to *Herbert's* illustrious lineage, noble, royal, imperial *Vernandois*¹?

Favour
shewn by
Guillaume
to the
Romane
or French
party.

Guillaume's views, thus far, were prudent and sagacious: what statesman could have judged otherwise? That the Northmen should assimilate themselves to the French was essential for their prosperity. Moreover this mode of action was prompted by his taste; and here lurked the danger. Sorely are we seduced to imprudence, error, or iniquity, when any line of conduct, being

in itself justifiable—nay, meritorious—is also conformable to our natural inclinations, agreeable to our imagination, attractive to our fancy, and above all, conducive to our own worldly interests. We are mastered by the united impulses, and hurried on to danger or destruction.

927-942

932-933

Guillaume Longue-épée's policy was wise, but he overdid it. He seemed bewitched by the French, gave so much encouragement to those of the Romane tongue, was so profusely bountiful to his mother's kinsmen and connexions, that the Danish party were provoked to exceeding jealousy.—French ascendancy would surely engender Danish subjugation: their Duke, becoming more and more uncongenial and alienated, would oust them from power and deprive them of their lands.—These apprehensions spread widely amongst all who set themselves against the French, all who were Danish Northmen, or were allied to them, all who, though not of Danish blood, were attracted to the Danish party. Such was Count Riulph, who suddenly appears as the leader of the anti-Gallican insurrection. Some scanty scattered particulars may be recovered concerning this Count of the Cotentin border, just sufficient to enable us to guess his position in the Frankish community. His son, "Anquetil-le-Preux," accompanied him in the fatal war. Riulph's nephew, who afterwards obtained direful celebrity, is variously named or described as "Balzo," "Bauces," "Fauces," "Balduinus," or "Balduinus Curtus," and is said to have been the son of a Count of Cambrai. Therefore Riulph was either the brother-in-law, or the brother of that Count: but Balzo, as we ascertain from the most incontestable evidence, a royal charter, was related in blood equally to the family of Charles-le-Simple and to Arnoul, Count of Flanders, in whose household he held the office of Chamberlain, so that Riulph, Balzo's uncle, must have been connected with both of them. The consequences resulting from the insurrection are so deeply important, that even these imperfect notices are very valuable, as tending to elucidate future portions of Norman history, as obscure as they are momentous.

Discontent
of the Da-
nish party.
Riulph,
leader of
the insur-
rection.

Convening the discontented Captains and Nobles of the Danishry, Riulph expatiated upon their approaching peril.—What rescue could be found?—Unity of purpose and suddenness of action;—nothing else could save them from spoliation, nay, absolute servitude. Guillaume Longue-épée's maternal ancestry, his relationship with noble Vermandois, his intimacy with France, his Romane cultivation, manners and fluent speech, the results

Riulph's
insurrec-
tion.

927-942 of Rollo's care, the reasons which had operated so forcibly in his
 932-933 favour when he was called to the succession, now afforded the arguments for his rejection. All his advantages told against him. Guillaume ruled as a Frenchman : and therefore the insurgents declared that his authority must, in the first instance, be maimed by compelling him to cede the whole *Terra Normannorum* westward of the river Risle. If he agreed, military service would be rendered to him,—if he refused—war. This was the tenor of the threatening message conveyed to him. The conditions propounded would have created an independent Norman State, probably under Count Riulph. The territory required by the insurgents constituted two-thirds (or more) of Guillaume's dominions. Had the Confederates effected this dismemberment, they would soon have obtained the remainder : indeed, it was the expectation of attaining this result which prompted their demand.

Guillaume's
terror.

Guillaume Longue-épée was unable to meet this exigency. Like his bold father before the walls of Chartres, he was suddenly stricken by panic fear. Palsied by terror, his powers of judgment seemed wholly lost—his faculties sustained a thorough collapse ; he acted as if resistance were impossible. The Insurgents were yet distant, beyond the Seine. His capital was skilfully fortified, walls and towers tall and strong. His three most influential chieftains, Oslac, courteous Botho Count of Bayeux, and Bernard the grey-bearded Dane, continued faithful ; good men and true were they, trusty, affectionate and sage. Moreover, a chosen body of soldiery, three hundred of the élite, held to him loyally ; thus supported, he might surely have defied the enemy.—But he persisted in his bewilderment ; no precautions were adopted to obstruct or impede the advance of the Insurgents, no outposts stationed, no council held, no means of defence employed. Upon one object only could Guillaume collect his thoughts. Espriota great with child—Espriota's safety.—The burthened consort was sent by her anxious and affectionate husband to the newly-erected Palace of Fécamp, so that she might speedily cross over to England, and dwell there with the royal exiles, the young Louis and Ogiva, sheltered by magnanimous Athelstane's friendship and hospitality.—His own Norman sovereignty Guillaume deemed to be lost.

Offers
made by
Guillaume
to the in-
surgents.

§ 19. Guillaume Longue-épée retreated into Rouen with his adherents, and, offering terms, vainly attempted to effect a pacification.—Territory he could not consent to surrender ; but his treasure and stores, his armoury's contents, should all be theirs ;

baldricks and bracelets, helms and hauberks, battle-axes and swords, decked and adorned with gems and gold. His opponents should enjoy his highest confidence and exclusive favour. Whatever they, his perpetual Councillors, enjoined, he would obey: raise up or cast down according to their desire: their advice should govern the country; and his authority be in all respects subordinate to theirs—Normandy would become a Commonwealth, in which the Duke might enjoy an honorary precedence, but their power would be pre-excellent above his own.

927-942

932-933

Again, Guillaume Longue-épée, if sincere—and could he be sincere?—did overmuch. Instead of inspiring gratitude, the extravagant liberality of this constitutional charter excited vehement suspicion. The Insurgents could not believe him—a French device to cheat us, said they.—He wishes to gain time, and then he will come down upon us with all the power of his French friends and French allies.—No impediment was offered. Onwards the revolted marched, the people joining them. They crossed the broad and flowing Seine; and, directing their route along the Northern bank, stationed themselves opposite Rollo's castle, Guillaume's palace, the citadel of Rouen. The position they occupied was then an open mead, now covered with avenues, buildings and gardens.

His offers refused.

The insurgents march to Rouen, and station themselves before the City.

The actual presence of the Insurgents increased Guillaume's dismay. Another despairing attempt was made by the trembling Sovereign—they should have all they asked—all the country as far as the Risle, and more—all the territory between the Risle and the Seine to be theirs also. Nothing would remain to him except the remnant between Seine and Epte,—that is to say—the Pays de Caux, portions of the Vexin and the Rouennois, and his city of Rouen.—The suspicions, the distrust, and also the boldness of the Insurgents, increased in proportion to the widening extent of Guillaume's concessions. If not despised as an artifice, his proposition must be construed as amounting to a virtual abdication. The land he offers to give us, said they, is not his to give—we have got it,—he is a stranger to us, our natural enemy, he shall no longer rule over us in anywise,—let him, if he thinks fit, take refuge amongst his French kinsmen and French friends, the sooner the better: we will have none of him.—Guillaume Longue-épée might be permitted to evacuate the city. Thus far they would respect the son of Rollo. But if he rejected the offer, no further amnesty would be granted to him—the City stormed, and he and all his adherents put to the sword.

Further concessions proposed by Guillaume, which are also refused.

927-942

932-933

Guillaume
proposes to
abandon
Nor-
mandy.

Distracted Guillaume assembled his Chieftains and soldiery, and sallied forth from Rouen, marshalling his troops upon a rising ground, the *Mont Riboudet*, whence he could observe the enemy's forces. His sight confused by terror, the insurgent Host appeared to him overwhelming: he would make any sacrifice by which he might purchase a respite from the impending danger. Addressing Bernard the Dane, he declared his determination of abandoning Normandy, and taking refuge with his good uncle¹ Bernard de Senlis, now, thanks to Count Herbert, Lord of Couci—he would dwell under his uncle's protection until, through that powerful kinsman's help and advice, he could obtain the assistance of the French armies, and exterminate the rebels.

Bernard
the Dane's
indigna-
tion.

§ 20. To Bernard the Dane, though so faithful and affectionate, this craven cowardice was intolerable. The proud and antient warrior spurned the allegiance he had rendered to the degenerate son of Rollo: he bitterly upbraided Guillaume—his intention was equally disgraceful and perilous—if Guillaume the refugee, and any who adhered to him, entered France, they would assuredly be cut off by the inimical people, still smarting from the Danish ravages; mourning over the extorted Danegeld.

As far as the Epte, he, Bernard, and the soldiery would escort Guillaume, and then, destitute of Leader and Chieftain, embark in a body for Denmark their distant fatherland, and abandon Normandy for ever. These stinging reproaches aroused Guillaume Longue-épée as from a trance. His courage rose as suddenly as it had sunk—he himself would at once lead his forces on to battle,—literally lead them, foremost in the charge, the bearer of the Standard. His three hundred good men, trusty and true, came forward, swore they would live or die with their Duke, and, according to the most antient Teutonic usage, the concurrent clashes of battle-axes and swords, the *barditus*², the *wappentak*³, testified their solemn determination.

Defeat of
the insur-
gents. The
"Pré de la
bataille."

The insurgents were completely routed. We lose sight of Riulph in the woods, whither he fled, and, in the first instance, escaped the pursuit of the infuriated soldiery; but he afterwards fell into Guillaume's hands, and perished miserably. It is most probable that Riulph, blinded by Guillaume's orders, died under the horrible operation; for his death excited among his kinsmen an implacable hatred of the instigator of the deed.—One, at least, never rested till Riulph's blood was avenged. His son Anquetil the brave was reported to have been slain, not fairly, but by device or fraud? Brave Guillaume had been unmanned by fear,—fear

instigated the gracious-mannered Guillaume to cruelty: and Dudo, the family eulogist, rejoices in recording the punishment and destruction of the enemy.

927-942

932-933

Long afterwards was the triumph celebrated by Norman minstrelsy.

Li pré de la bataille, fu li lieux apelé,
Encor dure li nom, ne fu puiz remuez¹.

The Poet of the Plantagenets lays much emphasis upon the continuance of the traditional name until his own time, but he did not anticipate the long endurance which would be possessed by the appellation commemorating a conflict, a memorial equally of Guillaume Longue-épée's faint-heartedness and valour. The *Pré de la Bataille* existed as a green field within recollection. The natural features of the site have been partially obliterated by the structures which encircle the antient Norman capital. Yet the locality, though more than nine centuries have elapsed, is still recognizable, and the antient designation well-known; and this is one of the examples of an unbroken tradition confirming an almost legendary event in history.

Joy upon joy: very shortly afterwards, a knight galloping through the Porte Cauchoise rode into the Castle of Rouen,—Fulcard, the jolly messenger from Fécamp. On the very day when the battle was fought and won, Espriota had been safely delivered of a male child, a noble babe, an heir and successor. Guillaume Longue-épée was filled with delight, and he immediately despatched the faithful Botho to take charge of the Ducal household at Fécamp. Henry, Bishop of Bayeux, accompanied the Count of Bayeux; and the child, Botho being sponsor, was baptized "Richard"; a name unsuggested by any known family or social connexion, and to which tradition afterwards added the epithet, "*Sans-Peur*."

933
Birth of
Richard
"Sans-
Peur."

§ 21. The suppression of this desperate rebellion decided—for the present—the great question whether Normandy should exist as Normandy, or become extinct as a State. No Danish conquest in the Gauls had acquired stability so long as the Northmen preserved their national identity; and the *terra Normannorum*, its occupants being unable to maintain their ground, as a people, would have merged in Hugh-le-Grand's Duchy. The son of Duke Robert maintained a dormant, but unrenounced claim, to the territory usurped by Rollo-Robert; and, that the Norman State should be organized as a member of Carlovingian France, was the

Consequences
resulting
from the
suppression
of the
rebellion.

927-942

932-933

condition of her vitality—the Normans must live as Frenchmen or disappear. Guillaume, fully feeling this necessity, now determined to remove, as far as was practicable, the ambiguity of his political position. Do all he would, the French had not really acknowledged him as a Frenchman. In their hearts, they did not own him, however fluently he spake the language of France, however gay his garb, however splendid his array, or whatever may have been the civility he displayed. They grudged at the son of Rollo, they were accustomed to call him the *Dux piratarum*¹—an expression much more than contemptuous, inasmuch as the idea which the denomination conveyed, absolutely excluded the marked man from the social community. Every Christian was entitled to retaliate upon the cut-throat Pirate.

Guillaume Longue-épée had, however, become the homager of King Charles, the dethroned King, the deceased King. Death had dissolved the bond; and Guillaume holding himself free, had stood aloof from any further recognition of the French Crown; but Raoul would be glad enough to have him. He therefore spontaneously imitated the example then so recently afforded by the Princes of Aquitaine, thus again connecting his dominion with the venerated monarchy. Uncoerced, unsolicited, unassailed, Guillaume repaired to King Raoul, placed his hands between the King's hands, and became his liegeman.

Guillaume Longue-épée becomes the Liegeman of Raoul, and receives investiture.

Raoul not merely accepted the homage, but extended the advantages resulting from the compact. Guillaume had subdued the Armoricans, yet it might be doubted whether his dominion was legalized until the acquisition was confirmed by the successor of Charlemagne, the protection of whose name had been so confidently invoked by the vanquished? The question was now set at rest. Raoul granted to the Duke of Normandy those provinces of "Maritime Brittany" which his prowess had conquered,—provinces never afterwards severed from the Duchy, or entitled to deny that the Duke of Normandy was their immediate Suzerain. This transaction was very advantageous to both parties. Raoul, acknowledged as Seigneur by the "Patrician of Rouen," was more truly King of France than he had been during any antecedent period of his reign; and, although Guillaume Longue-épée cannot in strictness be styled the premier Peer of France, yet he possessed an equivalent rank in station, honour, and power.

The Danish party being apparently broken up, the affection entertained by Guillaume Longue-épée to the French glowed even more ardently than before. He encouraged the French in

every way, cultivating every opportunity of drawing closer to the French princes and nobles, identifying himself with their interests and feelings. They equally courted his advances, anxious to avert his enmity and profit by his munificence.

§ 22. Thick woods and forests surrounded Rouen. When the Giant Rothomagus and his companions,—or who ever may have been the archaic founders of Rouen,—selected their site, they were unquestionably mindful of the protection these ambushments afforded. To Rollo and his descendants they became constant scenes of recreation, habitual hunting-grounds.—The fabled Roumare Forest extended almost to the City-walls.—Beyond the Seine, yet so near as to be reckoned the palace-park, was shady Quevilly, where the Conqueror received intelligence of his cousin's demise, and heard how perjured Harold had occupied the English throne.

Most memorable, however, amongst these wilds was the awe-inspiring *Foresta de Leonibus*, the *Nemus de Leonibus*¹, the *Sylva Leonum*. The Roumois and the Vexin were overspread by this forest, expanding from Rouen's vicinity to the Epte, the furthest border of the Norman territory.

The "Foresta de Leonibus." Character of the locality.

As a natural fortification, the importance belonging to the *Foresta de Leonibus* became very apparent after the establishment of the Duchy. Rollo's descendants speedily learned to appreciate the keen foresight of the municipal patriarchs. If hostilities were threatened from France or Flanders, the dense forest curving around the Capital, and traversable only by a narrow road, greatly aided the Normans in resisting the advance of an invading enemy.

The European forests, during this period, still retained many primæval features. The last individuals of various animal species, which have since become extinct in our geographical climates, lingered in their original haunts. The bear, for example, was not uncommon in Normandy. Even in the tenth century, the "*Foresta de Leonibus*" was considered unusually formidable. It was not doubted but that strange and monstrous creatures, whose ferocity might be dreaded even by the armed warrior, lurked in the umbrageous coverts: whilst innumerable beasts of chase, the deer and the boar, constituted the huntsman's marvel and delight.

A small and tranquil marshy-margined lake, darkly gleaming at the bottom of a solitary valley, marked the natural centre of the forest; and, about a mile's distance from that melancholy, silent lake,—the *Morte-mer* as it was called,—the Romans had whilome founded an important station. Truncated shafts and

The Roman station in the Forest.

927-942 mutilated capitals, basso-relievos, tessellated pavements, and
 933-934 sculptured walls, the testimonies of departed splendour, have been
 abundantly disclosed through modern excavations. Medals exhibiting the impress of Nerva¹ and of Trajan² indicate, in some measure, the period when temples and villas, baths and hypocausts, were cheered by a flourishing inhabitancy. But none of the antient itineraries or geographers make mention of this Castrum or Municipium,—no inscription bears record of the name. This settlement seems to have been abandoned under the later Cæsars, though some French antiquaries suppose that the complete subversion did not ensue until the Barbarian invasions,—anyhow the whole locality had relapsed into desolate solitude.

Origin of
the bour-
gade of
"Lions-la-
Forêt."

The further history of the *Foresta Leonum*, were the theme diligently and intelligently elaborated, would furnish a monograph equally interesting and important, by exemplifying the agencies and proceedings which reclaimed the Norman wastes, and conducted the Province to its present state of agricultural prosperity. The aptness of the site, judiciously selected by the Romans, perhaps some remarkable ruins, may have attracted the notice of Rollo when he ran the deer. His son, so ardent in the chase, certainly affected the locality. Here had Guillaume timbered and thatched a rustic habitation; a forest-lodge where the Hunt might merrily assemble. At a later period, and by degrees, foresters and their families settled round the seat of Ducal disport, and a small bourgade was founded, which, adopting the old English phrase, may be designated as the "forest-chamber," where the forest-courts were held.

The monks of Saint-Denis, who had obtained some grants of land in the vicinity, then provided a Church, which they dedicated to their patron Saint.—Subsequently, the Ducal lodge was replaced by a very stately castle: each of the four gates entrusted to a baronial Warder. Versailles arose nearly in the same manner. All the Norman dukes were fond of this pleasant residence, emphatically called Lions-la-forêt; and here Henry Beauclerc died.

Origin of
the Abbey
of Morte-
mer.
(1130.)

Further utilizations ensued. Within the forest circuit and purlieus were many rough but fertile glades and heathlands, fringed with bush and straggling trees. These were depastured by the cattle of the terre-tenants, or mown for hay: and the exploitations continued. Three hermits seeking hardship, toil and seclusion, Tascio, Guiard, and the noble Guillaume de Fresquiennes, built their huts near the Morte-mer, and tilled and cropped the ground. Through this colonization originated the

famous monastery of Morte-mer. Strenuously did the diligent monks of the new establishment apply themselves to the reclamation of the desert. Woods were essarted¹, granges built, and a fresh impulse given to the clearances, which have proceeded so steadily during seven centuries, that, although the "forest of Lions" still exists, the character of the antient sylvan region is quite obliterated, and the continuity of the forest destroyed. Portions have acquired distinct and individual names—the forests of Brai, Andelys, Gournay, Vernon, Longbœl, and others, are all dismemberments of the Forest of Lions: and near or far in the variegated landscape the traveller now only observes woods and copses, interspersed amongst the flourishing farms.

927-942

933-934

But we must now return to Guillaume's leafy lodge, as we shall find it decked for a noble gathering,—the hard-stamped earth strewn with the sweet-smelling rush,—silken tapestries dependant from the roof-beams and living flowers adorning the embowered recesses, the long-bladed iris, the yellow glayeu² from the marshy lake, contending with the flora of the loom.—Congenial was this gallant theme to the fathers of Norman minstrelsy: many a floating tradition, melodious ballad, and family story, was embodied in their verse, elucidating the text of the solemn historian:

The Meet
in the
forest-
lodge.

En la grande forest de Lions
Od ses Princes, od ses Barons,
Voult aller chacer au ruit.

* * * *

Hommes sous ciel, ne rien qui vive,
Ne vit forest plus plaintive,
Qu'ele est de cerfs et de senglers³.

Besides his own Chieftains and Lieges, three were the Princes of France specially invited to the Meet by Guillaume Longue-épée, and welcomed in the Forest-chamber.—Hugh-le-Grand, whom the Northmen honoured as Duke and Prince of France, asserted an unchallenged precedence. Many reasons had the Normans to yield Hugh great respect, and some to fear him.—Hugh was accompanied by Herbert of Vermandois, so cordially claimed by Guillaume as his kinsman. Hugh and Herbert burnt with inward rivalry, but the competitors were now transiently inclined to mutual forbearance,—a pause for plans and schemes whereby each might contrive to further his own power.

Herbert was joyous. Hildebranda, resting from martial exploits, had returned with her daughters, Alicia and Liutgarda, to Rheims, and the lingering engagement between the eldest and

927-942

933-934

Marriage
of Arnoul
Count of
Flanders
and Alicia
of Vermandois.

the Flemish Arnoul was concluded by their marriage. Alicia had been betrothed when she was but a little child : during the protracted wooing she had grown up to blooming girlhood, whilst the astute Arnoul had attained a full sober age, nearer sixty than fifty. Moreover, Count Arnoul was gouty, but in other respects he was sound and vigorous. His life and reign received such unusual prolongation, that he is specially distinguished in the Flemish fasti as *Arnoul-le-vieux*—and, to the end of his days, old Arnoul exhibited and retained remarkable clearness of judgment, cleverness, and talent.

§ 23. State policy had unquestionably dictated and perfected the incongruous, though not unhappy, union between Arnoul and the Vermandois Atheliza. Such political alliances are of no great practical use in securing concord, but they gave and give plausible reasons for co-operation or interference : territorial accessions were also occasionally gained by them. Moreover, amongst the “ great Feudatories ” a feeling, analogous to that which now subsists amongst royal families, was receiving a marked development. A match implies equality. The Counts and Dukes and Nobles of the Gauls would acknowledge no equals except among themselves : nobility began to be more sensitive to mesalliance : and the acquisition of a distinguished bride, was the object sought by the third of this noble party.

Guillaume
Tête-
d'étoupe,
Count of
Poitiers
and Duke
of Aquitaine.

This aspirant was the young Count Palatine, son of Ebles the Mamzer, and the English Atheliza, Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe¹, who, upon his father's decease, had recently succeeded to Poitou. His profusion of flaxen locks suggested the homely epithet which has become his dynastic appellation. These queer and quaint designations were, in a manner, the result of necessity : the prevailing practice of distinguishing homonymous sovereigns by ordinal numbers, is of comparatively late introduction ; first employed with respect to the Roman Pontiffs by those who wrote or spoke of them, but never, even at the present day, by the Popes themselves. The odd old usage recommends itself as a help to the imagination : cyphers are unsuggestive ; few numerals have had the good fortune to be amalgamated with individuality, as in the examples of Charles-Quint and Louis-Quatorze.

The Count
of Poitiers
solicits the
hand of
Gerloc,
Rollo's
daughter.

Merrily the Meisnée enjoyed the Chase ; and each day, after their pleasurable fatigue, did our Duke Guillaume entertain his guests with royal splendour.—A fitting opportunity was soon found by the Count of Poitou to open his mind.—Loth to entrust any messenger with such a secret, Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe had,

as he declared, visited Duke Guillaume with a humble hope of obtaining the hand of Guillaume's sister,—discreet and pious Gerloc,—Rollo's daughter. But, indeed, could he do otherwise than proffer his request in person to so great a Prince as Guillaume, exalted above all the sovereigns in the world ?

The cap-in-hand lowliness of the lover may have provoked Duke Guillaume's humour ; but pride had nestled in Guillaume's heart. Courteous Longue-épée was thrown off his guard by the delirium of prosperity, and he answered in words breathing insolence and scorn. The flight of the skulker Ebles before the Northmen had become a popular jest. Guillaume mocked the Poitevins—cowards and faint-hearted even from father to son, fickle and untrue : upon none such could his noble sister be bestowed. Tête-d'étoupe would take no offence. Perhaps the lover's anxiety restrained the indignation of the young warrior. His countenance reddened (as the Romaunt tells us) ; but he said nothing. His tranquillity subdued the scoffing Norman : Longue-épée sobered into his usual decency of manners, and soliciting a brief and decorous delay until the morrow, for consultation with his lieges,—he then explained his conduct, and solicited pardon.—It was a silly joke, he said, yet such as might be excused amongst good friends, and nothing more.

If there was much levity in Guillaume's reply, there was far more arrogance, and above all, a great deficiency in common sense. Was not his own father liable to the imputation cast upon the Poitevin ? Ought not any allusion to the name of Chartres have made him blush also ? Had not the panic which turned back Rollo and the Northmen from the *Pré des Reculés*¹ disgraced the Jarl's memory, as much as the Count's concealment in the workshop of the fuller ? And when had young Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe exhibited such a collapse of courage as Guillaume Longue-épée himself, on the yesterday (so to speak), quailing before Riulph and the insurgent bands ?—Tête-d'étoupe's gentle discretion, however, led all parties right. After a consultation with Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois, the assent was granted. Gerloc, well worth the pains of seeking, was espoused to Guillaume the son of Ebles. Splendid were the nuptial gifts bestowed upon her,—the release of the Danegeld imposed upon Poitou was an additional and more grateful guerdon.

The bride was escorted with great pomp to Poitiers ; and as she pursued her lengthened journey, the accompanying trains of sumpter-horses laden with bales of silken stuffs and wardrobe

The Count of Poitou married to Gerloc, who takes the name of Adela.

927-942 gear, announced the Norman Duke's munificence to all beholders.
 Gerloc proved a worthy and good woman, pious and beneficent,
 933-934 leading a life so tranquil, that very few things are recollected concerning her except the best, her works and her piety. Gerloc, after her marriage, received the appellation of Adela, vaguely employed as an epithet or a title, and which still designated the dignity of a royal Princess, though passing into a proper name. Adela is the name by which, to the exclusion of her original barbaric name, Gerloc is styled in all her husband's charters. Tête-d'étaupe probably wished to extinguish the recollection of her heathen ancestry. Thus originated the first connexion between the illustrious houses of Normandy and of Poitou. Tête-d'étaupe's son by Adela was Guillaume Fier-à-bras¹, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, in whose direct male lineage the Duchy continued, till it fell to the spindle-side, when his remote descendant, the wanton Eleanor², brought the great inheritance to Henry Plantagenet.

Eleanor of Poitou, a descendant of this marriage.

Guillaume Longue-épée's popularity.

§ 24. "So long as thou doest good unto thyself, men will speak well of thee." How ample might be the exposition of this text,—the World's invitation to go and do likewise,—*tenthly*,—could not exhaust it. We would fain pelt the Preacher whose hollow cheeks and thready voice testify his practice of the Lenten self-denial he inculcates : whilst we parade with humble thanksgiving the smallest crumbings of edification dispensed by the sleek Divine whose dignified table displays three courses and champagne.

Guillaume Longue-épée fully reaped the benefit inseparable from such conformity. With a smack of devotion, he threw himself thoroughly into all the enjoyments of life, pomp and magnificence, luxury and splendour ; and therefore the good people of his time descanted the more earnestly upon his piety.

Guillaume, always considering himself first, and postponing the rights and feelings of everybody else to his own, has been lauded to the skies for his chivalrous magnanimity. Without the least suspicion of his own motives he was essentially selfish. In all doubtful circumstances, his choice was decided by the attractions of self-interest or the impulses of self-gratification ; yet his renown never failed during his life-time : his defects were excused by his prosperity, and his reputation was sustained with increased affection after his death. He was very bright ; and there is perhaps no quality which more generally ensures a pleasant remembrance beyond the grave. Certainly he possessed some

excellent qualities; yet many more than he possessed were ascribed to him. Powerful and rich, people gratified themselves by magnifying his riches and power. 927-942

933-934

But amidst his popularity Guillaume had a secret grief. He was Rollo's son. Guillaume could not fail to suspect the thoughts nourished by the Frankish nobles in the depths of their hearts. He was not entirely one with them, nor one amongst them. The Normans were not yet adopted by the national family into which they had forced themselves. Cordial as the French appeared, Guillaume might guess, from some unfortunate slip of the Frenchman's tongue, that, though invested with the Patrician robe, he was still reckoned as a Buccaneer, by those who prudently made the best of a bad bargain. Guillaume doated on Espriota, yet his love could not blind him to the fact that his home was not honourable, whether morally or politically. The humble damsel, the Christian woman, married to Guillaume, (if married she were), according to the Heathen fashion, could not be considered a help-mate meet for the Seigneur of Rouen, an equal by his side beneath the Ducal canopy.

Of a surety, such sentiments had been discerned, perhaps encouraged, by his kinsman of Vermandois—Could Herbert otherwise have possibly formed any expectation, that Guillaume might be induced to cast off his ardently loved consort for the purpose of espousing Liutgarda¹? Guillaume had always prided himself in claiming consanguinity with this house². Had the noble science of blazonry then existed, Guillaume Longue-épée's coat of arms, as it hung over his mail, would have displayed the golden Leopards of Normandy quartering Vermandois—"checkée or and azure, a chief of the *second*, three fleurs-de-lys of the *first*,"—and no Pursuivant, who valued his ears, would have dared add the defacement of a brisure, or to challenge the bearing. Without any delay, or misgiving, did Guillaume Longue-épée either make or accept the flattering offer. He had an encouraging, and home example. As Guillaume's own mother had been dealt with by his own father Rollo, so did Guillaume deal with the mother of his own child. Not a thought was given by any one to Espriota, the damsel of low degree, the mean *hustrue*, who pretended to be wedded by a Danish marriage; no divorce was sought; no difficulties honoured by discussions; no conscientious scruple raised, needing the decency of a ghostly adviser to remove it: none of the parties, principals or accessories, concerned in negotiating or completing the forthcoming grand espousals, considered

Guillaume Longue-épée—his repudiation of Espriota, and marriage with Liutgarda

927-942

933-935

it worth while to take notice of Espriota's existence. Liutgarda was conducted to the Palace of Rouen, and the marriage between Guillaume Longue-épée and his noble bride, the true daughter of Vermandois, was celebrated with marvellous magnificence.

Liut-
garda's
hatred of
Richard-
sans-Peur.

Never is Espriota named again during the remainder,—brief in time, yet lengthened by the abundantly succeeding incidents,—of Guillaume's life and reign. Yet equally are we destitute of any information concerning that brilliant Liutgarda, of whom nothing further is known until after Guillaume's death, when she reappears as the hardened widow, rushing into the embraces of a graceless lover—the childless stepmother, pursuing the son of her deceased husband with direful hatred; and yet without being able to offer the wretched excuse which might be furnished by jealousy for the promotion of her own offspring.

In the hope that an heir would be granted to him, had Guillaume taken Espriota. The hope was fulfilled; but the concubine's child could not be endured in the Palace when the stepmother passed under the Portal. That once-welcomed babe was now removed far away. Nor did the noble boy ever again gaze on the father's face until the shadow of death was spreading over him.—Nevertheless, the silent march of history affords cogent reasons for an humiliating surmise.—Combining positive and negative evidence; filling up the blanks evidently occasioned by the suppression of facts, with the collateral circumstances, which, though retained, are only imperfectly explained or left without explanation, it is scarcely possible to doubt but that Guillaume, seduced away from Espriota by the pride of the Prince or the policy of the Statesman, continued nevertheless secretly to cohabit with her whom he had put to shame before the world.—We cannot repel the conjecture that Guillaume's heartlessness thus involved him in complicated culpability:—faithful in heart to the true-love whom he deserted, faithless in conduct to the princess whom he had taken in her stead.

Inten-
tional
obscurity
of Dudo
de Saint
Quentin
upon the
subjects
connected
with Es-
priota and
Liutgarda.

The history of Guillaume Longue-épée, as it has been transmitted to us, was mainly founded on the information given to Dudo de Saint Quentin by that child Richard when he grew up to man's estate, and by Richard's brother, another son of Espriota, not proclaiming Guillaume Longue-épée as his father, but who nevertheless acquired high importance and dignity, the famous Raoul Count of Ivry¹. Dudo, composing under such dictation, enjoyed great advantages. The primary sources of information concerning the events were open to him, no one could

bear record more fully or truly if he chose. But the very patronage which encouraged or rather urged him to the task, would inspire discreet reserve. In all those portions of the narrative whether relating to Espriota or to Liutgarda, the writer appears to amplify for the purpose of concealment. If, after expatiating upon the splendour of Liutgarda's nuptials, the Dean of Saint Quentin felt inclined to speak more clearly about her or the deserted one,—*Hush!*—was whispered in his ear.

927-942

933-935

§ 25. During these Norman transactions and adventures, the aspect of French affairs became increasingly perplexed and dreary. A swarm of untowardnesses, distresses and misfortunes;—portents, and visitations, serpent-like streams of fire darting across the welkin;—and, concurrently with these tokens, a devouring pestilence—the symptoms described, being similar to those which accompany the Plague. Queen Emma, Hugh-le-Grand's sister, Raoul's faithful and energetic consort, died; and the widowed king, his health declining, was wearing himself out. Aquitaine required Raoul's presence: an inconsiderable Burgundian Castellan rebelled. Raoul was compelled to hasten thither: he no longer had his Emma to help him. The furious Magyars spread all over Burgundy, tormenting the country with fire and sword. Raoul marched against the Tartars. They evaded the collision—retreating rapidly before him as he advanced, and the fugitives, repeating their mischiefs elsewhere, compensated themselves beyond the Alps by the plunder of the Lombard plains.

934-935
French
affairs.934
Death of
Queen
Emma.

Raoul's own brother Boso took advantage of his distresses, and seized Dijon; but Raoul marched against him and recovered the city. Other vexations ensued: most doleful was the Paschal tide at Laon; a riot broke out in the King's very presence,—a scuffle between his soldiers and the cathedral clergy,—an affront to the royal dignity as well as a scandal. The clerks may have been indiscreet, but the soldiers were savage, and their blades cleft many a shaven crown. Though stricken by a sore disease which rendered locomotion very irksome, Raoul could not obtain any respite: the urgencies of the State compelled him to convene a council at Soissons. Apprehensions of trouble forced Raoul to perform a painful journey for the purpose of obtaining an interview with King Henry the Fowler, he also dying. Pagan Northmen ravaged Bourges. The quarter from whence they came is not exactly ascertained. A learned Dane conjectures that they started from Armorica; Harold Blaatand¹ was cruising,

935
Raoul's
troubles
and ex-
ertions.

927-942 and they may have disembarked from his ships in the Loire.
 Raoul could give no aid, and the citizens had to help themselves,
 935-936 which they did bravely.

Sept. Oct.
 Raoul's
 malady
 encreases.

During the autumn Raoul's malady encreased : his body was covered with loathsome sores and ulcers, swarming with vermin. He attempted to journey towards Sens. In the outskirts of that city stood the celebrated Abbey of Saint Columba—that noble Gaulish Virgin who, as legends tell, suffered martyrdom by Aurelian's¹ special command—" *Sainte Colombe-lez-Sens*,"² founded by King Dagobert, a monastery, a palace and a castle. Richard-le-Justicier had caused the consecrated precinct to be surrounded by walls and towers, for the purpose of protection against the Danes. The Sanctuary was much venerated by the family ; and Richard-le-Justicier was buried there, in the chapel of Saint Simphorien. When Raoul had been borne as far as Auxerre, he could not be conveyed further. The childless King had no commands to give respecting the succession, no bequests to make of crown or sceptre, or royal robe, designating by the delivery of these symbols the future Sovereign.—The regalia are left untouched in the tall Tower of Laon—there let them remain until an occupant is found for the Throne, dying Raoul has no care about them.—As to this world's concerns, Raoul thought only of his grave, and he directed that his bones should rest nigh his father's.—Evil-doers were encouraged by the abeyance of the Sovereign authority: a great riot, accompanied by incendiarism, ensued at Sens, the city was partly burnt ; nor did the fortifications of Saint Columba protect the monastery from the revolvers ; and on the morrow of Saint Hilary, King Raoul died.

Jan. 15,
 936.
 Death of
 King
 Raoul.

During Raoul's illness the nobles had been gathering in the vicinity, and they immediately came together for his funeral. Within eight and forty hours after King Raoul's death the corpse was conveyed from Auxerre to Sens, probably floated down the placid Yonne, and deposited, according to his wishes, by his father's side, in the fire-scathed sanctuary. A plain stone table, inscribed *Rodolphus Rex*, marked his place of sepulture.

State of
 public feel-
 ing at the
 era of
 Raoul's
 death.

§ 26. During the latter years of Raoul's life, when there was no longer any probability of his leaving a lineal heir, all parties prepared themselves for action, as soon as the throne should become vacant by his demise. Raoul's lingering malady afforded full opportunity for machination or deliberation : his death brought on the crisis ; but not before opinions had been deliberately matured.

About the form of government there was no doubt or question : the Gauls must be ruled by one Sovereign, invested with imperial rights, a crowned and anointed Sovereign. All were immutably convinced that they were bound to maintain the unity of the State—an imperial federation, if you choose—yet one body politic. The fury for division, which raged during the revolutions of the *Eight hundred eighty and eight*, had subsided—no more repartitions of the Gauls. This was their unshaken resolution—they prostrated themselves before the principle of Monarchy.

They withstood all the temptations of opportunity. Who could have gainsayed the Patrician of Rouen, a monarch in his people's estimation, had he demanded his autocracy ?—Until Raymond¹ thought fit to become Raoul's liegeman, he reigned in the Capitol of Toulouse, without bowing before any superior : Raymond might altogether have refused rendering that acknowledgment.—Hermengaud at Rhodéz was beyond the longest stretch of Raoul's sceptre ; it was his own choice, if he came within that sceptre's reach.—The Vascons would have answered with enthusiasm to Lopé Aznar's summons, had he required their aid for the vindication of their nationality.—Thirty or more "Grand Feudatories," as they were afterwards called, are reckoned at this era, who, whether the throne was deserted, or whether the throne was filled, might, had they chosen, have decreed the suppression of Royalty in the Carlovingian Commonwealth. But no one could move in that direction—no one had the will. Each acted as though a yoke had been placed upon his shoulders by an invisible hand, a yoke which he would not have shaken off even if he had the power. Surrounding perils and impending dangers may in a certain degree have assisted in supporting these feelings.—The Saracens were on the confines : *Deen !² Deen ! Deen !* the invocation shouted by faithful Islam which animates the charge beneath the British banner in Hindostan, might resound amidst the vineyards of Burgundy : the soil was yet reeking with the blood, shed by the Mogors :—hosts of Northmen were crossing the seas.

927-942

935-936

Steady adherence to the monarchical principle.

Adherence of the Franks to the monarchical principle.

Nevertheless the thrice-repeated *Eight*, the great events which marked the "*Eight hundred and eighty-eight*," had effected a radical revolution in the dynastic sentiment of all the States composing the recently-dissolved Carlovingian Empire. The peculiar ascription of royalty to the Carlovingian race was rejected ; and the nations throughout that Empire, each and every of them, asserted in act and deed, their liberty and prerogative

927-942

of appointing their King, if they thought fit, without any reference to ancestry.

936

§ 27. The magnificent Realm which at this period was encircled by the Channel, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, and the Rhone, had not, hitherto, obtained any appropriate or collective constitutional or national name. Each Population or Province was called by a territorial or ethnic denomination. "*France*," was thus a designation vaguely applied in the reign of Charles-le-Simple to a territory, for which, except where the Seine or the Loire formed the boundary, we cannot find any precise geographical demarcation,—"*La France!*" —"*La Belle France!*"—French historians, so accurate, so diligent, so expert in other points of enquiry, have not afforded us much assistance in tracing the gradual extension of that word—the inspiration of their genius, their patriotism, and their power—to the whole of their present fatherland. Certainly it was not thus employed under the Merovingian, Carlovingian, or early Capetian Sovereigns, though the terms "*France*," "*French*," or "*Frenchman*," may be occasionally permitted to the Historian in cases, when the adoption of an anachronism, conveying an idea correct in the main, is preferable to circumlocution or ambiguity. The title of *Rex Franciæ*—*Roi de France*—appears in the Royal style from the reign of Philippe Auguste—earlier examples are exceptional;—nevertheless, until after the Lions of England were chased away, it is questionable whether, in the popular mind, the idea of *France* distinctly included the Languedoc, and the proper Aquitanian Provinces. It was the victory gained over the victors of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, which perfected the homogeneous nationality of the Kingdom¹.

Indeed, as long as the usages of the remoter periods prevailed, there was absolutely no opportunity for the employment of a general chorographic name in any matters of state or temporal government. The King only designated himself as the ruler of his people, or rather of the predominant race: and the chroniclers localize their interests and their feelings. But the secular, as well as the spiritual, Catholicity of the Realm was preserved by the Church, and the Church continued to speak in the language of the Empire. The Archiepiscopal Provinces were precisely coterminous with the civil provinces as they existed in the age of Honorius; and if the Clerk had been asked to describe the Realm whose destinies were now in suspense, he would have repeated the words of Cæsar,—"*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*,

Late appearance of the name of "*France*," as applied to the kingdom at large.

quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur."¹

927-942

936

The tripartite division of the Gauls. Its constitutional application.

This Tripartite division, archaic but not obsolete, was practically accepted as the basis of the Constitution. The great privilege now claimed—that the populations of Gaul were free to elect their King—was exercised through the suffrages assigned to the three territories, designated according to the three principal nations who presented themselves to the Romans, when the Eagle was planted on the Gaulish soil.

Founded, however, upon antient reminiscences, combined with the actual circumstances of the country, now overspread by other races, the antient ethnographical boundaries were not strictly retained.

*Gallia Belgica*², according to the mediæval notions, which we shall express however by borrowing more recent names, as the clearer exponents of localities, comprehended Champagne and Vermandois, Picardy and the Artois, Haynault and Flanders and their appurtenances, most of Romane Lorraine, Alsace also, together with some dismemberments and districts of Celtic Gaul.

"Belgic Gaul," according to the mediæval idea.

With respect to *Aquitanian Gaul*, the designation is rather ambiguously employed, sometimes restricted to the native seat of the antient people between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, but more generally extended, according to the decree of Augustus, so as to include the modern Touraine as far as the Loire.

"Aquitanian Gaul."

Celtic Gaul had lost the Transjuran regions which constituted the independent *Kingdom* of Burgundy, whilst the Burgundian *Duchy*, which remained to Gaul, had been erected upon the states of the noble Ædui, the Lingones, and the Sequani, forming a transit-region, connecting the Belgic Gauls, through Alps and Rhone, with Septimania and Italy. "*Gallia Celtica*," as above mentioned, no longer included the portions between Aquitania proper and the Loire; and the north-western boundaries are blurred and confused. Yet we may define this Electorate with tolerable accuracy as containing all the Carlovingian portions of Burgundy, the Pays Chartrain, the Brie Champenoise, the Nivernois, the Senonais, the Orléanois, the Isle de France, and possibly the Terra Normannorum also.

"Celtic Gaul."

§ 28. The electoral theory was only roughly draughted. Had the scheme been perfected by the successive touches of the jurist's pen—sharpened, when needed, by the soldier's sword—France might have attained a constitution, elaborate and defective as that of the German Empire. The principle however deduced

927-942

936

1484
Natural
organiza-
tion of the
États Gé-
néraux of
Tours.

from the Tripartite division continued deeply impressed upon the national mind. After the accession of the Capets, the right of appointing the Sovereign was still assumed to be vested in the concurrent Electorates of the Belgic, Celtic, and Aquitanian Gauls. And when the doctrine of Elective Right was abandoned, the theory that the voice of the kingdom was to be expressed by the Provinces, classed as *nations*, was still steadily retained. In the most memorable Convention of the States General¹ at Tours, when the Sovereignty of the People was asserted with equal temperance and boldness, the members, instead of voting by Orders, marshalled themselves, not into the *Three*, but as the *Six Nations* of the Realm, namely, *France, Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, the Languedoc, and the Langue d'oïl*—a reasonable adaptation of the antient principle to the altered state of the Realm.

This repartition was evidently suggested by the wish of neutralizing the numerical preponderance of any particular party or faction, and, if made honestly, not ill calculated for the protection of the minor masses, and the frustration of cabal or intrigue.

Nor must it be omitted that the scheme of grouping the individual electors, or others having the rights of suffrage into "Nations," acquired no inconsiderable degree of approbation during the mediæval era. Although unwarranted by the traditions of the Church, this national organization was boldly sanctioned by the innovating Council of Constance². It obtained in the Military Orders, the Knights Hospitallers³ affording an illustrious example—" *Language* " being synonymous with "*Nation*."—From the same model arose the *Quatre nations*⁴ of Paris University: and, inherited from that venerable and departed mother, the organization subsists in full vigour beyond the Tweed. When, in the City of Saint Mungo⁵, the Four Nations of the Academic Commonwealth,—*Glottiana, Transforthiana, Loudonia, and Rothseiana*,—assemble for the choice of their Lord Rector, the Red gowns may find the suggestions for their *Comitia*⁶ in the opening sentence of the Commentaries.

§ 29. Amongst the Three nations, the third and last according to the enumeration of Cæsar, took the lead. Celtic Gaul pronounced immediately for him whose dominions were spread so wide, and his fame still wider—Hugh-le-Grand, "*Hugo Dux Francorum Gratia Omnipotentis Dei*," in his own country—" *Rex Francorum* " beyond the seas. The crown had been already offered to him; birth, reputation, and power, again

Celtic
Gaul sup-
ports
Hugh-le-
Grand.

designated Hugh-le-Grand for the throne, the son of a King, the brother of a king, the nephew of a king, who could be more fitted to reign ?

927-942

936

The predilection shewn to Hugh-le-Grand by the Electorate, of which Burgundy and the Duchy of France constituted the largest portions, is intelligible and explicable : but that Aquitaine should also join in the postulation, may almost appear as an unexpected phenomenon. We have seen how solemnly the Aquitanians had repudiated Raoul, when the Celtic and Belgic Gauls bestowed the Crown upon him. They would not acknowledge his political existence ; nevertheless, if we consider the circumstances of the country, their present adhesion to Hugh-le-Grand will not only receive a sufficient elucidation, but be found fairly consistent with their former conduct. The Aquitanians had never been thoroughly cordial towards the Carolingian interest. By the indulgence which Charlemagne extended to their nationality, when he dealt with Aquitania as a separate kingdom, he conciliated them for a while, yet this policy engendered a tendency towards estrangement. The great Emperor's management had only partially answered the purpose his wisdom sought. Long ago, the installation of Louis-le-Débonnaire at Toulouse, his adoption of the Aquitanian garb, and the devices whereby he sought to identify himself with the Vascon race, had operated unfavourably against the Frankish crown.

The Aquitanians take the same side.

Explanation of the conduct of the Aquitanians.

But no severance of Aquitaine could now be thought of : the Gaulish Realm was not to be maimed. The indignation of the Aquitanians against the "unfaithful Franks" who had "disgraced" their king, was not accompanied by any ardent sympathy for the banished lineage. Possibly, the Aquitanians considered, that they ought to have been consulted in an act which concerned them all ; and their stern reprobation of Charles-le-Simple's dethronement may be construed, rather as the manifestation of anger at the national affront, than as a demonstration of loyalty. When Raoul had justified his pretensions to the throne by the victory of Limoges, they found the King for whom they had been tarrying, and accepted him, not because he had been crowned by the Belgic Gauls at Soissons, but as the king of their choice. Therefore it was quite in conformity with their previous line of action that their postulation should now be given in favour of Hugh-le-Grand,—Hugh, Abbot of St. Martin, a great nobleman on the southern bank of the Loire,—Hugh, Duke of France, the greatest Prince on the North.

927-942

936

Louis supported by the Belgic Gauls.

But throughout the Belgic Gauls, where the Carlovingian monarchs had been most seen and known, studded with the cities, the palaces, and the castles, where whilome they held their courts, displayed their valour, and succumbed under their misfortunes, the nobles and the people were most anxious to recall the orphan son of Charles, the martyred king. The Prelates generally advocated his cause ; yet the most loyal dared not maintain that the Crown belonged to the son of Charles by undoubted hereditary right. The affection still commanded by the antient lineage of Charlemagne, the benefits to be anticipated from the restoration of Louis, might guide the discretion of the Electorates ; but their liberty was not to be seduced or coerced into the admission of an indefeasible claim.

The Vermandois party opposed to the restoration of Louis.

Celtic Gaul and Aquitaine supported Hugh-le-Grand upon his own merits,—antagonists of Louis, without entertaining personal enmity ; but there was a third party, a non-national party, very powerful in Belgic Gaul, strongly opposed to his restoration, actuated by a sharper incentive than political principle or patriotism—fear. Those who had concurred so actively in the persecution and dethronement of the wretched Charles, those who had brought him to his miserable death, dreaded lest the son should become his father's avenger. No one could have more cause for apprehension, should young Louis obtain the sovereign power, than Herbert of Vermandois,—the halter might be tightened round his neck should Louis ascend the throne.

Elfiva or Ogiva, and the young Louis, under Athelstane's protection at York.

§ 30. The Queen-mother—whom, to avoid confusion we must still denominate Ogiva, though it would be more agreeable to recognize her by her right old English name, since we now rejoin her in old England her native home—was at this juncture residing with her brother Athelstane and her son, in the Royal palace of York. If Charles had laboured in his happiest moments or most anxious years to devise a plan by which his only child could be best schooled for the duties of sovereignty, he could not have contrived any course of discipline or instruction so well calculated to invigorate and enlighten the young Louis in body and in mind, as that course provided for Louis by his calamities. His education, unschemed by parental forethought, was far better cared for than any care could have dictated, combining the advantages of adversity and prosperity.

Advantages enjoyed by Louis under the protection of Athelstane.

Hardships are apt to harden ; the young Louis was exempted from this deterioration ; he suffered the chastisement of misfortune without its bitterness. An exile, a dependent, maintained by

charity, he dwelt beneath the oppressive shelter of another's roof, and ate the acrid gift-bread bestowed by another's hand; yet his life was rendered cheerful, and his moral and intellectual feelings kindly cherished and cultivated. Athelstane was the very mirror of civility. His magnanimity took out the sting from the dependence to which he had reduced the Celtic princes. Fierce King Harold Harfager¹, the King of Norway, sought, as the greatest favour, that his son Haco should be trained under the guidance of the English King: and when that Haco attained the sovereignty, he conjoined the name of his benefactor to his own.—“Haco, Athelstane's foster-son,”²—is the title by which he stands enrolled in the chronicle of Norwegian kings.

927-942

936

A banished Court is usually the weary harbour of hope deferred: the exiles breathe an enfeebling atmosphere,—sad reminiscences of the past, sickly anticipations of the future,—expectations raised by a whisper, or destroyed by a word. The young Louis, however, was not exposed to these debilitating influences. Though always brought to the most lively sense of his calamities by the presence of that mother whom he loved and honoured, he was, nevertheless, placed in a station which guarded him against the meannesses and manœuvres, intrigues and untruths engendered by the carking cares of expatriated royalty.

His dignity was respected, and he received the instruction best calculated to render him competent for the exercise of that dignity. Athelstane wisely and considerately trained his nephew to the arts of government, conferring with him as a councillor and adviser. The Scottish Reguli had failed in their revolt against the supremacy of the British Basileus: but Athelstane well knew that further hostilities were impending. He was now preparing for the campaign which was terminated by the great victory of Brunanburgh³, and hints are given that the young Louis, a representative, through his mother, of Cerdic's line, might receive as an appanage some Danish, Celtic, or Cymric Earldom or Kingdom. Yet better would it be that Louis should regain the noble Realm which he inherited from his forefathers; and, during the malady of Raoul, Athelstane had been opening negotiations for effecting the restoration of Louis to the throne.

Athel-
stane's ne-
gotiations
for the
restoration
of Louis—
the three
Princes
from
whom
he might
expect
support.

§ 31. There were three amongst the French Princes from whom Athelstane might expect useful aid on behalf of Louis: three in particular, who might recal him from beyond the sea. Adolph, the brother of Arnoul, and Count of Boulogne, was familiar with the Anglo-Saxon Court and with England. The shores of

927-942

936

Boulogne,
the point of
transit, its
importance.

Albion were constantly in his sight. Caligula's imperial tower, the *Turris Ardens*¹, the twelve-storied pyramid, rising in massy stateliness from the edge of the commanding but treacherous cliff, still corresponded with the Dover Pharos; and the ancient "Gessoriacum," not yet supplanted by Witsand, continued, as in the Roman age, to be the accustomed point of transit between the Gauls and England.—Adolph held the key of France on that side. Were he hostile to young Louis, he might in great measure frustrate the chances of restoration: if friendly, he might afford the most important facilities.

The active concurrence of Hugh-le-Grand was indispensable. Two-thirds of the realm had invited him to ascend the throne: it was take, and have. Yet Athelstane was inclined to rely upon the moderation which Hugh-le-Grand had already evinced, and the sentiments which appeared to dictate that moderation. Solicited to assume the crown, and without any doubt of success, had he accepted the repeated offer, he never had shewn any wavering, any tendency to depart from the strict letter of his self-denying vow. Moreover, the personal friendship subsisting between Hugh and Athelstane had been confirmed by the much-celebrated intermarriage. Hugh had sought the hand of Ead-hilda, the sister of Athelstane, the sister of Ogiva—the onyx vase, the precious gems, the sword of Constantine, and the lance of Charlemagne, now the pride of Athelstane's treasury, were pledges of Hugh-le-Grand's amity. The *Rex Francorum* called himself Ogiva's brother, uncle of the young Louis, his natural protector; and though Eadhilda had died prematurely and childless, the connection had survived, uncanceled by her death. In the very cause of grief there was this consolation, that no cousin to the young Louis had been born to Hugh, on whose behalf his father might have been tempted to desire an hereditary monarchy.

If any secret misgiving might be felt lest Hugh, seduced by the noble prize, should desert his principles, and seek to thwart the desired accession, there was a third friend, upon whom Athelstane could rely—as he had full reason to believe—without any misgiving or hesitation. The flourishing and prosperous Duchy of Normandy had become very important in the balance of power. A Peer of France, a member of the French Monarchy, and yet more free in action than any other amongst the French Potentates, Guillaume Longue-épée, the noble son of a magnanimous father, was assuredly most dependable. In the hour of anguish and distress had not the Duke prepared to place her whom he then

most dearly loved under the English Monarch's protection ? 927-942
 Athelstane doubting not but that the Norman Duke would
 cordially reciprocate, urged him to work in the cause of the
 Carolingian heir, which he did, and as the Norman historians
 inform us, efficaciously, and successfully, when the time arrived
 for settling the succession to the throne. 936

§ 32. The nobles who, with that high intent, were convened 936
 at Sens, reverently followed King Raoul's body to the grave. Con-
 No further delay ensued, nor was the interregnum factiously vention of the
 prolonged. All parties concerned acted discreetly and decorously ; nobles at
 and, on the morrow of the funeral, the Nations of the Gauls met Sens—
 in solemn assembly. Their first proceeding was to elect Hugh- Hugh-le-
 le-Grand as their President, either sensible that they could not Grand
 resist his authority, had he chosen to demand that station, or elected
 confiding in his honour and impartiality. His determination President.
 continued steady : never could Hugh-le-Grand dismiss from his
 mind the terror inspired by the avenging fate which had fallen
 on his father Robert ; nor is it improbable but, that in the horrible
 malady which had afflicted Raoul and brought him to his most
 painful death, Hugh equally beheld a token of wrath. It was a
 current belief that the German Arnolph's¹ breach of the solemn
 oath he had sworn to Charles-le-Gras had thus been punished ;
 for there always has been a prevalent popular opinion that such
 an hideous disease is to be viewed as the peculiar chastisement
 of some grievous sin.

Hugh-le-Grand rose, and opened the discussions by his speech
 from the Chair ; managing his argument ably. He expressed
 the strongest opinion in favour of the Carolingian Prince, but
 he evaded pronouncing any severe condemnation upon the re-
 bellious transactions which had driven that young Prince and his
 Mother into exile. Unhesitatingly advocating the restoration of
 Louis the son, he nevertheless delicately insinuated that the
 deposition of Charles the parent had been justly earned by his
 misgovernment. Yet the abstract justice of the sentence did not
 justify the agent by whom the sentence was executed. Robert,
 his own father, had done evil that good might come : nor could
 the suffrages which elevated King Robert to the throne absolve
 him from culpability.

Hugh-le-Grand counselled them to abstain from calling in any
 strange race, any race not previously honoured by royalty. Raoul's
 example might be a sufficient warning against such an error. How

927-942

936

Hugh-le-Grand advocates the restoration of Louis.

had France fallen in honour during his reign ! Therefore Hugh earnestly exhorted them to remember the antient royal family, and invite the young Louis from beyond the sea. Thus presented, the acceptance of Charlemagne's descendant did not directly impugn the prerogative liberty of choice appertaining to the nobles of the Gauls.

The antient lineage afforded, according to Hugh-le-Grand's opinion, a powerful recommendation, yet without conveying an indefeasible right : if the recommendation was judged insufficient, the naked right was not to prevail. Neither was there any dogmatic renunciation of the principles or motives actuating the parties implicated in the preceding revolutions : the admission that a moral liability was incurred by rising against the royal authority, did not contravene the constitutional right of giving the rough admonition, should circumstances vindicate the deed.

The proposition for the acknowledgment of Louis alarmed the powerful partisans who had been directly and actually concerned in procuring the deposition and death of Charles. They dreaded the advent of the young king. Charles had been betrayed, mocked, murdered : would his son be truly his son, unless he wreaked a condign vengeance ? Yet this third party, however active, had a difficulty in organizing an effective opposition. The extreme unpopularity of Herbert of Vermandois counteracted his power. We see no reason to doubt the statement made by the Norman historians, that Guillaume Longue-épée co-operated in supporting Louis, but the victory gained in the Convention was due to Hugh-le-Grand's tact, talent, and steady determination. The question was carried, Nobles and Chieftains joyfully proclaimed their concurrence ; and Hugh-le-Grand, the temporary Stadt-holder, took the needful measures for completing the restoration.

Embassy sent to England inviting Louis to the Gauls.

§ 33. Imperial Eboracum¹, the birth-place of Constantine, though celebrated throughout Western Christendom, was separated from the well-frequented and familiar southern regions of our Island, by tracts so uncouth and savage in the opinion of the Frenchman, that clerks compared the awful vastness of the intervening country to the dreary spread of the Riphæan range². Hugh-le-Grand therefore, in the execution of the trust imposed upon him, appointed a solemn embassy which might convey the offers to the young Louis on behalf of the assembled nations : and the Primate, William, Archbishop of Sens, was the chief of the Legation. At Boulogne the ambassadors embarked. Count

Adolph readily befriended them : they found the trim vessel fitted out for their voyage, and, making the passage safely, their long journey terminated by their reception in the palace of Athelstane. 927-942
936

The Anglo-Saxon Basileus demeaned himself gravely. If he inwardly rejoiced at the success of his exertions, all outward tokens of exultation were suppressed ; he demurred without refusing. Athelstane intimated that it was a concession on his part, if he sanctioned the acceptance by Louis of the perilous Sovereignty. The Archbishop of Sens expatiated on the loyalty of the French : —fears might have been felt, doubts entertained ; but Hugh-le-Grand had tranquillized the fears, and removed all incertitudes. —They therefore prayed the appointment of the time and the place where the Nobles might attend to receive their Sovereign. Athelstane and the ambassadors.

Athelstane, acting with cautious dignity, now declined the further prosecution of the treaty until the Archbishop and his colleagues should, by solemn oath, pledge their fidelity to him, the protector of Louis, and also to Ogiva. They complied, and moreover, in addition to this compliance, certain members of the legation consented to remain behind as hostages ; but in return they only obtained a qualified promise from the Anglo-Saxon King.—Louis would hold himself in readiness to assume the Sovereignty, if the treaty of restoration should receive a satisfactory settlement. Wary Athelstane might well require convincing evidence, that the proffer of the Crown was made in sincerity and good faith, not a device concealing some traitorous design, whereby it was sought to gain possession of the young King's person, deluding him, like his unhappy father, into a prison, the porch of the sepulchre. Athelstane's cautious conduct during the negotiations.

§ 34. Between England and France, severed by the Channel, no closer trysting-places could be indicated than Dover and Boulogne ; and it was agreed that, during the negotiations required to satisfy the careful guardian's anxiety, the Heir of France and the Nobles representing the States of France should respectively tarry at these ports, on the mutually confronting shores. Athelstane and Louis "keep tryst" at Dover.

Amplly escorted by Prelates, Earls, Thanes and cavalry, Athelstane, with the young Louis, journeyed to the Kentish coast : stern and awful Odo, Bishop of Sherborne¹, afterwards so conspicuous as Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the royal train. French and English punctually kept their day. On the morn when the Anglo-Saxon Basileus arrived at Dover, a column of smoke ascending from the white cliffs of Boulogne announced

927-942

936

Bishop
Odo des-
patched to
Boulogne
for the
purpose of
obtaining
informa-
tion.

to Athelstane that the Frankish nobles awaited their king. The column of smoke from England's white cliffs reciprocated the signal. Yet Athelstane paused, his vigilance encreasing in proportion as he approximated to the ratification of the pending treaty. Not yet would he surrender the Heir of Charlemagne. The young and ardent prince was still restrained by his uncle's prudence, nor yet permitted to cross the sea. For the guidance of his judgment, Athelstane required further information; Bishop Odo therefore was sent over to acquire full conviction that Louis commanded the fealty of the lieges. The Bishop must treat with the Frankish nobles face to face, search out the truth, and make out the truth,—(if any truth could ever be made out in that Luegenfeld)—whether the Franks really sought the young Louis faithfully and loyally: otherwise Athelstane would provide for his nephew in Albion, and not let him encounter trouble in another country.

Hugh-le-
Grand
requires
that Louis
shall agree
to obey his
counsel.

Charged with this enquiry, Bishop Odo met the Frankish nobles, and ample declarations were made of the prevailing desire for the young Prince's recall: but an important condition was, for the first time, disclosed. Hugh-le-Grand, speaking for himself, and on behalf of the rest, promised allegiance:—they would be all true men to Louis, provided Louis covenanted never to depart from the counsels of Hugh-le-Grand. A strangely pregnant proposition was this, leaving the widest field open to Hugh-le-Grand's discretion—no suggestion as to apportionment of power, no restriction as to extent, no term prescribed for the duration of an indefinite tutelage, no boundary assigned for the guardian's authority. During the anterior course of the transaction, Athelstane had proceeded with austere reserve, even so as to imply continued distrust, objections arising at every stage: but, to this vast demand, he, on behalf of Louis and Ogiva, immediately assented; not a moment's demur, and Louis embarked for Boulogne as one who fully trusted to the influence of his star.

Louis
lands at
Boulogne.

§ 35. The weather favoured the joyful navigation: the gilded galley gliding over the crisp rippling sea. As Louis drew on towards the shore, he beheld the sands crowded with Frankish Chieftains, ready to greet their Monarch. Four are foremost amidst the throng: Adolph, Count of Boulogne, is there, welcoming the Sovereign's first footstep on his land:—Herbert of Vermandois obediently testifies his deference:—bright-haired, bright-hued, tall, manly Guillaume Longue-épée, hails Athelstane's nephew, the son of his father's liege lord:—but pre-eminently

remarkable is Hugh-le-Grand; the mightiest of the assembly, in the humblest attitude, holding by the bridle the right regally caparisoned steed. The spirited animal was unruly; but his master was come. Into the saddle the young Louis bounded without touching the stirrup, or help from groom:—that bound was worth a kingdom! The avenging sentence impending upon the race of Charlemagne appeared to be reversed: loud shouts testified the admiration of the multitude, who sought to accept the omen; and Hugh-le-Grand, accompanying the King to his hostel, walked humbly by his side, his serving Squire.

From Boulogne Louis progressed to Laon, there to be solemnly consecrated as Sovereign.—Previously to the age of Honorius¹, the Primacy of Celtic Gaul certainly appertained to the Chair of Sens². Lyons claimed the Primacy of *all* the Gauls; but the See of Pothinus³ and Irenæus⁴ had, subsequently, by the authority of Pope and Emperor, been deprived of that pre-eminence in favour of the Burgundian Archbishop. Therefore, whether as Primate of Celtic Gaul, or Primate of all the Gauls, William the Archbishop of Sens, who had so recently served on the embassy, accompanied Louis to his capital, placed the crown on the young King's head, and anointed him with the holy oil; whilst Artaldus, the Archbishop of Rheims, enrobed him. Certain authorities also state, that Artaldus, as Primate of Belgic Gaul, demanded and exercised the privilege of repeating the unction and coronation, in his own Basilica of Saint Remi; though the accounts are more conflicting than might be anticipated with respect to an act so public and patent.

June 19,
936.
Louis
crowned
at Laon.

§ 36. The claims and counter-claims of prelates upon these occasions are not to be slighted as ecclesiastical squabbles or petty rivalries; for they involved very important constitutional principles. The Bishop represented his Church, the Archbishop all Churches within his Province, the Primate all within his Primacy, and the Primacy the Church and kingdom. Like the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, or the Archbishop of Gnesen in Poland, there was usually some one Prelate, peculiarly designated as the high functionary empowered to admit the King, according to the antient usages of the Commonwealth. Royal authority was not perfected until the benediction had been bestowed: the imposition of the crown was required to ratify the inchoate right; and the act of investiture, performed by the constitutional prelate, or usurped by an unconstitutional rival, might give colour to a dubious title, or weaken the influence of legitimacy.

927-942

936

Theory of
the rights
of the
Gaulish
electorates
according
to Ivo
Carno-
tensis.

When Louis-le-Gros⁽⁴⁾ was struggling for that throne which he ascended, despite of adulterous Bertrada's¹ enmity, he was much perplexed by the obstacles opposed to his obtaining the *Sacre*. In this difficulty Louis-le-Gros consulted the famous Ivo Carnotensis². Rheims now insisted strenuously upon the prerogative privilege, to the exclusion of all the other Gaulish Prelates; and an application to Rheims at that juncture, might have retarded, perhaps defeated, his inauguration.—Ivo pointed out the course which he deemed to be safe and constitutional; and we may read the very opinion given by the father of the Canon Law. According to the theory propounded by Ivo, the three nations of the Gauls, the Celtic, the Belgic, and the Aquitanian, were, in the election of the King independent of each other; no one binding the other by her choice; no one having a superior right. Yet, as the unity of the kingdom was the fundamental principle, we arrive at the conclusion, that, according to Ivo's views, when the monarch had been crowned by one Electorate, the throne continued vacant, until the other two Electorates concurred, either explicitly or tacitly, in accepting him.

Aug. 3,
1108.

Corona-
tion of
Louis-le-
Gros by
the Abp. of
Sens, ac-
cording to
the prece-
dent of
Louis d'-
Outremer.

Ivo searched out and considered the several analogous historical examples, tracing them from the Merovingian æra; but the instance on which he laid most stress was this very coronation of Louis d'Outremer, by the Archbishop of Sens. Following such an apt precedent, the son of Philip the First was accordingly crowned at Orleans by Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, in the presence of his suffragans, Walo, Bishop of Paris, Manasses, Bishop of Meaux, John, Bishop of Orleans, Hugh, Bishop of Nevers, Humbert, Bishop of Auxerre, and Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, who had counselled the ceremony.

CHAPTER III.

936—942

LOUIS D'OUTREMER—GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE, AND
RICHARD-SANS-PEUR HIS SON.

936—942.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS D'OUTREMER TO THE DEATH OF GUILLAUME LONGUE-ÉPÉE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF HIS SON RICHARD-SANS-PEUR.

§ 1. NOSCE TE IPSUM¹,—excellent advice, whether due to the Delphic Oracle², or proceeding from the mother-wit of sage Pythagoras³ or Thales⁴.—No objection can be made, save that a better wisdom than Thales or Pythagoras could attain to, or Delphic Oracle impart, would have taught them that the solemn precept enjoins a duty which, in any strict sense, is impossible. How can the Heart, which is deceitful above all things, ever truly comprehend the depth of its own wickedness? No Cimmerian⁵ fog raised by self-delusion is more impenetrable to the light of conscience than the obscurity occasioned by the sophistry of the synecdoche—a *part taken for the whole*,—and reasonings grounded thereon accordingly.—Such, for example, are the compendious concentrations of popular theology—one verse taken for a chapter, one chapter for an Epistle, one Epistle for the entire canon of Holy Scripture.—Nor is the teaching of minor morals less tricky; a duty, or supposed duty, presented as representing all duties. A decency, adopted as the indispensable complement of all virtues.—Many a good man,—a very good man upon 'change—worthy and punctual to the minute, accepts punctuality as something nigh upon a satisfactory compromise for the Decalogue.—The staid Matron, spotless as her own ermine, stainless as her own starched cambric, and bright as her own peach-blossom sarsnet, conjoins “cleanliness” to “godliness” in her creed, by so short a hyphen, that she more than doubts whether the begrimed beggar could *now* be lifted up from the dunghill, and allowed to inherit the throne of glory.

936-942

Political
Character
of Hugh-
le-Grand.

The outward history of Hugh-le-Grand has been transmitted to us, on the whole, with considerable amplitude and accuracy : rarely amidst the troubles of the tenth century can we avail ourselves of such trustworthy memorials. With respect to the substance of the speech delivered by the Duke of France in the Convention of Sens, we have sufficient grounds,—considering the channel through which the report has reached us,—to admit its substantial correctness, our informant being the son of an Officer who held a high station in Louis d'Outremer's court. Hugh-le-Grand's moral character can be readily appreciated :—his unshaken refusal of the Crown was perfectly compatible with the most grasping ambition.—We all strain at our own gnat, and swallow our own camel ;—The conscientious scruples of Hugh-le-Grand were all accumulated upon one article of his political creed.—Never would he wear the royal Crown, or assume the title of King : but, Crown and title forborne, there was no species of opposition, contradiction or violence against the Sovereign, in which Hugh-le-Grand had not indulged, or was not ready to perpetrate. Bating the acceptance of the regal authority, *eo nomine*, he never felt that there had been the slightest restraint imposed upon him in his relations towards King Charles or King Raoul. He plundered the King, he fought the King, he betrayed the King, he let the King rot to death in the jail : but never would he be so presumptuously bold as to lay his hand upon the Crown.

Hugh-le-
Grand's
Protecto-
rate.

The condition inserted in the restoration treaty gave Hugh-le-Grand far more authority, a much tighter grip upon the young King, than any Mayor of the Palace possessed in the old time. For the Mayors of the Palace stole by degrees into their supremacy ; so that their ascendancy was always somewhat odious, and therefore, in a measure, infirm—a Steward defrauding his Master. But, according to the present arrangement, the Master formally gave up the keys to the Steward. Hugh-le-Grand enjoyed his overwhelming prerogative by deliberate compact ; by the King's voluntary grant, he became potentially viceroy over the King, the King's *alter Ego*, without any power of revocation reserved to the grantor, and store of good reasons always to be given for the continuance of the salutary restraint, so long as the reign should last.—During his minority the young Louis must necessarily follow his Adviser :—when declared an adult, how needful would it be that Louis should retain a wise counsellor whose voice the King could not silence, and whose station must be honoured by all. Had Hagano been such a counsellor, how

much misery would have been spared to unhappy Charles ! And when Louis should grow old, the like support would be still more urgently required.—That period Hugh-le-Grand could not expect to see ; but should Hugh ever happen to have a young, talented, and sagacious son, might not he take his father's place ? Hugh had, as yet, no heir. Rothaida, his first wife, died childless ; Eadhilda, his second wife, died childless ; therefore Hugh was determined to try again a third time : and ere long we shall behold him espoused to a damsel who ranked amongst the noblest princesses of Christendom, one, to whom it should seem, that none but a monarch could aspire.

No portion of Hugh-le-Grand's character was concealed, or could be concealed, from any one amongst the three parties who concurred in the covenant whereby they rendered him the perpetual Tutor of the restored monarch—nominally second in rank to the King, but really the immovable Protector of the monarchy.—There was no chaffering on the subject, the offer of conditional allegiance was accepted without a moment's further consideration—Athelstane, the British Basileus, Ogiva, the Queen-mother, and Louis the young King, nothing staggered by the amplitude of the concession, all instantly struck the bargain. All three respectively knew full well whom they dealt with : all three knew full well what they dealt for. Athelstane, hitherto so punctilious, and reticent, at the close of the protracted negotiations, which he had managed with exquisite diplomatic caution, had now unhesitatingly allowed the son of King Robert to be clothed with a prerogative, virtually rendering him more than equal to the crowned and anointed sovereign. How great was Hugh-le-Grand ! All the country between Seine and Loire, much of the country between Seine and Meuse, constituted the dominion of the most prosperous Duke of France, the Abbot of St. Denis, the Abbot of St. Germain, the Abbot of St. Martin, or was subjected to his supremacy.—What fence against such an uncle could be found by that youthful king who had not a city, fortress, or stronghold he could call his own, except the rock of Laon ?

Conjectures as to the causes that induced Athelstane, Ogiva, and Louis, to assent to Hugh-le-Grand's Protectorate.

Equally inconsistent with her experience and maternal solicitude, was the course pursued by Ogiva. She had escaped, only by stratagem, with the boy, fearing for his very life, when Charles, her husband, was, by the co-operation of Hugh-le-Grand, lured into the pit-fall : and now, as far as in her lay, she surrendered her precious child into the power of that most unkind kinsman, who morally was to be reckoned amongst his father's murderers.

936-942

But most unaccountable, if we contemplate the proceedings according to their then present aspect, was the submissive assent yielded by Louis, the principal in the great transaction. According to the usages of the monarchy, this guardianship, even if it had been created in the most mitigated form, was a grievous and unwarranted usurpation. There was no pretence whatever for treating Louis as a minor. At his age, had not his name-sake, the hero of the Vimeux¹, reigned in the plenitude of royal authority?—Sovereigns are born to the knowledge of their station. The baby prince knows it, and graciously stretches out his little hand. Louis grew up in the fullest sense of the rights he ought to possess, revered as an heir apparent,—associated to imperial Athelstane in the affairs of government,—the king,—had he chosen to accept the boon,—of a British kingdom. Therefore we may safely come to the conclusion that all three reckoned the cost, the gain or the loss, whether present or contingent. Indeed, they could not help themselves: under a show of coldness, they were most anxious to recover the succession, and they adopted the only practicable line of conduct. Unless by Hugh-le-Grand's permission, Louis could not have entered the kingdom: Hugh-le-Grand had procured the vote which recalled Louis to the throne: Hugh-le-Grand could rescind the vote; therefore they were at his mercy.—It is not difficult to conjecture their intentions and feelings. They gave the promise; but according to the usage of the Gauls, there was no reason why the promise should be kept longer than was convenient. They took their chance, and waited till the way should open. Disunion amongst the nobles was the regular course of affairs: the whole realm was leavened with untruth, cabal and treachery. The inveterate dissensions between the two arch-disturbers of the Realm, Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois, had been lulled for mutual profit, the scarcely dormant feud might be roused at any moment;—then, let King Louis cast off his bonds. He would not lack support: midst the legion of the unprincipled, there was one at least who might be expected to be true;—the young hold to the young: surely gallant Louis might trust the splendid Guillaume Longue-épée.

936-943
Affairs of
Brittany.

§ 2. Before we proceed further, we must here notice events not directly concerning Louis d'Outremer, but which are to be considered as the supplement of his restoration, very important to the immediate interests of Normandy, and also to the future kingdom of France.

Natural affection instigated magnanimous Athelstane to urge the recognition, by the French, of his royal sister's royal son.—Generosity, state motives also contributing, induced him to mediate on the part of the Breton refugee Alain,—Alain, truly “Alain Barbe-torte,”—Alain, whose savage aspect was so fully in harmony with his pictorial epithet.—When Alain hunted, he disdained to employ the weapons of the soldier, the sword or the spear, against the brute beasts unworthy to be combated with cold iron ;—and he fought bear and boar, swinging and wielding the uprooted tree, fierce as the emblazoned wild-man or *wode-man* of heraldry.

936-942

937-943

Alain
Barbe-
torte
returns
under
Athel-
stane's
protection.

Noble-minded Athelstane sought to become the Protector of all the Races inhabiting the British islands.—Towards the Cymri, the English Basileus had behaved generously ; he maintained a friendly intercourse with their kindred Breyzad race in Armorica : and, having interceded with Guillaume Longue-épée on behalf of the valiant exile, the representative of Alain-le-Grand was pardoned by the Duke, and permitted to return. The younger Alain, however, was not fully reinstated in the honoured dominion of Alain-le-Grand—Vannes, and the County of Vannes, the Venedotia, the Gwynneth of Armorica, was restored, and homage obediently rendered for the same by the Breton Prince ; but all his claims upon peninsular Cornouaille were perpetually barred.—The greater part of that country lost its antient name, and the Breton character was so thoroughly obliterated by the Norman or Normanized populations, that these districts may almost be reckoned as the very Normandy of Normandy :—the Bruce¹ came from the Cotentin.

Vannes
restored to
Alain, but
Cornou-
aille per-
manently
annexed
to Nor-
mandy.

The Bretons of the lesser Brittany had begun to rally round Alain, ere he departed from the greater Britain. The intercourse was encouraged by Athelstane, who corresponded with the Breton Prelacy. John, the Abbot of famous Landevenech², was amongst the number of those who performed homage to their national Sovereign on antient British ground. A squadron, furnished by King Athelstane, transported the Breton Prince and his adherents across the Channel ; but no further aid was given, and Alain was left to assert his claim by the sword, and to reconquer his land. The Northmen, settled in various parts of Armorica, were bold and numerous, principally on the coasts : it is probable that, amongst them, were many who had freshly arrived from Denmark, particularly the crews of Harold Blaaland. The pacification between Guillaume Longue-épée and Count

Conduct
of Alain
Barbe-
torte's
enterprise.

936-942

937-943

Alain
opposed
by the
Northmen
occupying
Armorica.

Alain was ignored by these independent warriors. They knew nothing of the rights expressed or implied by any acts which had passed between Alain and the Duke of Normandy.—Guillaume Longue-épée might acknowledge Alain Barbe-torte as his vassal; but their honoured Duke did not ask *them* to resign their inheritance, or kneel before the paltry Breton as their Seigneur: the Breton lands had been won by themselves for themselves; the Northmen required no help, they would defend their own. Guillaume Longue-épée had merely permitted Alain to regain Armorica, if he could; and, during the contests which ensued, the Duke did not interfere on behalf of either party.

Alain
Barbe-
torte
defeats the
Northmen
at Dol
and at
St. Brieux.

Unapprised of Barbe-torte's movements, the Northmen were completely off their guard; no sentinels posted at their gates, no mariners on the look-out towards the sea. Had they even known that the Bretons were coming, they would have mocked at such an enemy.—Alain Barbe-torte's small fleet appeared suddenly before Dol; the Northmen were celebrating a grand bridal, and unquestionably as a bride-ale ought to be, with store of strong liquor. The Bretons landed, fell upon the merry-makers, and effected a good riddance; yet their main object was to inspire alarm: therefore they did not occupy the position, but re-embarked, and coasted further on, to Saint-Brieux.—Another surprise, another slaughter; the Bretons began to cancel the bloody scores incurred during many a long year. The Breyzad populations now flocked in from all parts, hailing Alain Barbe-torte; nay, it is said, that in the first moment of enthusiasm, they proclaimed him as their Sovereign.

The
Northmen
concentrate
their
forces
about
Nantes.
They are
defeated
by the
Bretons.

The other Breton Counts would scarcely have acknowledged such a supremacy: nevertheless the people combating under Alain's commands, fought sturdily and stedfastly. An universal insurrection against the Northmen ensued: they abandoned their posts, and the interior country was cleared of them. The Northmen, retreating before the wide-spreading hostility, concentrated their strength upon the banks of the Loire, principally about Nantes. Here they intended to make head against the Bretons, trusting in the reinforcements which they expected from the North, from Ireland, from Great Britain, from Scandinavia. Nantes had been repeatedly burnt, sacked and plundered, nought now remained of the antient City save ruined walls in a wilderness. The Northmen fortified themselves nigh the site, and, notwithstanding their recent reverses, they thoroughly despised their

Celtic antagonists ; but the Bretons were invigorated by the strenuousness of their Leader, and they encamped in front of the Danish entrenchments.

936-942

937-943

The Northmen resenting the defiance given by adversaries, deemed so contemptible, rushed forth and attacked them. The Bretons yielded and fled—rallied—and turned against the assailants—the Danes were routed ; nevertheless they retreated to their vessels without much loss, and sailed away, but much provoked, and with the full—and ultimately satisfied—desire, of wreaking condign vengeance. Alain's first and rightful impulse conducted him to the Cathedral of Saint Felix¹, or rather to the vestiges of the Sanctuary, originally of Roman construction. So completely had Nantes been deserted in consequence of the Danish ravages, that the sorrowfully dilapidated edifice was surrounded by a thicket of rank vegetation, and the triumphant Count could not reach the shattered portal, otherwise than by cutting his path with his sword through thorns and briars. Alain Barbe-torte was the re-founder of Nantes. He summoned his Lieges to aid in restoring the walls, and he also built the huge Castle, in which the Dukes afterwards resided. The walls which Alain raised constitute the core of the lofty circuit, now coated by more recent ashlar, upon which you may observe in faint embossments the *Cordelière*² devices of good Duchess Anne³, weather-crumbled almost to the level of the field.—Traders were encouraged to resort to Nantes by Alain's wise institutions : ample privileges were granted to the representatives of the old Breyzad nobility : the clergy reaped the fruits of his liberality. The new colonization flourished rapidly on the shores of the ocean-commanding æstuary ; and ere Alain died, Nantes had regained her pristine opulence.

Nantes re-
founded
by Alain
Barbe-
torte.

Like the Norman Duke, the Breton Count was drawn more and more into connexion with the French monarchy. He entered into amicable relations with Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe, and widened his own borders. South of the Loire, opposite to the Nantois coast, there is a small but important district, over which Bretons and Poitevins asserted a confused domination, contending against each other, to the great profit of their common enemy, the Pagan Danes. Alain Barbe-torte settled these grudges, obtaining advantageous terms. Mauge, Tiffauge, Herbauge, and chivalrously sounding Clisson, being the four Seigneuries confirmed to him by Tête-d'étoupe, were united to the County of Nantes, together with the adjoining Poitevin Marches.

943
Alain
Barbe-
torte
obtains the
cession
from Tête-
d'étoupe
of certain
contested
territories
south of
the Loire.

936-942

937-943

Alain's
claims
upon
Anjou
amicably
settled
by his
marriage
with the
daughter
of Foul-
ques-le-
Roux.

On the side of Anjou, an extensive tract towards the river Mayenne, antiently depending upon Armorica, was claimed by Count Alain. The Angevin Count, Foulques-le-Roux, advanced in years, unwilling to admit the demand, and yet not caring to enter into a contest, proposed that Alain should marry his daughter, the sage Roscilla, and hold the disputed territory as her dowry. The vigorous Alain accepted the land and the faded Lady.—His second wife was a daughter of Blois. We shall hear more about these Princesses hereafter: we must always be observant of Brittany,—Britanny, linked to the destiny of Rollo's inheritance, and the remote, yet efficient cause of that inheritance's loss.

936, 937
Hugh-le-
Grand
acquires a
portion of
Burgundy.

§ 3. Louis was called into activity speedily after his accession.—The station held in the Carolingian Commonwealth by the Burgundian Dukes or Counts was very illustrious: the individual Princes of Burgundy are sufficiently identified, but the rights or tenures enabling them to exercise their authority are ill defined and obscure. Nor do the laborious historical Enquirers by whom the subject has been discussed,—all at variance amongst themselves,—enable their readers to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. In tracing the succession of the early Burgundian Potentates we encounter constant conflicts of opinion. Du Cange¹ asserts *this* Count to be hereditary, but Dom Plancher² decorously denies any ancestral privilege. Concerning another, there is an argument whether *he* was official and removeable, or official and permanent; whilst the dignity ascribed to a third, is stigmatized as being suppositious or imaginary.

Counts of
Burgundy
at the era
of Raoul's
death...

...their
rivalities.
Hugh-le-
Noir's
portion of
the Duchy.

Gilbert's
portion.

For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to accept the Dynasts as we find them, *de facto*, immediately after the death of King Raoul. Hugh-le-Noir, son of Duke Richard-le-Justicier, and the late King's brother, then claimed the superiority, not only of his father's dominions, but of various districts and jurisdictions which had been previously dismembered. Langres was subjected to Hugh-le-Noir, together with the larger portion of the Diocese, so also the City of vintages, rubicund Dijon.

Gilbert, the son of Count Manasses, Duke Richard's son-in-law, he with whom Queen Emma had warred, having been reinstated in romantic Avalon, was also called Duke of Burgundy. His dominions included much of the modern Duchy. Chalon-sur-Saône was held by Gilbert, Mâcon also, the boundaries of his dominion being the rivers Saône and Tille, and that shallow Vignenne, whilome choked by the Danish corpses³.

Hugh-le-Grand asserted constitutional pretensions, of which the foundation cannot be ascertained, to the whole Duchy, either in supremacy or in demesne ; but he now sought to prevail by shifting his ground. It was affirmed, that, upon the death of King Raoul, the Duchy of Burgundy had escheated to the Crown, and was consequently in the King's gift.—The first employment therefore which Hugh-le-Grand made of his vastly influential position was, to render his royal Pupil the instrument through whose agency he could gain the much envied possession. Louis, progressing through his kingdom for the purpose of accepting the acknowledgments of his subjects, advanced into Burgundy, his Guardian by his side. Nobles and people, upon the approach of the Sovereign, crowded to take the oath of fealty. But there was one inimical defaulter. Hugh-le-Noir, who had been summoned to appear, appeared not ; and when Louis and Hugh-le-Grand came before Langres, the gates were closed.

936-942

936-937

Claim of
Hugh-le-Grand.

This was a useless act of disobedience : after a brief but vigorous defence made by the garrison—for the inhabitants were loyal,—Hugh-le-Noir abandoned the Place ; hostages, selected by the Bishops and Nobles of Burgundy, were sent to Paris : the young King was loudly and loyally welcomed by the citizens ; Langres was his own.—By the King's assent, however, Hugh-le-Grand received the City, which he occupied. Henceforward, the son of King Robert must be reckoned as a Duke of Burgundy ; so that there were now three concurrent Dukes or Counts of Burgundy, Duke Hugh-le-Grand, Duke Hugh-le-Noir, and Duke Gilbert, all claiming under diverse rights. Hugh-le-Grand subsequently concluded a treaty with Hugh-le-Noir : they agreed upon a partition of territory, and the transaction was confirmed by the King.

936

Surrender
of Langres
to Louis
and Hugh-
le-Grand.

§ 4. Hugh-le-Grand thus gained his immediate object ; but his success disclosed the weak points of his political position. Had it not been for the young King's co-operation, Hugh-le-Grand would have failed. Duke Gilbert would have defied him from mountainous Avalon, and destroyed all his enjoyment of the garners and wine-vats. Powerful as Hugh-le-Grand was, the fact became evident to the world, that he could not have won his Burgundian Dukedom otherwise than through the young King's aid. His installation was the sequel of the King's *joyeuse entrée*. The Tutor was indebted to the Infant : the Guardian had to lean upon the arm of his Ward.

936-937

Vigour of
the young
king's
govern-
ment.

936-942

936

Notwithstanding the length and breadth of Hugh-le-Grand's dominions, it seems that he could not raise forces adequate for the expedition. Historical theory ascribes more potency to feudality (at least at this æra) than can be authentically verified by existing evidence. The lithographs of the "Feudal Castle," with which popular history is interleaved, exhibit grander aspects than the battlements would have displayed had we approached them on their own ground. Precise information escapes us when we endeavour to ascertain the actual composition of such a feudal muster as would have been marshalled by Hugh-le-Grand. We cannot form any clear notions of the power possessed by the "Dux Francorum" over his lieges in the Duchy of France. Neither is it easy to answer the question, whether the *Fideles*¹ holding the lands of Saint Martin² were bound to follow their redoubtable Abbot when, clad in mail, he rode from the banks of Loire to the foot of the Jura hills.

Influence
of the
King.

But, with respect to the King, the case is otherwise.—The King's name was a tower of strength. The Crown imparted to Louis all the prerogatives, whether Roman or Teutonic, which had appertained unto his progenitors. The King was Imperator : none denied the King's right to summon the *arrière-ban* : none but the King could summon the *arrière-ban*. In the worst of times the summons was obeyed. We have seen how cheerfully the Lieges responded to the call of Charles-le-Simple, even after his dethronement. The success which attended the young Louis, when, in the language of chivalry, he won his first spurs at Langres, gave him confidence in his own powers. His personal influence was very pervading. In consequence of the steady adherence to traditional jurisprudence, there was absolutely no mode of obtaining a good legal title to a Benefice or a Fief, except through the King, as the channel of conveyance. No territorial Honour was perfected without the Royal confirmation. Even in the most disturbed state of society, mere possession is not satisfactory, unless when accompanied by some shew of right. A Charles or a Louis might be affronted, despised, defeated, degraded ; yet, unless the King took up the pen and subscribed his elaborate monogram to the Charter or Precept of Saisine, engrossed by the royal Notarius, countersigned by the same high Officer, and displaying the royal Seal, the Count was not at ease.

Royal pre-
rogatives,
their im-
portance.

These instruments were not issued as a matter of course : the King might delay, demur, nay, refuse ; therefore the Lieges throughout the Realm had a direct interest in courting the King.

The people at large admired the fine young warrior. All these advantages were appreciated by Louis. Deliberately and silently, feeling his aplomb, knowing his own prerogatives, he determined, or most probably had determined from the beginning, to cast off the incubus as soon as the opportune hour should arrive. 936-942
937

The young Louis vaulting into the saddle, and keeping his seat on the curvetting steed, typified by that action the spirit which animated him when he received the Crown. Gallant, ardent, energetic, cheerful, daring, full of resources, dreading nothing, hoping for all; but discreetly adapting himself to circumstances, not taking his leap too soon—and therefore at the commencement of his reign fully conforming himself to Hugh-le-Grand.

In his public instruments Louis proclaimed the Duke as the acting Viceroy.—“Hugo dilectissimus noster et Francorum Dux, qui est in omnibus Regnis nostris secundus a nobis.”¹—But, though thus styled the second in the government, the treaty of Boulogne by which Louis bound himself always to obey the advice of Hugh, virtually rendered the Duke of France the Premier of the Realm: and Louis endured the subjection very patiently. Without making any discernible preparation for the *coup d'état*, or exhibiting any token of impatience, he waited till towards the close of the first year of his reign; and then, declaring the Protectorate void, he entered upon the full exercise of his royal authority. Louis relied entirely upon his own wit and means. No Prelate was summoned to aid by his wisdom. He canvassed not for supporters amongst his great Lieges in France. Athelstane's fleet would have filled the channel at his demand; but Louis sought no succour from beyond the seas. The only mortal to whom he turned was his mother, Ogiva, affectionate and wise, who came over from England; and, until Louis was happily enabled to win a still nearer and more intimate confidante, continued his chief adviser and friend. 937
Louis releases himself from the protectorate of Hugh-le-Grand.
Ogiva recalled from England.

To be free for action, it was of the highest importance that Laon should be placed under the most trustworthy keeping, so that the King's place might be supplied when he should be absent. Laon was the only gem of the diadem which remained in its socket. It was the fate of Laon to be the theatre of female prowess. Raoul could confide the City of the rock to none but his unwearied Emma.—On behalf of wily Vermandois, the fortress had been boldly defended by Hildebranda. The Damoyseau² Louis found as able a *Lieutenant* in his English mother; and to her Command of the City of Laon entrusted to her by Louis.

936-942 he gave the command of that famous stronghold, whence, fourteen
 937-938 years before, she had escaped, concealing him by that odd strata-
 gem, of which he loved to tell. Henceforward we behold the
 young Louis as King, having to contend against the ceaseless
 faithlessness, malice, and falsity of those who were bound to him
 by allegiance, duty, and consanguinity. Defrauded, troubled,
 harassed, and betrayed, Louis nobly vindicated his station. He
 seemed destined to renovate the decaying Carlovingian lineage,
 by his resolution, his prowess, his quick, varied, and versatile
 talent.

§ 5. Hugh-le-Grand forthwith proceeded to organise his plans
 for recovering his vicarial supremacy. Whatever title he bore,
 the *Dux Francorum* steadily pursued his intent of being as much
 of a king as was possible, consistently with the non-assumption
 of the Crown ; and he efficaciously, though cautiously, began to
 collect his party—a process to be effected, fully as much by
 the conciliation of enemies as by acquiring friends. Hostility
 against Louis was the mainspring of this combination, not affec-
 tion towards Hugh ; and we shall see the confederates emerging,
 when, and as the opportunities arose for annoying the King.

937-938
 Hugh-le-
 Grand's
 plans for
 assailing
 the King.

The first with whom Hugh concluded an alliance was Herbert
 of Vermandois. It was a forcible evidence of the power which
 still adhered to the Crown, that these rivals, so cordially hating
 each other, were compelled to coalesce for the purpose of making
 head against the lad of sixteen, who had but one city he could
 call his own ;—a shame thus to plot and intrigue against a woman
 and a boy ; but no feeling of conscience or humanity ever en-
 feebled their hearts. The opposition lately raised by Hugh-le-
 Grand during the settlement of the succession, when he had so
 energetically promoted the King's cause, testified his animosity
 against the adverse Count of Vermandois. He had extolled
 Louis, lauded him, advocated the Restoration as the only safe
 course ; his present conduct was an emphatic recantation : Hugh-
 le-Grand, turning against the King whom he had brought in, was
 performing the *amende honorable* to his opponent ; and Herbert
 could do nothing better than accept the compromise.

Balance of
 loss and
 gain in the
 political
 affairs of
 Herbert of
 Verman-
 dois.

During the late reign, Herbert's schemes had not, on the
 whole, satisfied his expectations : he had profited scantily by all
 the exertions he had made to gain the Archbishopric of Rheims.
 The archbishopling, "Hugo Parvulus," had been ejected from the
 See : and of all the vast temporalities, the custody whereof had
 been granted to Herbert, he was only able to preserve Couci,

held under him by Bernard de Senlis, the good uncle¹ of Guillaume Longue-épée :—a noble domain certainly, yet only a morsel of what he coveted.

936-942

937-938

In like manner Herbert had failed to obtain Laon ; but now, all his thwarted projects revived. Although Herbert had been kept out of the City, he contrived to retain possession of the *Château-Galliot*, built on the slope of the rock ; and he had increased the fortifications of that stronghold, so annoying to the Crown. From this commanding point he could always distress, and perhaps re-acquire the great object of contention. “Hugo Parvulus,” as he grew up, had been going on well : he was now a young tonsured clerk, well disposed ; and during his enforced retirement from the archiepiscopal dignity, had improved by his education. Disgracefully irregular had been the acts of those who intruded him, yet Hugo Fitz Herbert was not so incongruous a candidate as when he commenced his prelatical career.

Whilst the many feathers to be plucked from the young King, would instigate Herbert to co-operate with the discarded Protector ; yet there was, as before, a still more vehement stimulus inciting the Count to trouble Louis—to diminish his authority, nay, if possible, to deprive him wholly of power, and perhaps not even to stop there. Herbert could not wash himself clean from the blood of King Charles. The dread of retribution had caused him to obstruct the restoration of the young son ; and, by Ogiva’s recall, he was exposed to the bitter vengeance of a widow. The question might, to Herbert, be a matter of life or death.

Herbert of Vermandois allies himself to Hugh-le-Grand against Louis...

§ 6. Herbert first raised the standard of revolt. His forces were small, and he began his operations, judiciously, with reference to the future expansion of his dominions, and characteristically, by tricking a deceiver. The Champaign of Rheims, the “*Campania Remensis*,”—a most appropriate descriptive denomination of the region,—an extension of the plains of Flanders,—but not yet employed politically as designating a province—was protected against Count Herbert on the Vermandois border by the *Castrum Theodorici*—Château Thierry,—now best recollected as the birth-place of the inimitable Fabulist²,—which Louis had entrusted to his liege-man, Gualo, or Walo. Herbert’s profuse promises induced the Commander to betray his duty. Gualo became Herbert’s Man ; taking the oath, and placing his hands between Herbert’s hands. Gualo ordered the King’s troops away from the Castle, and, on Saint Valentine’s day he opened the gate for Herbert and his forces. Gualo expected to

Herbert of Vermandois commences his operations.

14 Feb. 937. Surprise of Château Thierry.

936-942 be well rewarded, and confirmed in his post ; but, as soon as the
 Count of Vermandois was in possession, he spurned away the
 937-938 serviceable traitor with ferocious contempt. Gualo, fettered and
 chained, was cast into the dungeon ; where, for aught we know,
 he continued during the remainder of his life. Herbert, through
 this occupation of Château Thierry, obtained the City of Troyes
 and all the "*Campania Remensis*," which, under his potent
 sway, was speedily developed into the magnificent County of
 Champagne.

Herbert
founds the
County of
Cham-
pagne.

Herbert and his lineage held Champagne during three genera-
 tions, until some time after the accession of the Capets, when the
 Grand Fief passed from the House of Vermandois to the House
 of Blois ; and the Counts having received or assumed the Palatine
 title, were also elevated to the high estate of the Douze-Pairs.

But the civil war was suddenly staid. The day when
 Herbert's troops entered Château Thierry, was a marked Saint
 Valentine's day : for, on the night of that day, ere faint day-
 light broke, the north-eastern sky blazed resplendent with un-
 dulating flames. A great calamity was anticipated ; and, very
 shortly afterwards, the Magyars, having crossed the Rhine at
 Worms, poured in like a flood, spreading themselves all over
 Belgic Gaul, and all over Celtic Gaul, all down into Aquitaine.
 The country was dreadfully ravaged : the depredations per-
 petrated by these insatiate Tartars were minor evils compared
 with their cruelties ;—priests stripped stark naked and shot at,
 as marks ;—innumerable captives starved to death. Louis
 sustained deep humiliation from the indignities and injuries thus
 inflicted upon his kingdom ; but, unaided and pestered, he could
 not oppose the barbarians. The Magyars, when they had done
 their worst, rushed away through Italy, carrying off multitudes
 of prisoners, who merged in the mixed population of Arpad's
 kingdom, where they settled peaceably : the fierce Magyars, so
 ferocious whilst pursuing their invasions, were rudely hospitable
 in their own land.

937
March—
October.
A great
Magyar
invasion.

937, 938
Louis en-
deavours
to bring the
realm into
good order.

§ 7. As soon as France was relieved from the presence of
 the hideous *Ogres*, Louis concentrated his energies with the wise
 intention of reducing the Kingdom into good order. One example
 of his strenuousness deserves particular notice. Serlo, the
 Seigneur of Montigny in the Soissonnais, levied blackmail all
 around his castle ; a circumstance somewhat novel. These
 predatory barons, tearing open the Merchant's pack and emptying
 the Traveller's purse—personages so prominent in the *Tableaux*

*du Moyen Age*¹—rarely present themselves in the pages of our Benedictine folios. Serlo's example might, however, encourage others to perpetrate the like outrages. Louis determined that his subjects should be compelled to appreciate the protection imparted by the Crown. He worked actively with the small forces that he could command. Montigny was stormed by the King, Serlo, delivered over to the executioner, and the noble brigand would have lost his head, had not Archbishop Artaldus interceded. Louis banished the robber, whose life was spared; but he demolished the robber's nest, razing Montigny to the ground. It is interesting to observe the able stroke of policy carried out, ages afterwards, by Richelieu, and so redolent of absolute monarchy,—the humiliation of the noblesse by the abatement of their châteaux,—taking its commencement under a reign when the resources of Royal authority were so slender.

936-942
937-938
Serlo de
Montigny
the
brigand.

Louis had next to deal with a far mightier wrong-doer. Count Herbert was burrowing his way into the Archbishop's territories of Rheims. He still held Corbigny. Louis attacked the Place, and Archbishop Artaldus again enjoyed the gratification of interceding on behalf of his enemies: the Vermandois garrison would have been harshly treated, had they not been permitted, through the Archbishop's intercession, to depart in peace. Herbert continued his depredations; but Louis was enforced to leave the neighbourhood, important state-duties calling him elsewhere.

Another and most formidable foe suddenly discloses himself—The Duke of Normandy, that Guillaume Longue-épée, recently so zealous in supporting the King's right to the throne, rises up also as a Leader amongst the insurgents.—Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois might quote abundance of grudges and quarrels, and recollections of grudges and quarrels, past and present, ancestral and personal. Had these potentates continued patient and self-denying under the provocations given through the boldness of the young King, and the opportunities which his conduct offered, they would have contradicted all the precedents afforded by their respective political careers.—Had they consistently kept their oaths and promises they would have been inconsistent; truth to Louis, would have been untruth to themselves.

Defection
of Guil-
laume
Longue-
épée also.

With respect to Guillaume Longue-épée, the case was otherwise. He was not merely the King's subject, but the King's friend—and that *he*, the young, the gallant Duke, so renowned on

936-942

account of the eminent part he had taken in the restoration, should join the Capetian confederacy, is an act of outrageous

937-938

political profligacy which comes upon us by surprise. No previous movement towards the insurrectionary party is recorded, no reason assigned. Whether ignorant of the cause or ashamed of the act, the French and the Norman historians maintain, on these points, equal silence. It may be offered as an hypothesis, that Guillaume yielded to the influence exercised over him by the Vermandois family.—A father-in-law alone, Count Herbert by himself Count Herbert, could not perhaps have effected much with such a son-in-law as the Norman. Herbert's daughter, Guillaume's consort, brilliant Liutgarda, might be more persuasive. But since we must needs resort to conjectures, we shall prefer the supposition that Guillaume Longue-épée, when making this bold step in the path of treason, followed the suggestions of his trusty Vermandois uncle¹, old Bernard de Senlis, to whom he had planned fleeing for assistance, whilst scared out of his wits during the Riulph rebellion.

Bernard
de Senlis,
first Count
of Couci.

Bernard was now, through Count Herbert's grant, in possession of Couci, wrenched from the See of Rheims. Bernard is reckoned as the first Count of Couci. Learned Du Cange denies this fact, which the Vermandois Genealogists maintain,—these contests sport amidst the ponderosities of archæology. But, as we have seen, Archbishop Artaldus was a bold soldier, not at all willing to allow the spoliation of his temporalities; and, if King Louis gained strength, he would assuredly aid the Prelate to recover the domain; therefore Bernard de Senlis, for the purpose of diverting the assault, might be well inclined to engage his Norman nephew¹ on the Capetian side. As for Guillaume Longue-épée's violation of his engagements to King Louis, he was kept in countenance by every noble with whom he sat down at meat. There was not any one who had not done the same, or was not ready to do the same: and the Husband who had so cruelly broken the pledge given to his first love, the Woman of his choice, the Mother of his child, was scarcely likely to feel any acute twinge of conscience when deserting his Sovereign.

Arnoul of
Flanders
asks the
aid of
Louis.

Amongst the Princes of the Kingdom, Arnoul of Flanders was, at this juncture, the only lay individual of note who adhered with apparent earnestness to the Royal cause—probably because he required the young Sovereign's aid: and not merely for the troops which Louis might furnish, but valuing his advice as a general, who, young as he was, had, whilst in England, attained

a precocious military proficiency: skilled in attack, skilled in defence, and, moreover, a clever contriver of ordnance and artillery.

936-942

937-938

Northern Picardy, from Boulogne eastward, was then still a country of the *Vlaemsche taal*¹. In Calais, now so thoroughly French, the Belgic tongue does not seem to have been entirely effaced by the Romane, until after the period when that Town, originally included in the County of Boulogne, had passed to Philippe Hurepel, (the son of Philippe-Auguste,) husband of the Countess Maud. Great privileges did the Countess grant unto the Calais Burghers and the Calais Magistracy. Her Charter, and her confirmation of their Keuren, or statutes, may be found amongst our records in the Tower. At Calais, I have often fancied the grave and sturdy Keurmannen and Scheppen², processioning into the Hotel de Ville, when hearing the strike-up of the tinkling carillon of Maud's merry chiming Beffroy-bells. To the south-west of Calais, the sandy coast is now desolate and inhospitable; but, in the tenth century, and indeed, till a much later era, it offered to the mariner, about nine miles South-West from Calais, a noble harbour, opening into the wide sea, a peculiarly safe and easy place of landing, and, therefore, even at comparatively recent times, much favoured as a point of embarkation between France and England.

An antient encampment, known in the middle ages as the *Castellum Cæsaris*³, crowning an adjoining mount, commemorated, nay, now commemorates, the occupation of the locality by the Romans. The most critical amongst French topographers identifies this Harbour with the renowned *Portus Iccius*⁴. In addition to other arguments in support of his opinion, he appeals to Cæsar's Castle. The name imposed or adopted by the conquerors of the Gauls was, however, disused by the inhabitants; and the Haven acquired in the vernacular dialect, the very intelligible denomination of *Wit-sant*⁵, suggested by the blanched aspect of the shores. But, since the fifteenth century, the *white sands* have choked up the sheltering bay, and rendered its pristine existence merely an historical tradition. Cæsar's camp, however, still exists, and the hamlet of *Wissan*, which indicates the position of the obliterated sea-port, stands idly inland, at the distance of about four miles from the salt water.

Witsand or
Wissant,
the antient
Portus
Iccius—
changes of
the coast.

Very earnest was Arnoul to strengthen this position, so inviting to the access of any adventurous enemy; and he invoked the talent of the young Louis to direct the erection of further

Arnoul
applies to
Louis to
strengthen
the fortifi-
cations of
Witsand.

936-942 fortifications, which consisted most probably of stockades or
 937-938 other similar additions to the Roman lines. Louis began the
 works, but he was speedily called off for the relief of Archbishop
 Artaldus. The Archbishop had just completed a Castle upon
 the Marne. Herbert, expert in the arts of corruption, obtained
 possession thereof : and, there entrenched, disturbed the Rhemish
 territory.

Siege and
capture of
Herbert's
castle at
Laon.

Louis determined, at once, to humble the Count. He must, if possible, relieve himself from that thorn in his side, Count Herbert's Castle on the slope of the rock of Laon. The fortress was fully manned, and very massy. Louis invested the Tower. The attack was commenced by artillery ; bows and arrows made no impression : Louis thereupon adopted another and more scientific mode of attack. He constructed a large testudo, strongly compacted of timber. From the minute description given of this machine, we may collect that such contrivances were objects of curiosity, new and strange in France. Propelled close up against the Castle, the well-framed roof resisted the stones cast down by the besieged. The walls were undermined and fell. The garrison surrendered at discretion, an exploit whereby Louis gained much renown. These operations, together with various skirmishes and military movements, so comminuted that it is difficult to take note of them, occupied more than a year. The utmost extent of territory traversed by the belligerent parties may have been some fifty leagues : yet, it is in appearance only, that these transactions can be denominated petty or inconsiderable, for, in them, the whole continuity of French history—Kingdom, Republic, or Empire—is involved. It is the magnitude of the ultimate stake which we have to consider, not the breadth of the board upon which the game is played.

938
Affairs of
Flanders.

§ 8. French historians do not afford any direct explanation of the motives inducing Arnoul to labour so earnestly for the protection of Witsant. But the fortifications erected to guard that convenient Northern harbour, imply the dread of some maritime invader. The territory which included Witsant, belonged nominally to the Abbey of Saint Bertin : but whilst the Monks performed the religious services in consideration whereof the grant had originally been made, the land itself was impropriated by Count Arnoul.—The lay Abbot, however, did not enjoy his benefice quietly, being much disturbed in his possession by the Northmen.

Siegfrid
the Dane,
the first
Count of
Guineses.

Siegfrid, the brother of some Danish king, had overspread the country : the great conflagration of Danish warfare had been

renewed in England : and Siegfrid may have been, so to speak, a brand darted from the British Islands. The monks of Saint Bertin cared not to bear record of Siegfrid's achievements, and the negligence of the cotemporary Clergy in this respect, was lamented and censured by their successors, who, three centuries afterwards, sought to recover the scattered reminiscences of local history.

936-942

937-938

The Guisnes annals¹ commence with ugly incidents. Siegfrid, it is said, having abused Elstruda, a Princess of Flanders, hanged himself to escape her kinsmen's vengeance.—A Danish warrior, a Viking, or a Berserker, when insurmountable danger drove him to despair, would surely have fallen on his own sword, rather than condemn himself to a death so disreputable.—But the main facts relating to Siegfrid are well attested. He became the first Count of Guisnes : his son Ardolf inherited the small, but distinguished domain, renowned for minstrelsy and chivalry. Ardres was included in the County of Guisnes : and the *Champ du Drap d'Or*² continued in Siegfrid's lineage till the thirteenth century, when the "Grand Fief" was transferred, by a series of transactions, austere, if not unjust, to the illustrious house of Brienne³.

It is possible that, during the conflicts which preceded, or were occasioned by the establishment of this dominion, Arnoul may have fringed the coast with his forces, seeking to prevent any further immigrations of Danes.—The Count of Flanders, who held the ample Principality granted to his renowned grandfather Baudouin Bras-de-Fer, upon the express condition of protecting the Carlovingian Empire against the Pirates, was bound to employ this vigilance. The conquest effected by Siegfrid must have been grievous to Arnoul, equally a detriment and a disgrace. Friendship may, at one period, have subsisted between Arnoul and Siegfrid ; but political amity is in no wise inconsistent with much antecedent as well as subsequent hostility. It is, however, equally probable, and the general bearing of events rather corroborates this hypothesis, that the fortifications were intended for the defence of the country against Guillaume Longue-épée. The husbands of the two Vermandois sisters were becoming bitter enemies.

Results of
the Danish
conquest
of Guisnes.

§ 9. Riulph was slain, but after the discomfiture of the Norman insurgents in the Pré de la Bataille, Arnoul had patronized his cause, not only by harbouring Balzo the Rebel's kinsman, but by advancing him to station and honour. Had the Count of Flanders laboured to excite the apprehensions and insult

936-942 the feelings of his brother-in-law, he could not have devised a
 938 more stinging provocation. This was probably the originating
 cause of the quarrel, and Guillaume Longue-épée commenced
 hostilities against Flanders with the aid of Hugh-le-Grand, the
 latter having been angered by Count Arnoul's adhesion to the
 king.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée at
war with
Count
Arnoul.

Guillaume Longue-épée's first attempts were directed to the
 sea-board; and it is this circumstance which suggests the sup-
 position that the fortifications, projected at Witsand, were intended
 to prevent the landing of Rouen forces from Eu on the Brêle, or
 from Fécamp river. The Norman ravaged all around Boulogne,
 Terouenne, and Sithieu, or St. Omer's. Had Guillaume Longue-
 épée still been a Pagan Dane, he could not have punished the
 country with greater severity. Herbert, on his part, continued
 the turmoil, more particularly for the purpose of annoying the
 King, devastating the territory of Rheims. Count Herbert was
 anathematized by the Bishops. Guillaume Longue-épée was
 involved in the same censures; but, whether because he had
 committed his outrages during some solemn season, so as to
 occasion peculiar scandal, or whether, like his father-in-law, he
 had plundered some ecclesiastical possessions, does not appear.
 Anyhow, the offenders took no heed of the excommunications,
 deriding bell, book, and candle.

Louis, hitherto supported only by Arnoul, had now acquired
 the aid of Hugh-le-Noir, the coparcener Duke of Burgundy, whom
 he had ejected from Langres in favour of Hugh-le-Grand. The
 son of King Robert was their common enemy, and the peculiar
 despise entertained by Hugh-le-Noir against Hugh-le-Grand,
 rendered him the more active in co-operating with Louis. Con-
 joining their forces, they marched against Hugh-le-Grand and
 Guillaume Longue-épée, and the attacks made upon Arnoul were
 checked. The Count of Flanders did not immediately retaliate
 upon the Duke of Normandy; but he adopted a course by which,
 whether designedly or not, the brothers-in-law were speedily
 brought into desperate collision.

Helgaud, the Count of Ponthieu,—he who had been slain by
 the Danes, when they broke out of the wood and stormed
 the camp of King Raoul,—was now succeeded by his son Count
 Herlouin, under whose government Montreuil became very
 prosperous. The convenience of the sea-port attracted a con-
 siderable trade; and the duties or tolls, levied upon the vessels
 which entered the haven and the goods landed there, produced

Affairs of
Ponthieu.
Herlouin
son of
Count
Helgaud.

to Herlouin a considerable revenue. Herlouin comes into notice many ways. He had a wife whom he loved very dearly ; but there was some irregularity, some impropriety, connected with their union.—Possibly when Herlouin espoused this Lady, who is to be noticed in our history, he already had another consort, undivorced, and still living.—Whatever may have been the reason, he was brought to open shame on account of this marriage, and condemned to do penance before the Synod of Trosley¹.

936-942

938

Herlouin's political position was dubious. Ponthieu, in some respects, appears as an appendage to Baudouin Bras-de-Fer's Marquisate—but Herlouin had commended himself to Hugh-le-Grand, thereby annexing the Honour to the Duchy of France. The Northmen, at an earlier period, and the Normans in later times, had much connexion with Ponthieu : the territory, interposed between Normandy and Flanders, might be rendered advantageous or troublesome to either Sovereign.

Ambiguous political position of Herlouin and the Counts of Ponthieu.

Moreover, the profits arising from the frequent resort of traders and merchant-vessels were attractive to Arnoul, who, in his own proper dominions, was beginning to appreciate the advantages of commercial prosperity. The sharp ascent of the hill, the strength of the Castle, the precipitous fosses, the thick-set stockades, rendered Montreuil very defensible, and Arnoul found it more expedient to attempt a capture by intrigue, than by force of arms. Over and above the real advantages of avoiding a doubtful and perilous conflict, the fraudulence was tempting. The excitement of overreaching an enemy always rendered such attempts a species of game. One of Herlouin's most trusted Captains was threatened or bribed into compliance. As the story goes, a secret Messenger, despatched by Arnoul, made the overture symbolically. The emissary displayed two rings—a golden ring and an iron ring—inviting the Castle-Warden to choose. The torch, held high over the battlements by the Confederate, announced the unguarded hour. The gate had been opened. Arnoul's troops rushed in, and Montreuil was gained : Herlouin escaped ; but his Wife and family fell into the power of the enemy. Arnoul sent them across the water to England ; and Athelstane, pursuant to his request, detained the lady and the children in captivity. Strange, that our magnanimous Basileus should consent to perform the office of Count Arnoul's jailor ! Yet, such was his compliance ; and Herlouin mourned for the prisoners as those whom he should never see again.

Arnoul takes Montreuil by stratagem.

936-942

937-938

Herlouin repeatedly craved assistance from his Seigneur, the Duke of France. But he obtained neither help, nor promise of help. Hugh-le-Grand declined an interference, which might have embarrassed him in his further enterprizes : thus rejected by his Liege-lord, Herlouin turned to the Norman Patrician, earnestly praying his succour.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée re-
captures
Montreuil.

Guillaume Longue-épée, to whom few gratifications could be more welcome, than any opportunity of plaguing his brother-in-law, was as anxious to engage in the enterprize as Hugh-le-Grand had been to avoid it. He accepted the championship of the despoiled Count. Alain Barbe-torte sent his contingent ; the combined forces of Normandy and Brittany invested the town ; the Cotentin men began the assault, boldly plucking up the palisades. Guillaume Longue-épée was foremost in the storming-party. Count Arnoul's garrison was overpowered ; and the prisoners, thus taken, were so numerous as to enable Guillaume to negotiate, by their exchange, the restoration of the beloved ones whom Herlouin had lost. Arnoul, however, though deprived of Montreuil, invaded the Ponthieu country, which he ravaged. But Herlouin defeated him. To Arnoul, the loss of Montreuil, mainly occasioned by Guillaume Longue-épée's interference, was an extreme mortification. If the small, but repeated, causes of vexation, for which proximity affords so much opportunity amongst relations, act so mischievously by accumulation, how much more do serious injuries ? Arnoul's hatred became inveterate ; and, though occasionally concealed, the bitterness continued encreasing till the very last.

§ 10. About one month after the inauguration of Louis at Laon, Otho, whom history honours by the epithet of " the Great," received, pursuant to his father's appointment, the German Crown.

Death of
Henry the
Fowler :
his three
elder sons,
Thankmar,
Otho, and
Henry,
(see pp.
12-13)
competi-
tors for the
kingdom.

Of the four sons left by Henry the Fowler, three, namely, Thankmar, Otho, and Henry, were competitors for the German Realm. The natural privilege of primogeniture designated the bold and energetic Thankmar as Henry's successor, nor would he have discredited the royal dignity : but the heartless pretences which had enabled the departed Monarch, availing himself of his own wrong, to cast off the tender and confiding Hathburga, also deprived Thankmar of his position in Christian society. Born under the full sanction of holy matrimony, their Child was adjudged illegitimate. The retrospective operation assigned to the sentence which dissolved the marriage between Thankmar's

Henry the
Porphyro-
genitus.

Mother and her fickle Husband, under any aspect a rigid construction of the law, was wrested into positive injustice. Not merely had Thankmar lost his Father's Kingdom, but, a large private inheritance, which unquestionably ought to have devolved upon him through his maternal ancestry, was withheld.

Henry, the third son, asserted a right paramount to the claims preferred by either of his senior brethren. Bold Thankmar, as Henry argued, was absolutely out of court—he could not be heard—a bastard, declared to be spurious by the solemn decree of a competent tribunal. Otho was fully admitted by Henry to be the eldest son of *Henry, Duke of Saxony*,—let Otho therefore have his due, the Dukedom of Saxony belonged to him; but it was equally undeniable that he, the younger Henry, was the eldest son of *Henry, King of Germany*. Henry, the Porphyrogenitus, though a younger son relatively to Otho, was the eldest son of royal blood, first born after the accession of *Duke Henry* to the Throne of Charlemagne, the first-born of *Henry King of Germany*; and consequently, to him, the first-born son of a crowned King and a crowned Queen, did the royalty appertain.

Matilda, the Queen Dowager, affectionately supported the young Henry in his demands; parental fondness strengthening her sincere impression of their abstract justice. The doctrine of *Porphyrogenitism*¹, congenial to popular sentiment, and not without some foundation in principle, prevailed influentially and widely in many countries and through many ages: yet, the theory has rarely been consistently acknowledged, so as to impart a definite and constitutional right. In some few instances,—and, amongst them, may we not include the Empire of the Czars?—it has been practically recognized; but, more generally, the pretension has merely tended to excite unnatural contests between brethren. In England, this opinion stimulated Henry Beauclerc to a constant antagonism against Rufus; and fomented in Germany—the example now before us—a virulent civil war.

Otho, however, commenced his reign without encountering any immediate opposition or objection. Aix-la-Chapelle witnessed the inauguration, celebrated with unprecedented solemnity.—Unable, like Cologne, or Metz, or Treves, to trace her municipal ancestry to the Roman age,—not dignified by an Episcopal chair,—neither remarkable for strength, nor distinguished by opulence,—Aix-la-Chapelle was, nevertheless, honoured as the Capital of Lotharingia. Much celebrity was given to the City by the perennial thermal springs; and some local pride resulted from the

936-942
 936-938

Thankmar
 claims by
 primo-
 geniture.

8th Aug.
 936.
 Solemn
 inaugura-
 tion of
 Otho at
 Aix-la-
 Chapelle.

936-942 legendary traditions of King Granus¹; but Aix-la-Chapelle's
highest consecration was imparted by Charlemagne's memory.

936-940 Charlemagne's columned Hall,—the Hall adjoining the Sanctuary,—conducting to the Catacomb,—exhibited the most affecting and solemn combination of grandeur—holiness—and death.—In this Hall, the Prelates and Nobles assembled. Homage was performed by the Lieges, who placed their hands between the hands of Henry the Fowler's Son. Otho then proceeded into the orbicular Temple, of which the model had been sought in Byzantine Ravenna: the encircling galleries were crowded by the Clerisy and Laity, to whom he was presented, and who, raising high their opened palms, declared their assent by act and voice, the shouts resounding beneath the shadowy Dome.

The imperial diadem of Charlemagne, which Henry dared not wear, was placed upon the brow of Otho by Hildebert, Archbishop of Mayence. The two great Lotharingian Prelates, Robert of Treves, and Wicfried of Cologne, contested,—and the last exercised—the privilege of conferring the Sacramental unction.—Then ensued the gorgeous Coronation-banquet; Otho the King, seated at the table of marble-stone, his lovely and pious Queen, the English Editha, by his side. As Duke of Lotharingia and *Reichs-marschall*², Gilbert, the King's brother-in-law, Gerberga's husband, received the Sovereign in the Palace. Everhard, Duke of Franconia³, exercised the functions of *Truchsess*, or High Steward, afterwards appertaining unto the Pfaltzgraff of the Rhine; Herman, Duke of Franconia, acted in the capacity of *Reichs-schenk*, or Chief Butler; Arnolph, Lord Harbinger. Gifts were most liberally bestowed on all the guests; and the reverend festival was concluded amidst exuberant hilarity.

936-940
Transactions
between
Germany
and
France.

§ 11. Germany exercised a powerful influence within the sphere of France; and the accession of this Sovereign was a very important event to Louis, and also to the yet unborn son of Louis after him. Editha, the Queen Consort, was the younger, perhaps the youngest, sister of Ogiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, sister of glorious Athelstane. The three great royal families, of England, France and Germany, were therefore, so far as inter-marriage can tend to constitute affinity, one family. Otho, the compeer of Louis, could, like Athelstane, or Hugh-le-Grand, call himself the Uncle of Louis, and become a troublesome intermeddler, or a powerful friend.

During the preceding reigns, the political relations subsisting between France and Germany had been frigid, and often hostile.

Gentler sentiments now succeeded. Louis, the legitimate sovereign, and Otho the son of Henry the Fowler, seemed, until the excitement resulting from the fresh enjoyment of royalty subsided, to rejoice in mutually acknowledging each other as brothers. The Coronation brought Otho to the confines of France. Courtesy required that the young and kindred Monarchs should exchange congratulations; and the Court of Laon reciprocated with Aix-la-Chapelle. Yet a silent, though not the less intelligible jealousy, really alienated the lineal representative of imperial Charlemagne from the Saxon occupant of Charlemagne's imperial throne.—Louis, even when his direct dominion was restricted to the Rock of Laon, even when he lost the Rock of Laon, never abated one jot of his pretensions. Otho, on his part, aspired to all the glories of the Great Emperor—Charlemagne's majestic form beckoned him onwards to the distant Capitol: the Eagle was soaring before him.

936-942

936-940

Otho courts Hugh-le-Grand and the discontented party.

The apparently cordial glow of affection, rapidly cooled, and, during the troubles which enveloped Louis, after he had liberated himself from the Protectorate of Hugh-le-Grand, Otho scarcely observed the decorum of neutrality. Cultivating the acquaintance of the French nobles generally, Otho extended his graciousness peculiarly amongst the discontented, or revolting party. With Guillaume Longue-épée, he contracted a firm intimacy: and the Normans, always anxious to obtain any recognition of their Duke's pre-eminence, boasted that there was not a soul amongst the French nobles who stood so high in Otho's favour as Guillaume.

Arnoul of Flanders and Herbert of Vermandois became the adherents of Otho; but the most emphatic enunciation of Otho's sentiments was afforded by his conduct towards Hugh-le-Grand. As soon as Hugh-le-Grand had been ejected from the Protectorate, he immediately sought to counterbalance such weight as Louis might possess in the councils of Otho by reason of family connexion; and, for this purpose, he adopted a course wisely calculated to increase his consequence and political stability. Imperfect is the ideal of power unless accompanied by the element of perpetuation. It is not good, in any sense, for man to be alone,—and Hugh-le-Grand was destitute of the political support which the child imparts to the father. The Widower of two wives solicited the hand of Hadwisa, or Hadwina, King Otho's sister, the late King Henry's daughter, and the royal Brother gladly assented. The fertile Beauty presented her Consort with the Heir he needed, Hugh Capet being the first-fruit of their marriage.

Hugh-le-Grand marries Hadwisa, daughter of King Henry the Fowler.

936-942

937-938

Difficulties
attending
Otho's
accession.

Abstractedly from any project, more or less definitely entertained by Otho, for conquering the supremacy of *Gallia Romana*—as the Germans called the Kingdom ruled by Louis,—it was a felicitous contingency that he should be able to support himself towards the Rhine, by the French nobles, whose alliance he had thus gained. Otho was sorely pressed by barbarian hostility, as well as by domestic dissensions. Germany sustained a large proportion of the stripes inflicted by the Magyars, whilst Slaves and Wends shouted their fierce war-cry.

These troubles were serious, yet external, and very bearable when compared with the complicated and annoying afflictions and dangers arising out of the fratricidal wars in which Otho was engaged. The sturdy Thankmar, availing himself of the discontents amongst the Franconians, and supported by the Duke Everhard,—he who had presented the golden beaker to King Otho at the Coronation-feast,—asserted his rights as the Saxon Fowler's first and eldest son. But his Brother's royal power and royal forces were overwhelming. The venerated Teutonic Ehresburg¹, into which Thankmar had retreated, surrendered; and Thankmar sought refuge within the Minster, dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, in Charlemagne's days, by Pope Leo², himself a fugitive.

Thank-
mar's un-
successful
revolt
against his
brother.

Thankmar, in the agony of terror and despair, literally embraced the Altar. His pursuers dared not enter the Sanctuary, though their scruples failed to deter them from shooting their arrows at the miserable suppliant, and darting their spears. The missile of Maginzo, a soldier whose name has obtained this evil reputation, transfixed the Victim. When the news was brought to Otho, the King gravely lauded the deceased Thankmar's prowess; deplored his own brother's fate; and sternly condemned the perpetrators of the deed to the gibbet. Thus delivered from a dangerous enemy, whilst he evaded the opprobrium of participation, Otho reaped all the benefit of the crime.

Otho's
prudence
and
courage.

The institutions of the newly-constructed German Realm were, as yet, so rudimentary and imperfect, that the prosperity, nay, possibly the existence of the State, depended upon the Ruler's personal character. Proud, persevering, impelled by high aspirations, and systematizing his future Empire, Otho had proceeded steadily, dangers pullulating after dangers. The Magyars had inflicted poignant sufferings upon Otho's own fatherland. Nevertheless Otho was able, singlehanded, to defeat them; and

the chastisements they received from the German King, seem ultimately to have stayed their aggressive invasions. The Bohemian disturbances had, at their commencement, distracted the Sovereign's attention, and exhausted his means. The Slavonians could not be coerced otherwise than through sharp and strenuous warfare: defeats did not daunt them, they valiantly endeavoured, again and again, to recover their independence. But, like the Celts, they were self-vanquished, internal feuds impeding that unity of action, which could alone have ensured success. The opportunities of rising against their arrogant oppressors were neglected or ill-chosen, and the obstinate conflicts they maintained, were terminated by the confirmation of Teutonic ascendancy.

936-942

937-938

At the onset, Thankmar's revolt threatened very serious perils, but the storm subsided as suddenly as it had burst forth. All these untowardnesses and conflicts, trying the young Monarch's strength, had evinced his power, or testified his good fortune. Now, however, ensued the insurrection of the Porphyrogenitus, accompanied by concussions which shook the very basis of Otho's throne. Otho, stern and dignified, commanded the obedience and respect of the German Nations, Henry, cheerful and adventurous, won their love. The personal affection existing in favour of Henry,—the extended recognition of his rights,—the advocacy given by his pious and conscientious Mother,—all rendered him a formidable rival to his Brother, and peculiarly at the juncture when that Brother was menaced with the loss of the proudest portion of his Realm.

Moral advantages enjoyed by Henry.

Plots of the discontented nobles.

§ 12. The solemn Assembly of the Nobles in Charlemagne's Hall at the recent Coronation, had enabled the many discontented Chieftains of the subjugated nations and vassal kingdoms, to arrange their plots and plans against the Sovereign. In his very presence, they concocted their treasons.—Whilst they were taking the oaths of fealty to Otho they were preparing to violate those very oaths so soon as they could assail him. Such indeed was signally the conduct pursued by Everhard of Franconia, who, with the honors of the banquet fresh upon him, had so strenuously abetted the unfortunate Thankmar in his unhappy enterprise. But, pending that conflict, another great Officer—he who had held the highest room at the festival, possessing far more command, far more ability, far more means of mischief than Everhard, had determined to support the Porphyrogenitus and establish him upon the throne.

936-942

937-938

Nobles of
Lothar-
ingia.Pre-emi-
nence of
the family
of Rainier-
au-Long-
Col and
his family.Other
nobles and
prelacy of
Lothar-
ingia.

Amongst the nobles of Lotharingia—a region which, since the “eight hundred and eighty-eight,” extended from modern Holland on the North, to modern Alsace on the South—the sons and family of Rainier-au-Long-Col still continued pre-eminent. Gilbert, the eldest son, “Duke of Lotharingia” by the appointment of the late King Charles,—Gilbert the bold swimmer, the successful lover, had fully regained his authority, but, though highly qualified for the acquisition of power, he was, through his desperate rashness and versatility, equally unqualified to retain it.

Rainier, the second son of the Founder of the family, had succeeded to the County of Hainault. The epithet “*Long-Col*” had become a surname: this second Rainier, also bore the name of “*Long-Col*”: a third Rainier, his son, the like. The chronology of these nascent States is very obscure, and the three long-necked Rainiers are not always distinguishable from each other. Frederic or Fritheric, a third son of the first Rainier, a monk of Fulda—brother therefore of Duke Gilbert—had, through his influence, obtained the Archbishopric of Mayence. Vast importance appertained to the primatial See of Saint Boniface, though, as yet, uninvested with the gorgeous attributes of an Imperial Principality.—Berenger, Count of Namur, was brought into the circle of this aspiring lineage by his marriage with Symphorienne, the first Rainier Long-Col’s daughter.

The other Chief Estates of Lotharingia, though not so closely connected with the Ducal family, were very formidable.—A large portion of the antient Friesland had then been recently overwhelmed by the waves: but Thierry¹, the Count of West Friesland, or Westergo,—nearly identical with modern Holland—might threaten Saxony. Not less influential, were Thierry’s compeers. Otho, Count of Verdun—a man commemorated for the stern justice he had exercised upon his beautiful wife, whom he beheaded when he discovered her to be an adulteress—stood as a stake-holder between Germany and France.—Isaac, Count of Cambrai, commanded the French border.—Extensive dominions, and high prerogatives and privileges, were possessed by the Lotharingian Sees.—Metz, Toul, and Verdun, emphatically known as the “Trois Evêchés,”—and Strasburg, afterwards so bitterly aristocratic,—and Mayence, and Cologne and Utrecht, whose Prelates were all verging towards the successful achievement of temporal power.

A peculiar curse of enmity clung to Lotharingia. From the first erection of the Kingdom, pursuant to the treaty of Verdun,

Lotharingia became the incessant source of dissension amongst the children and children's children of the unnatural and unhappy Son who gave his name to the Sovereignty. As time advanced, a very remarkable sentiment of individuality became developed in the mixed population of the Country :—their desire was to preserve their autonomy without striving for independence. We have seen how resolutely the Lotharingians had refused to concur in the election of Conrad the Franconian, adhering conscientiously to the Carolingian Line, even at the period when, in the person of Charles-le-Simple, the antient lineage had no other claim for support, except that claim which was bestowed by a generous and uncalculating loyalty.

936-942

937-938

Subsequent events had partially restored the German ascendancy. Duke Gilbert could not refuse to acknowledge his kind Father-in-law's protecting sovereignty, and Lotharingia was treated by King Henry as an integral member of his Realm. But a very general disclosure of public opinion now ensued throughout the Lotharingian Kingdom, to the effect that Otho's pretensions, deduced through his father, were tortious. They distinguished between Otho's German title and Otho's Lotharingian title—the first was lawful, the last unlawful. Henry the Fowler had been made King in Germany, for the purpose of defending that country against the Slave and the Magyar; but Lotharingia belonged not to him. His dominion there, was an unjustifiable aggression. He had usurped the antient Kingdom, when the lawful King was wailing in the cradle.

Sympathy
of the
Lotharin-
gians
—their
love of
the
Carlovin-
gian line.

The happy restoration of the consecrated Dynasty gave new vigour to those congenial sentiments which, never wholly dormant, have been so remarkably revived in our own times. With comparatively few exceptions, the Lotharingian Prelates and Princes, as well as the People, were, more than ever before, under the fascination of France—earnestly turning their desires towards the young Louis, ardent to accept him as their Sovereign, the foretaste of that feeling which, upon the death of the amiable Stanislaus¹, re-incorporated the Duchy of Lorraine with the French monarchy, far more soundly than could have been effected by diplomacy.

The
Lotharin-
gians
—their
love of
France.

Even amongst the present and living generations of the Germans, still inhabiting the wide extent of Rhenane Lotharingia, the same affections have deadened the sympathies of their Teutonic race. They have repudiated their kindred and have delighted in their severance from their Fatherland. No Citizen of

Similar
tendency of
Alsace and
"Rhein-
Preussen."

936-942

938-940

the Republic, "one and indivisible," has defended that unity and indivisibility more enthusiastically than the Alsatian peasant, who still speaks of going to "Frankreich" when he crosses the antient frontier.—Fair France!—how earnestly do all the other weary Provinces of the great boundary-stream yearn for their reunion with thee, from whom they have been separated by power, but not divorced in heart!

Duke
Gilbert's
views
upon
Lothar-
ingia.

§ 13. Though the Lotharingians were anxiously seeking the means of casting off Otho's supremacy, they were not concordant in their ultimate views. Gilbert reverted to his pristine schemes—the Duke of Lorraine, who had revolted against his benefactor Charles-le-Simple, was not by any means inclined to submit to Louis. Pre-eminent amongst the Lotharingian nobility, Gilbert wrought for the purpose of diverting their energies for his own advantage. His alliance with Henry was based upon the expectation of mutual profit. Gilbert would assist the Porphyrogenitus in the vindication of his hereditary rights over Germany, provided the Porphyrogenitus, on his part, would be content to surrender the Lotharingian superiority, and consent that Gilbert should rule his Duchy as an independent Monarchy. Gerberga was the sister of the Porphyrogenitus as well as of Otho, and, between his two brothers-in-law, Gilbert might surely urge that he was fully justified in supporting that Son whom the common mother of the competitors deemed to possess the more righteous claim.

Compact
between
Henry the
Porphyro-
genitus
and Duke
Gilbert.

939, 940

The
Lotharin-
gians
invite
Louis to
accept the
crown.

The majority of the Lotharingians, however, inclined simply and solely to bestow the crown upon Louis from beyond the sea; every circumstance combined to induce them to release themselves from Otho's displeasing and ungracious domination: and they despatched a deputation inviting Louis to reassert his father's claims, and regain his own inheritance. Louis hesitated; entertaining, as it is surmised, some scruples of conscience, some punctilios of honour. But the Lotharingians trusted that the ambition of the Monarch would overcome the ingenuousness of youth; and a second Legation appeared before Louis at Laon, repeating the offer. He had, as the Lotharingians intimated, acted too hastily—let him reconsider the proposal: if he adopted their advice, how greatly would he not advance his glory.—Louis complied: No declaration of hostilities was made; no Herald defied the enemy; and Otho, utterly unprepared for such an attack, was surprised by the sudden invasion. Louis went forth, boldly as was his wont. A fleet, fitted out by Athelstane for the purpose of aiding his nephew, cruised in the channel, ready to

support the French land-forces—the first example of our naval interference in continental affairs. But this co-operation was not required : Otho's troops had withdrawn from the country : and Louis was hailed throughout Lotharingia as the Liberator of the Kingdom.

936-942

939-940

During the threatening period, when Otho's Realm seemed to be breaking away on the West, Henry assembled his partizans at Saalfeld in Thuringia. A splendid festival was followed by the proclamation that King Henry's eldest son had assumed his rightful royal authority. His adherents were numerous and enthusiastic ; and, with their approbation, he directed his march towards Alsace. Gilbert joined him with some Lotharingian troops. Otho was stationed near the Rhine, at Xanthén, to oppose their passage. A happy accident, improved by Otho's talent and the valour of his soldiers, enabled him to resist the assailants : and, crossing the river, he entered Lotharingia, laid siege to Gilbert's strong fortress of Chevremont, and devastated the country with fire and sword. Yet Otho's success was imperfect. He was compelled to retreat ; and a truce of thirty days, equally welcome to both belligerent parties, afforded them respectively the means of developing their schemes. One unexpected result was obtained—Gilbert abandoned his projects of independence, and coalesced with the Vermandois Confederates.

Henry the Porphyrogenitus assumes the royal authority.

Advance of Henry checked by Otho. Gilbert abandons his own pretensions, and joins the Vermandois party.

§ 14. The four principal Lotharingian Magnates performed homage to Louis on behalf of the rest : that is to say,—Gilbert, compelled sorely against his will to forget his pretensions ;—Isaac, Count of Cambrai ;—Otho, Count of Verdun ;—and Thierry, Count of Holland. Gladly, would the Lotharingian Prelates have concurred, but they were so coerced by Otho—either in consequence of the position of his army, or because they had given some security or pledge to him—that they were compelled to restrain their loyalty. Great advantages indeed did this accession of territory promise to the young King Louis. He was “reintegrating” the inheritance of his forefathers, spreading his realm onwards into Charlemagne's antient Empire. Might he not expel the intruding Saxon, and perhaps acquire the whole Cisalpine Realm ? But Otho was as bold as Louis, no less fertile in expedients, superior in state-craft, wider in aim. The designs of restoring the Empire, which we may fancy in Louis, were ultimately executed by Otho ; and whilst Louis was establishing himself in Lotharingia, a new combination ensued, having for its object the reannexation of Neustria to the German Realm.

940

The Lotharingian Magnates perform homage to Louis.

936-942

939-940

Otho
combines
with the
discon-
tented
Frankish
nobles.

The good fortune attending the efforts of Louis, the extent of his influence, the liberal support he obtained, elicited a corresponding energy amongst the Capetian Revolters, with whom Arnoul of Flanders, notwithstanding his grudges against Guillaume, had now joined. Otho, diligently observant of their dispathies and their sympathies, immediately sought to neutralize the advantages which Louis had gained, availing himself astutely of the apprehensions excited amongst the Confederates by the king's prosperity; and a very threatening and unprecedented alliance between Germany and discontented France, was formed. Hitherto, however disobedient or detrimental to Louis the conduct of the Confederates had been, they were only Revolters from the King, now they became Rebels against him. Otho crossed the Rhine: a conference ensued. Duke Hugh, Count Herbert, Count Arnoul, and Count Guillaume, came before the son of Henry the Fowler, took the oath of fealty, and transferred their allegiance to the German Sovereign.

940

Hugh-le-
Grand and
his party
transfer
their
allegiance
to King
Otho.

This defection cannot be construed otherwise than as separating the territories of these Princes from the Crown of France and annexing them to the Crown of Germany.—If Otho could keep Lotharingia, then his Suzerainty over Hugh-le-Grand's Duchy of France, Herbert's County of Vermandois, Arnoul's County or Marquisate of Flanders, Guillaume Longue-épée's County or Duchy of Normandy, together with the appendant Brittany, would widen his imperial dominion from the Rhine to the Atlantic ocean.

Nothing deterred however was Louis. He marched to Verdun, where the Prelates, who had liberated themselves from Otho's duress, performed homage. His presence, he might boast, inspired obedience.—How great was the progress which Louis had seemed to be making, towards the revival of the antient Carolingian glories! Yet, if Louis expected any permanent tranquillity, he was hoping against hope. The soil was saturated with treachery. Whilst Louis was away, his own Bishop, Raoul, Bishop of Laon, was negotiating for the surrender of that City to Herbert of Vermandois. Louis marched from Alsace, and expelled the dishonest Prelate. But Fortune-tide was turning. Otho resumed operations, observantly and steadily, contending equally against force and against treachery; his stout heart sustained him. Otho recruited his army, and reentered Lotharingia. Louis retreated. Gilbert and Prince Henry united their forces, fiercely prosecuting the war against Otho. But they

Louis
retreats
from
Lorraine.

mismanaged their enterprises ; and untoward events disconcerted their schemes. Gilbert, leaving Gerberga, his lion-hearted lady, in the strong castle of Chevremont, advanced towards the Rhine, with the intent of joining Everhard of Franconia, who had actually renewed the rebellion. Taking their station at Andernach, they were over-powered by Otho's troops. Everhard was cut down. As for Duke Gilbert, never afterwards was he seen or heard of. The bold Swimmer, according to a generally credited report, had been tempted by his ardent rashness to destruction :—he and his horse tried to swim the Rhine ; but they perished in the rapid stream.

935-942

939-940

Gilbert's
mysterious
death.

Another version of the event, to the following effect, was, however, equally prevalent, and many people believed that it was confirmed by positive evidence—Gilbert, with many other fugitives, swamped the little boat into which they crowded. His corpse, cast upon the shore, was found, (as it was said), by certain fishermen, who stripped off his valuables, burying the body for the purpose of concealing the robbery. The remains however were discovered, and the noble nuns of Remiremont asserted, even until the suppression of their opulent Convent, that an obit, sung in their Church, pursuant to an endowment supposed to have been made by Gerberga, soon after Gilbert's death, indicated his ultimate place of sepulture.

During these transactions, Otho continued to besiege Breisach ; not "Nouveau-Breisach," Louis-Quatorze's dull pentagon ; but the original Breisach, now designated as "Alt-Breisach," Old Breisach,—then situated upon an island, which, by the shifting of the channel, has been since conjoined to the right bank of the Rhine. Otho's position was perilous. Henry's forces were assembling in his rear. But Duke Gilbert's death decided the contest : Henry was discomfited. Gerberga would not harbour the insurgent Prince, and exhorted their father's younger son to submit to the Elder. Otho returned to Lotharinga : and completely reduced the country.—Some time afterwards, the Porphyrogenitus obtained a grant of the Duchy¹: the brethren were reconciled, and the unnatural contest ended.

Not long did Gerberga linger in her weeds. Whilst Otho was re-advancing towards Lotharinga, Louis prevented him, and hastened to Chevremont for the pious purpose of offering his condolences to the Widow. Gilbert's strange and untimely death, as the gallant and sympathizing Louis professed, had grieved him deeply ; and he repaired to the Relict's Castle, in order that he

939

Marriage
of Louis
and
Gerberga.

936-942 might comfort her under her affliction—He did so very effectually ;
 —before the calendar year had closed, the merry young king
 939-940 returned with full-blown Gerberga as his Wife ; and, ere long,
 the Queen Consort was crowned at Laon. We shall hear much
 more concerning Gerberga, in connexion with Normandy and
 Norman affairs. She had already one son and one daughter by
 her first husband, and was almost old enough to be the mother
 of her second. A wise and energetic matron, Gerberga became
 in all respects a judicious and faithful helpmate to Louis ; no
 prime minister could have served him better. After his death,
 she proved the vigilant and affectionate guardian of their children :
 not, perhaps, overscrupulous in state-policy ; yet the errors, into
 which the best principled were seduced, during these perilous
 times, should receive a lenient judgment.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
want of
truth.

§ 15. The interest arising from the dramatically diversified incidents characterizing the declining Carolingian era, is, in a manner, diminished by the monotony of political treachery. We are compelled to harp upon it.—Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois were inveterately tainted ; Arnoul of Flanders belonged to a disobedient and wayward lineage ; all had abundance of hostile and grudging recollections, affronts and injuries, past and present, ancestral or personal. Their adhesion, therefore, to the King of Germany, and their consequent renunciation of their own Sovereign, resulted from a uniform course of conduct ; but with respect to Guillaume Longue-épée the case was otherwise.—No complaint against Louis had Guillaume to prefer, no grievance real or pretended to allege ; his friendship for Louis was uncoerced : he had bestowed the greatest help in his power to Louis, who had cordially reciprocated. Yet, as we have seen, Guillaume in the very gaiety of his heart, joined the armed opposition headed by Hugh-le-Grand ; and his defection to Otho closed the way which was opening for the prosperous maturation of the young King's fortunes.

If our imagination be taxed to discover or to invent an excuse for Guillaume Longue-épée's breach of faith, we can find none, except that arguments sufficiently plausible to deaden the moral sense of the man by satisfying the conscience of the politician, may have been grounded upon the assumption that Louis had, in the first instance, when he discarded Hugh-le-Grand, violated his compact with the realm. Under this view, the revolt became a constitutional attempt to bring an erring monarch to reason : and, the admonition failing, he had vacated the throne.—Whether

such a mode of dealing with the Sovereign was justifiable or not, Guillaume Longue-épée had become King Otho's Man, and had voluntarily bound himself to be so.—Whether the deed was righteous or not, still the deed was done. But, with Guillaume Longue-épée, and indeed with all his contemporaries, there was an enduring mental reservation, that neither oath nor promise held any longer than pleased the party who took the oath or gave the promise. Guillaume Longue-épée extended this convenient doctrine to all duties and relations; and, within a very short time afterwards, when Louis had conducted his experienced Bride to her Palatial home, Guillaume Longue-épée determined to desert his party, abandon the oath he had sworn to Otho, detach himself from the Confederacy, and reconnect himself with the French Monarchy.

936-942

939

For Guillaume's sudden evolution, performed by him with such amazing rapidity, no reason is assigned by the historians, none can be discerned upon the surface. Fickle in love and fickle in religion, fickle in friendship and fickle in enmity, fickle in peace and fickle in war, we might content ourselves by ascribing this most unexpected mutation to mere instability: and yet, however nicely the weathercock may be poised, however smoothly the vane may whirl upon its axis, some breeze must breathe, however gently, to make the girouette spin round. We suspect that Guillaume was driven back to Louis by an anxiety which had been secretly disquieting him till he could no longer bear the gnawing. Although Guillaume Longue-épée was fully in possession of the Terra Normannorum, together with all the rights, members and appurtenances of the said Terra Normannorum, that is to say, Maritime Brittany, and the supremacy of Armorica, even unto the sea, yet that possession was not fully confirmed. The grant, made by the Burgundian Raoul, had not been re-issued by the Carlovingian Louis in proper form, a process purposely delayed, may be, in the first instance, or neglected; and now, so long as Guillaume continued his hostility, unattainable. The Sovereign often found that it was expedient to excuse the laches of a powerful Prince who had omitted to apply for a "renovation" of his "dignity." On their part, the French Potentates frequently dispensed with the ratification conferred by the King, yet, as we have already observed, they were not satisfied without it. The King, in theory, was always the centre of the system.

Title of
Guillaume
Longue-
épée to the
Duchy of
Normandy
incomplete
till ratified
by Louis.

936-942

939

A complete legalization of beneficiary possession could not be obtained otherwise than through the King's direct sanction—and Normandy, during the earlier eras of her political existence, approximated more closely to the normal type of a “Fief,”—before such type was artistically developed by the Jurists,—than any other domain of the like nature, save and except the Marquisate of Flanders.—No fears are more distressing to the constitutionally timid than when any apprehensions of evil, having the smallest foundation in reason, are conjoined to the highest degree of improbability. How painfully does the fear of poverty flicker over the millionaire's troubled brain, and we may believe that Guillaume Longue-épée quailed before the phantoms which the contemplation of his own falsehood had raised. Upon legal principles, Guillaume Longue-épée's title to his dominions was very questionable. Being in the king's allegiance, he had renounced that allegiance, and why should not Louis, availing himself of the prerogatives of the Crown, rarely exercised yet never renounced, declare him a Felon, proclaim him under the ban of the Empire, depose the rebel Duke, and then condemn the denuded “Commander of the Pirates” to death?—The motives urging Guillaume to seek the Sovereign are disclosed, as fully as unspoken sentiments can ever be disclosed, by the conduct which he pursued.

940

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
returns
to his
allegiance,
and per-
forms
homage to
Louis at
Amiens.

Guillaume despatched a respectful legation to Louis, transmitting assurances of unshaken fidelity—an undaunted assertion, which must have required a marvellous power of face in the grave ambassadors by whom the same was propounded.—The young King was at Laon, happy with his bride, at once new and mature, buxom Gerberga; and welcome indeed was this message to him. Amiens was appointed as the place of meeting; and thither Guillaume Longue-épée repaired. Kneeling before the King, and receiving from the King a re-grant of the “Province”—this is the term employed by those who recorded the transaction—“which the late King Charles had granted to the late Patrician of the Normans, Guillaume Longue-épée's father, Rollo,” and commending himself to the King, placing his hands between the hands of the King, Guillaume became the Man of Louis in the most solemn and authentic form.

Yet, even the act of homage sufficed not to satisfy Guillaume's zeal and humility; the dry legal formula did not adequately express the intensity of his feelings.—He declared he would sacrifice his life, were such a sacrifice needed, could he thereby

replace his Sovereign in the plenitude of imperial power. He would do all that King Louis pleased : he would live or die for the sake of King Louis.

936-942

940

§ 16. Under any or all circumstances, the French hated and scorned the “*Dux Piratarum*.” Must not their contemptuous sentiments have been immeasurably enhaunched by the conduct and bearing of the self-stigmatized recreant ?—When Guillaume Longue-épée presented himself as a true homager before Louis at Amiens, he branded the Guillaume Longue-épée who had knelt before Otho in Lotharingia, as a traitor. He had wantonly abandoned his lawful King, to him trebly lawful :—lawful by inheritance,—lawful by the nation’s assent,—lawful by his own voluntary and uncoerced adherence. No censures passed upon Guillaume Longue-épée for his previous desertion of the King, could have been so bitter as those which he inflicted upon himself by his present professions of good service, and his outbursts of exuberant loyalty. The inveterate Luegenfeld perverseness of the age bestowed a popular condonation upon such delinquencies as disgraced the Norman Duke. Yet some conventional apology, some shew of repentance, would have been decent.—The French annals present us with curious examples of the outward contrition exhibited by Offenders not so bad as Guillaume.—Had the forsworn Duke, bareheaded, clad in a thin poor garment, tarried by the high-road side, and then craved permission to embrace the King’s knees, and, kneeling on the stones, and confessing his disobedience and his untruth, humbly solicited forgiveness, he would only have repeated the self-imposed discipline of Guillaume of Poitou before King Raoul.

But Guillaume Longue-épée, though making ample professions as to the future, did not own to any guilt in the past. No sorrowful regret was expressed, no pardon asked. He proffered his submission to Louis boldly, like a man who did not anticipate any rebuff, and who had nothing to be ashamed of. Louis very much needed Guillaume’s help ; and he therefore welcomed the return of the disobedient Duke as readily as it had been tendered. If any of the Pirate’s indignant enemies scoffed at his renovated loyalty, the admirers of the pleasant and prosperous young Duke might have pleaded the exigencies of the times as the excuse for his tergiversations, and paraded his speedy return to his allegiance as a full compensation for his political *faux pas*.—Guillaume Longue-épée did not, however, allow any breathing time for the expression of sentiment. Whilst his hands were yet, so to speak,

936-942 feeling the warmth and pressure of the hands of King Louis his
Seigneur and Sovereign, Guillaume superadded a further act of
treachery to his previously repeated acts of treachery, and un-
sheathed his sword against that Seigneur and Sovereign, seeking
to cut at him, where the wound would occasion the keenest
smart.—

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
prepares
to change
sides
again.

Position of
Herbert of
Vermandois.

The opportunity of which Guillaume availed himself was furnished by the ever-restless Herbert of Vermandois—Count Herbert had been baffled : his power, his craft, his influence had not prevailed against the young King ; his cravings continued unsatisfied. In the Vermandois territory, between Laon and Rheims, a remarkable hill arises ; which was *then* known by the name of the Montfendu. Herbert of Vermandois ascending that hill, and gazing on the prospect commanded by the summit, must have been sadly teased and tantalized by the reminiscences which the view recalled. If Herbert looked to the West, he beheld in the verge of the horizon the unconquered Rock of Laon ; and, if he turned his face to the East, he saw, in the extreme perspective, the towers of Rheims, whence his son had been expelled.

Herbert's
chance of
recovering
Rheims.

The worrying warfare which Herbert prosecuted against Archbishop Artaldus, had, however, been so far profitable to Herbert, that it enabled him to gain time for the organization of his plans. The fruit was beginning to ripen, the chances of replacing the lad Hugh in the See were encouraging. Hugoline was favoured by a strong party amongst the citizens. Could Herbert regain Rheims, he would accept the prize as a full equivalent for Laon. If the young Deacon could be reinstated in the Archiepiscopal throne, the vast temporalities of the See would pass, as a matter of course, to Herbert the father, and, conjoined to the sovereignty of the Vermandois, render the Ruler even greater than Hugh-le-Grand. Therefore, if there was any one contingency which Louis, having due regard for the maintenance of his influence, the stability of the throne, and, perhaps, the security of his life, had most to fear, it was the accomplishment of this scheme.

Herbert of
Vermandois
renews the
warfare
for the
acquisition
of Rheims.

Louis, fully appreciating the imminent danger, worked in every way for the preservation of Rheims, and Archbishop Artaldus, though appointed by King Raoul, adhered faithfully to King Louis. He was a wise statesman, and a doughty soldier ; and Louis granted important honours and privileges to the Prelate, which rendered him more useful as an ally—the dignity of “ Count of Rheims,”—and the royal prerogative of coining money. Some ineffectual, or rather deceptive, overtures were made by Herbert

to the Archbishop, for the purpose of negotiating a truce. The King, being on his road to Burgundy, Artaldus exerted himself to make a diversion in favour of the royal cause, mustered his troops and invested Causoste on the Oise, which place he captured after five days' blockade. Rejoicing in the opportunity of shewing mercy, Artaldus allowed the garrison to go free. But the Castle, he razed to the ground. The Royal party acted upon the doctrine that such strongholds were public nuisances, and put them down accordingly.

936-942
940-941

Herbert was much provoked by this achievement. In a confined field of action, small successes assume a portentous magnitude—and, stimulated by this mishap, Herbert applied to Hugh-le-Grand for aid. They determined to attack Rheims. But the large and strong City, girt by her broad Roman walls, might offer a protracted resistance; it was extremely important that they should win the post before Louis could come up to relieve the besieged. For this purpose additional force was required; and the required support was immediately found. Guillaume Longue-épée, the humble Liegeman of Louis, vanishes; and, in the twinkling of an eye, Guillaume Longue-épée re-appears on the stage in the part which he acts so perfectly, the character of a rebel.

Hugh and Herbert of Vermandois lay siege to Rheims.

Without demur or hesitation Guillaume Longue-épée again joined the implacable enemies of that Sovereign to whom he had just pledged his solemn oath, swearing to die in his defence. Concurring with all his power in the prosecution of the complot for effecting the transfer of the Crown to the German King; Guillaume reunited himself to the Capetian confederates. Treason without the walls of Rheims was combined with treachery within: the Citizens and a portion of the soldiery conspired in favour of the Herbertines. The anger of the loyal or Cathedral party was exalted to desperation: "Dogs," "Rascals," "Tyrants," were the names they bestowed upon the three hostile Commanders, Herbert, Hugh-le-Grand, and Guillaume Longue-épée.

Guillaume Longue-épée joins the confederates.

Such scolding disclosed their weakness. At the expiration of six days, the City, divided against itself, surrendered. Archbishop Artaldus fled into the Sanctuary of Saint Remi; the "Dogs," the "Rascals," the "Tyrants," carried all before them. Archbishop Artaldus was urged to surrender his Crook; but though he might not care for the flock, he adhered to the pasture, and demurred. Nobles, Knights, Citizens, nay, his suffragan Bishops, all united in the same irksome request; at length

936-942

940-941

Arch-
bishop
Artaldus
expelled,
and Hugh
restored to
the See.

Artaldus was bullied into a compromise. These were not times when the Clergy could very safely resist such demands. Had he continued obstinate, his enemies would scarcely have scrupled to pluck out his eyes. Two good Abbeys were offered as a compensation for the Archbishoprick, Artaldus gladly took what he could get; and, to the great satisfaction of "the Dogs," agreed to resign; yet, after he made the promise he would neither execute the deed nor quit Rheims, until "the Dogs" hunted him away. Artaldus retired to the Abbey of Saint Baseule; not however with the intention of seeking retirement in the Cloister, but in order that he might prepare for making reprisals. He had granted the lands of the See to his kinsmen, as military tenants. These grants were annulled by the victorious Vermandois party, and the ousted Knights were burning for vengeance.

This second ejection of Artaldus did not terminate the miserable contest, which was prolonged during twenty years more. The fact is, that neither of the competitors could establish a clear and satisfactory right to the archiepiscopal throne. If Hugh had a blot on his canonical title, so had Artaldus,—of a different tint may be,—but just as dark. However, the Citizens, the clergy ultimately assenting, claimed Hugh—who had now outgrown the epithet of *parvulus*,—as the Archbishop of their choice. A Provincial Council was held; and Artaldus having been solemnly deposed by the Synod, the Vermandois Primate was installed in the dignity, but only to await a reiteration of his expulsion.

Hugh-le-
Grand,
Herbert,
and
Longue-
épée, try
to reduce
Laon.

§ 17. Thus was Rheims lost to the King, and the heavy loss mainly inflicted through Guillaume Longue-épée's instrumentality. Louis was then warring in Burgundy, where the Loyalists gave him considerable support. Hugh-le-Noir gladly maintained the Royal cause against Hugh-le-Grand; nevertheless the Confederates were improving their successes. Laon was unprotected: thereupon angry Hugh-le-Grand, wily Herbert, and flourishing Guillaume Longue-épée, encouraged by the advantages they had obtained at Rheims, marched against the City of the rock, expecting to succeed by surprise or collusion. But Laon could offer stout resistance from within. A massive tower had been recently erected by Louis, intended, according to usage, both for splendour and protection,—a palace and a castle. Gerberga was left there by Louis as his Lieutenant. When, Duchess of Lorraine, the newly married Queen had defended Chevreumont, she acquired good experience in the affairs of war. Emma and Hildebranda

Gerberga's
defence of
Laon.

and Ogiva had all signalized their courage and fidelity at Laon : 936-942
 a fourth heroine was now added to their number. The garrison 940-941
 was ample and trustworthy ; and, during seven vain weeks, the
 Confederates invested and battered rock and tower.

Had fortune favoured their enterprise, Louis would not have retained any means of exercising his royal authority, otherwise than as a skirmisher in the open field. Like his father under analogous circumstances, he would have been virtually dethroned. But the Confederates did not intend that his station should continue problematical. They were fully determined that he should lose, not only the substance, but even the shadow of royalty ; and Otho, now at Pierrepont on the Aisne, near Laon, had been marching up from Lotharingia, for the purpose of co-operating with the besiegers.

Otho
 advances
 into the
 isle of
 France.

Louis equally alert, and fully apprized of his danger, was advancing from Burgundy. Archbishop Artaldus had joined him, accompanied by his host of hungry kinsmen, the dis-beneficed Knights of Rheims. The numerical strength of the forces under Louis was small ; but the Confederates, probably discouraged by the length of the siege, dared not meet the brave young King and his eager adherents. Hugh and Herbert therefore having abandoned their position before Laon—(let it be remarked that nothing is said concerning Guillaume Longue-épée)—marched in the dead of the night to Pierrepont, from whence they solemnly escorted the German King to time-honoured Attigny. Affinity did not inspire any compunction to the great Otho. He had warred implacably against his brother-in-law, Gilbert, Gerberga's first husband ; and he was equally ready to adopt the same course with his brother-in-law, Louis, Gerberga's second husband : —she might have become a widow again, for any thing that Otho cared. Installed in the ancient Palace where Merovingians and Carlovingians had held their royal state, Otho appeared as the ruling Monarch, and there, Hugh-le-Grand, Herbert of Vermandois, and Roger, the displaced Count of Laon, but now Count of Douay, Guillaume Longue-épée's intimate, performed homage to the Saxon, again implying that they acknowledged him to be their King. Otho, to whom so much magnanimity is ascribed by the traditions of German history, ought, as a Sovereign, to have been deeply interested in fostering the sentiments of loyalty ; but, under any stress of political temptation, Princes and Parliaments always find the means of granting plenary absolution for the violation of the very principles upon which their existence depends.

940
 Homages
 again
 performed
 to Otho
 at Attigny
 by the
 French
 nobles.

936-942

§ 18. But, where is Guillaume Longue-épée?—We meet him

940-941

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
detaches
himself
from
the con-
federates.

not at Attigny.—The rotten net of treachery was always breaking. When his allies, Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert, and his confidential friend Count Roger, marched in the dead of the night to Pierrepont, he remained behind, or stole away. Had Guillaume become jealous of Hugh-le-Grand? Hugh-le-Grand was a thorough-blood genuine Frenchman; and Guillaume Longue-épée knew that a Frenchman could not help regarding him with an aversion which nothing short of a moral miracle could overcome.—Guillaume was always rubbing against the collar. His constant restlessness under any promise, oath, or engagement of any kind,—his nervousness,—the panic fears which haunted him,—approximate to symptoms of mental infirmity. Nevertheless his aberrations were systematic—always circling round his own dear self—self-preservation, self-gratification, or self-aggrandisement; and his varied devices were astutely, if not wisely, consistently calculated to answer these ends.

The Attigny proceedings were very threatening to Louis; but his elasticity encreased under pressure. In the North of France, Guillaume's influence was failing; yet compensations were obtainable in Burgundy; and Louis well knew how to profit by the chances of war, and the far more fertile sources of advantage offered by the accommodating consciences of his adversaries. Count Roger of Douay, now the subject of King Otho, had stationed himself upon the Marne, for the purpose of intercepting the march of the King whom he had discarded. Louis defeated the noble Count Roger by a vigorous assault: the recreant was taken prisoner, and Louis would have been fully justified, had he thought fit to gibbet his captive. But, instead of displaying severity, Louis placidly treated Count Roger as though he had made a mistake, behaved courteously towards him, and received him into favour; having, without doubt, due consideration for the intimacy subsisting between Count Roger and Guillaume Longue-épée, and possibly also suspecting that the latter was not unlikely to wheel about, and replace himself beneath the royal standard.

Again the war was concentrated into a contest for the City of the Rock. Hugh-le-Grand and Count Herbert, albeit deprived of Guillaume Longue-épée's assistance, summoned their forces and advanced towards Laon, doubting whether they would be able to reduce the Stronghold by force, yet still reckoning upon their friends within the City. Distinguished partizans were these

friends, Arnoul, Count of St. Quentin in the Vermandois, and Landric, his brother. But the sharp-sighted Louis gained information of the plot, and expelled the colluders. The vigilant and active King collected a considerable body of troops, and advanced to the "Pays Porcien."¹—Hugh-le-Grand and Count Herbert were not less vigilant and active. Quitting the siege of Laon, by a sudden movement they came up to Louis, surprised him, and dispersed his army. The King was obliged to fly for his life :—had they caught him, we should now be writing the concluding paragraph of his history. Nevertheless, the Confederates had received a check ; and Louis, having found a temporary refuge in the castle of Hautmond, returned to Laon and to Gerberga, nothing daunted. The defeat he sustained in the Pays Porcien became the commencement of a more prosperous æra in his reign.

936-942

941-942

§ 19. The potency of the veneration commanded by St. Peter's Chair, subsisting undiminished, despite of the Supreme Pontiff's vices or misfortunes, is a secular phenomenon recurring in every successive æra of Ecclesiastical history. A memorable example of this inherent energy is afforded by Stephen, sometimes reckoned as the Eighth, though more correctly as the Ninth, who now filled the Papal throne. A German by birth, an obscure and mean man, of whom, previously to his Pontificate, we know nothing, though such was his character that the unanimous suffrages of the Roman people elevated him to the Primacy of Christendom.

Pope Stephen IX.
(939-942)
interferes
on the
King's
behalf.

Stephen became very obnoxious to Count Alberic², and the other tyrannical Lords of Rome. They dared not deprive Stephen of life ; but the course whereby they satisfied their malignity was scarcely, if at all, less atrocious than murder. Stephen was assaulted by the congenial retainers of the Nobles, who hacked and slashed his face most cruelly, his countenance being rendered so ghastly, that he never afterwards appeared in public, lest the hideous spectacle should distress the beholders. Yet, notwithstanding his seclusion from the general converse of mankind, Stephen resolutely exerted all the functions appertaining to his exalted mission. The oppressions he sustained, had in no wise diminished his earnestness for the protection of others. Acting according to the principles of the Church, as she enounced in antient Councils, Stephen solemnly admonished the Princes of France to obey their lawful King, and sheath the sword. In France, the sentence was duly promulgated by the Papal Legate,

936-942

941-942

Continuation of the insurrectionary war: Guillaume Longue-épée passes over to the royal party.

certainly encreasing the moral strength of the royal cause: falterers were confirmed in their allegiance; and the open declaration of a right principle never fails to produce some good, however faintly and tardily evolved.

§ 20. Herbert was bent upon continuing his rough wooing of Laon: but Guillaume Longue-épée's absence seems to have perplexed him, therefore he and Duke Hugh again beleaguered the City, probably retaining the lingering hope that some secret well-wisher would turn the key from within. Queen Gerberga continued at Laon, as the only place where she could be protected. Expectations were entertained that she would become a mother. Hugh and Herbert suddenly raised the siege. Gerberga may possibly have thanked them in her heart, supposing that commiseration for a poor burthened woman had induced the compassionate warriors to desist;—but no such chivalry: they repaired to Guillaume Longue-épée, and then returned and recommenced hostilities.

Intrigues of Guillaume Longue-épée.

Louis, adapting himself to circumstances, shifted his ground, and encountered his adversaries with their own weapons, exploding their mine by a countermine. Guillaume Longue-épée could not be trusted by any party, and yet no party could venture to neglect Guillaume Longue-épée. Twice within the brief period since the accession of Louis, had the Duke of Normandy betrayed his lawful Sovereign, and twice the Capetians, and now, for the third time, making the fifth in this class of defections, did the pitiable son of Rollo prepare again to desert his confederates. A series of transactions ensued, of which the results are very patent, though the course of events is involved in extreme obscurity. Negotiations and intrigues ensued which never were revealed:—kept so close that not a syllable of them is recorded;—and their purport can only be surmised from the actions of the principal personages. These, imperfectly observed, inaccurately related from memory, or casually and meagrely noted down on the tablets of contemporaries who participated in the troubles, defy all attempts to reduce them into a consistent narrative. I am not aware of any portion of mediæval history which, being fairly within ken, offers equal perplexities; and the difficulty of treating the subject is encreased by the absence of any intelligible principle; except so far, that, setting aside every other consideration, each consulted his own interest: and Guillaume Longue-épée, quietly and slyly drawing away from his own friends, became a recognized adherent of the King.

§ 21. The Capetians finally abandoned their attempts upon Laon, and Gerberga being happily left in tranquillity, a male child was born to her as the wife of Louis, the event most desirable for sustaining the moral influence of the Crown. When Louis returned from beyond the sea he was the only recognized representative of the Carlovingian line. In his person, had he died without issue, the lineage of Louis-le-Débonnaire would have become extinct. Nor would there have been any individual who could assert any claim to the throne by right of Carlovingian blood, unless the Vermandois family, the representatives of Pepin King of Lombardy, had been rehabilitated in the national opinion as the descendants of the great Emperor. It is not improbable but that Herbert calculated upon the chances which the demise of Louis without an heir might afford. Nay, even more. What if Hugh-le-Grand, the representative of King Robert, were, in such a contingency, to assert that the reasonings which, erewhile, restrained him from accepting the Crown upon the demise of Raoul, were no longer applicable to the exigencies of the State, and that he was free to ascend the throne ?

936-942

941-942

941

Birth of
Lothaire,
son of King
Louis and
Gerberga.

The boundary deduced from the principle of political necessity is of indefinite vastness ; and Hugh-le-Grand might have argued with convincing plausibility, that the claim of blinded Bernard's¹ lineage, the Lombard line², had been absolutely foreclosed, and that the Kingdom was therefore thrown open to any new man or new family. Thus, without contradicting the spirit of his former professions, he might accept the oft-proffered diadem ; but all speculations grounded upon the repudiation or extinction of the " throne-worthy " Carlovingian race, were, by the Queen's fruitfulness, postponed indefinitely. Gerberga was now happily delivered of a son, her first child by her second marriage : two others followed duly and regularly ; and, as far as human prescience could extend, there was good reason to expect the perpetuation of the Carlovingian dynasty.

Louis, however, was labouring under heavy perplexities. Enemies were continually pressing upon him : his best chance of raising up any efficient opposition to Hugh-le-Grand and crafty Herbert was through Guillaume Longue-épée. It was now understood that the Duke of Normandy was well disposed to re-invest himself with the Courtier's garb, and re-enter the royal presence-chamber ; and Louis, postponing affront and indignation, was no less willing to receive him. Taking advantage of the late joyful occurrence, he entreated Guillaume Longue-épée to become

Gu
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936-942 the sponsor of the royal infant. The offer was exceedingly gratifying to Guillaume's vanity: he accepted the honour, and repaired forthwith to Laon.

941-942 Much renown did gentle Guillaume Longue-épée earn by his courtesy towards the Lady Queen. As Godfather, he presented the child at the font. The name of "Lothaire," a reminiscence of the old time, was revived in that infant, the last but one of the Carolingian dynasty. More pointedly important than Guillaume's pleasant demeanour, were the unsolicited promises which, upon this occasion, he made to the King. He declared, with earnest humility, that he submitted to Louis as a Monarch possessing the throne by hereditary, and therefore indefeasible right, wearing the crown which had descended from generation to generation. Guillaume Longue-épée would humbly obey his anointed Suzerain in all things, aid him against every rebel, defend every one whom Louis befriended, and be the foe of every one whom Louis would mark out as an enemy.

These outpourings could not pass unnoticed by his insurgent associates of yesterday. How could Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois relish such a manifestation? Would he go against them in right earnest, or how?—The marauding "Captain of the Pirates" was distrusted and scorned by the French, this apostate loyalty would render him more contemptible than before. But though Guillaume might suspect these feelings, he did not heed them. His return from Laon to Rouen was a continued triumph: the Normans rejoiced enthusiastically in the station which their Duke had attained: women and children crowded the battlements as he advanced towards the Porte Beauvoisine: the Clergy came forth with psalm and song.

941
Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
trium-
phant
entry into
Rouen.

§ 22. Louis made a prudent selection when he appointed Roger, Count of Douay, now Count of Laon, as his representative at the Norman Court; nor did the unexpected death of the Envoy interrupt the progress of the new alliance, through which the Carolingian Monarch sought to check the development of the Capetian Dynasty.

Could Louis secure the Duchy of Normandy, the Duchy of France would be fully counterpoised in the balance of power. Hitherto, the *Terra Normannorum* had been only imperfectly connected with the French Monarchy. The idea of the Duchy was not distinctly conceived. Louis was strange to the populations beyond the Epte; they hardly knew him as their King; and he therefore discreetly practised upon Guillaume's hospitality

for the purpose of familiarizing them with his presence, and making them realize his Royal supremacy—seeing is believing.—Since the occupation of ancient Rothomagus by the Danes, no King of France, whether Carlovingian, or Burgundian, or Capetian, neither a Charles-le-Simple, nor a Raoul, nor a Robert, had dared to present himself before her towers as an enemy, or to dwell within her walls as a friend. Either course, hazardous : a hostile King might be sorely discomfited, a confiding King, betrayed. But Louis would not display fear ; and, accepting Guillaume Longue-épée's invitation, he made, as Sovereign, his *joyeuse entrée*. Louis was cordially and honourably received.—If it encreased his influence that the Northmen should learn to recognize the individuality of the Sovereign, equally calculated to advance his interests was the instruction he acquired by becoming personally acquainted with Rouen and the defences of Rouen, the breadth of her portals, the height of her ramparts, the ways within and the accesses without, the streets and the roads, the meads where troops might encamp, the surrounding hamlets where they might be covered, or the defiles through which they must pass.—But far more than the defences,—the Defenders of Rouen.—Here Louis for the first time saw the countenances of the antient warriors—the last connecting links between the age of the pagan Rollo and his own,—Oslac and courteous Botho, and Bernard the Dane. A wary general, Louis in Normandy might also glean information concerning the military strength of Guillaume's proud dominion, whilst Louis the statesman, mixing freely and condescendingly with Guillaume's Counsellors and Vassals, and not disdaining the converse of the Burgher, or even the Villain, would obtain some insight into the factions and parties whose discontents and antagonisms cankered Guillaume's power.

Guillaume was striving to vindicate the character of his refashioned loyalty, working strenuously for the purpose of restoring the King's authority amongst the neighbouring Princes. Here through Guillaume's exertions was Louis greeted by his brother-in-law the vigorous and prosperous Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe, and Alain Barbe-torte the Breton, the descendant of the antient Kings, both of whom, yielding to Guillaume's influence, proffered their military service. It should seem that Tête-d'étoupe had refused to acknowledge Louis : his present recognition rivetted Aquitaine to the Monarchy : whilst the promises made by Barbe-torte, and in which Juhel Berenger and the other

936-942

941-942

942

Louis enters Rouen, and is received with royal honours.

Barbe-torte and Tête-d'étoupe proffer military service to Louis.

936-942 Breton Chieftains joined, would, without releasing the immediate
 dependence of Brittany upon Normandy, render them more
 941-942 cordial in co-operating for Louis under Guillaume Longue-épée,
 should occasion arise.

As by these transactions Guillaume Longue-épée had determinately proclaimed himself the prime adherent of King Louis, so were Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois driven closer to Otho, supporting his cause with rival energy : and with them he retreated into Lotharingia. Further motions were made by Louis for a pacification : and in the course of these proceedings we have an account—so blurred however by the narrator that we cannot attempt to bring it into shape,—exhibiting Guillaume Longue-épée as having repaired to Lorraine when seeking an interview with the German King. The affection between Gerberga and her brother revived—Otho had enriched his nephew and namesake, her son by Gilbert, with Gilbert's Duchy, acknowledging him as his father's heir. Louis on his part was well disposed to be reconciled with his brother-in-law ; but, towards Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Vermandois he conducted himself austere-ly : he neither courted them nor evinced any dread of their power : yet was willing to make peace.

September,
 942.
 Negotia-
 tions
 between
 Louis and
 Otho.

At length, through the intervention of Guillaume Longue-épée, a conference ensued on the banks of the Oise. Louis and Guillaume Longue-épée marched thither, supported by the Poitevins and the Bretons : encamping upon the Southern bank : Herbert, Hugh, and young Otho, the new Duke of Lotharingia, took their station on the opposite shore. They arrived first, for such were the mutual suspicions entertained by these kinsmen, that King Otho and the Confederates had advanced by forced marches for the purpose of taking precautions against surprise : they broke down all the bridges, and cleared away the craft from the river, leaving only two small boats, in which the parties crossed during the negotiations. A truce having been concluded, Louis frankly and heartily proceeded to King Otho in Lorraine, a brother-in-law seeking a brother-in-law's love and friendship. Otho laboured hard to effect a reconciliation between Louis and his other brother-in-law the stubborn Hugh-le-Grand, and succeeded ; Herbert of Vermandois was included in the pacification. He and his son Herbert (afterwards Count of Troyes) became the King's homagers, and the affairs of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, having, for the present, been compromised, Louis returned to Gerberga at Laon.

§ 23. Supreme Judge, sole Legislator, Guillaume Longue-épée was born to absolute Sovereignty. His was the Law, His was the State, His was the Church, the field of despotism entirely open before him. No oral law placed him in subjection to the Shades of his ancestors. No Code, no Doom-book existed, whose precepts bridled his caprice or regulated his discretion. "Antient customs," "paternal customs," are vaguely noticed in the earliest chapters of Norman history, but the Danes in Neustria never endured under Danish Chieftainship as a settled and unmixed population, sufficiently compact and sufficiently permanent to maintain their national jurisprudence, which therefore universally melted away. No form of procedure, no technical term bearing any tangible stamp of Scandinavian origin, can be discovered in any of the extant or subsisting muniments. A few traditional usages may have lingered during the first three generations,—though none are recollected—and if, by possibility, any of the antient Scandinavian popular Courts or tribunals were introduced, a fact of which however we have not the slightest evidence,—it is certain that none survived. The Patrician, the Duke, the Sovereign, sat in isolated dignity. No Baronage surrounded his curule chair, no Clerk sat at his feet. He spake the law, he gave the law, he made the law, he executed the law.—The decree was the Deemster's "Breast-law," the outspeech of his mind.

936-942

941-942

Guillaume
Longue-
épée an
absolute
sovereign
in Nor-
mandy.

From any ecclesiastical restraint the Duke was entirely exempted. The Church had lost all control, maimed, stricken, and dumb. Between the establishment of Rollo's domination and William the Bastard's accession, no ecclesiastical Council was summoned, no Synod was convened. The Duke appointed the Bishops by his unchallenged and independent authority: they were his creatures in the strictest sense of the odious term. Those whom he chose those he made, the Papal supremacy, the Canon-laws, the qualifications of the parties all equally disregarded. In the Crown of the "Holy Roman Empire" the mitre is seen implanted in the Diadem. But the Duke of Normandy fused mitre and helmet into one.

Subjuga-
tion of the
Church to
the Duke's
authority.

In the Secular State, the Duke's regaline prerogative was equally surpassing. He could not be extravagant, for he knew no bounds.—Years ago, did I commence these enquiries, entertaining the firm belief that the germs of our English constitution could assuredly be recovered in antient Normandy—the Normandy which descended to the Conqueror—the Normandy of Robert-

936-942

941-942

le-Magnifique, the Normandy of Richard-le-Bon, the Normandy of Richard-sans-Peur, the Normandy of Guillaume Longue-épée, the Terra Normannorum of Rollo. There were grave authorities dictating this opinion to me, and I searched the historians and the scanty memorials of Norman policy and jurisprudence for proofs in favour of an opinion which I could not reject without reluctance, but I have found none. At no period after the first development of the Duchy, until it had been reunited to the Crown of France, can we discern any Courts or Conventions of prelates and nobles, equivalent to the great Councils, States general, or Parliaments of subsequent times. Nor do we behold any of those institutions, which, encreasing the Sovereign's dignity, participated in the exercise of political power.

Nevertheless, the wise, firm, and equitable administration of remedial justice, resulting from Guillaume Longue-épée's personal vigilance and talent, constitutes the crowning honour of his reign. In the exercise of the exorbitant power which he possessed, he was exposed to grievous temptations, but he escaped them.—The due administration of the Law depended upon his vigour and integrity. He redeemed the responsibility cast upon him. He fully performed this duty, nor, towards his subjects—save and except under the exigencies of the Riulph rebellion—can any injustice, wrong, or oppression, be surmised.

Guillaume Longue-épée, his deficiency of religious principle.

So far well—but Guillaume's judicial rectitude was not the result and reward of righteousness: he simply followed the natural impulse of his mind. He did not dwell in the Habitation of Justice. Certainly, he observed Justice, but neither in word nor in deed, neither by example nor precept, did he keep the way of life. When it pleased his phantasy, Guillaume Longue-épée adorned himself with godliness as a garland, though he scorned submission to righteousness as a girdle for his loins. Whether his union with Espriota be honoured as lawful wedlock or stigmatised as concubinage, his conduct in taking her, or his conduct in casting her off, testified, but too notoriously, how stubbornly he disregarded the voice of conscience, and spurned the dictates of Christianity, whenever conscience or Christianity opposed any obstacles to the indulgence of his passions or the promotion of his interests.—He loved the false oath, the thing hated of the Lord: untruth was his sport: he brought disgrace upon Religion by shamelessly manifesting, that no binding force was imparted by her precepts to his covenants with man.

Bounteous before the world, profusely splendid in the delights of peace and the glories of war, showering gifts and guerdons upon courtiers, soldiers, friends, Guillaume's munificence had been wholly withheld from the Church. Establishments, buildings, decency, discipline, were all dilapidated, neglected, and despised. Roughness and profligacy prevailed universally amongst clerks and laity:—the clergy, the very dregs of their order,—and Guillaume encouraged them in their evil courses, by the favour he manifested to the criminals. Hugh, the Monk of St. Denis, a man of illustrious descent, upon whom he bestowed the Primatial dignity of Rouen—possibly at the instance of the illustrious Count-Abbot, Hugh-le-Grand—was a prodigy of incontinence and rapacity. All the schools of piety, of discipline, and of learning, had been deleted from the face of the country. When Jarl Oskar first sailed up the brimful Seine, more than sixty antient monasteries and other religious foundations still continued to flourish in the Province. All were destroyed, not one survived the landing of the Northmen upon the Neustrian shores, nor were any of the Merovingian or Carlovingian foundations ever resuscitated, save and except the following:—first, Saint Ouen, nigh Rouen; second, Saint Vandrille, or Fontenelle by the Seine; third, Saint Vigor or Cerisy in the Bessin; fourth, Saint Taurin at Evreux; fifth, Saint Martin of Séez; sixth, Saint Michael *in periculo Maris*¹; seventh, Fécamp, no thanks however due for this to Guillaume;—and, eighth and last, renowned Jumièges,—all these eight, when Guillaume Longue-épée succeeded to his Sire's authority, were wrecks and ruins. Deserted and forgotten, except perhaps by a few obscure good men who endeavoured to preserve some faint memorial of pristine devotion, a recluse whispering his solitary mass within the half-roofed chapel, or a meagre, ghost-like priest, flitting around the shattered walls. Nor were any of these foundations, Jumièges alone excepted, renewed or revived until better times.

936-942

941-942

Poverty
and degra-
dation
of the
Norman
Church.

Destruc-
tion of
monastic
establish-
ments,
&c., by the
Danes—all
left in
ruins, of
which
eight only
were ever
restored.

Liberality, extended towards the Church, cannot in any wise be implicitly accepted as an indubitable test of holy zeal, sincere contrition or heart-felt piety, nevertheless we may be assured, that, during the mediæval period, no one who, having the worldly means, neglected the support of monastic establishments could be truly and sagaciously zealous, contrite or pious. The Cloister contained the most efficient organization through which man could display good-will towards men. Monasteries were not excrescences implanted on the ecclesiastical system, but vital

Absolute
need of
monastic
establish-
ments
during the
middle
ages.

936-942 organs, the needs of man's body and soul required them. A
 Community could alone keep up the perennial strain of prayer
 941-942 and praise, instruct the ignorant, indoctrinate the Teachers of
 the truth and the Preachers of the Gospel. It was only by
 employing the Monastery that you could ensure—so far as human
 prescience can affect the future—the steady and permanent
 dispensation of eleemosynary charity. No house was there save
 the House of religion, where the wayfarer would be sure to find
 a welcome, where the couch was always spread for the sick, the
 meat and drink ready for the poor. Not merely did practical
 faith dictate these foundations, but they were also popular in
 the best sense, the lawful means of winning golden opinions of
 society. Examples of beneficence towards the Church abounded
 in the Christian Community. Peculiarly excelling in this noble
 quality was Guillaume's friend, the glorious Athelstane. Civil
 and temporal legislation co-operated with the generally prevailing
 sentiments of the age in encouraging all men to give plenteously ;
 nor had the miserable period arrived, when, as we may now deplore
 in a Realm where Christianity is ostentatiously proclaimed to be
 the law of the land, every obstacle is imposed which the perverse
 ingenuity of a jealous Senate can cogitate, in order to deny to
 him who is rich, the privilege of laying up for himself a store
 against the time to come, by bestowing that wealth so emphatically
 denominated "real," in promoting the honour and glory of God ;
 allowing the Sinner at the same time the fullest license to bequeath
 his lands and possessions to the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

The stintedness of Guillaume Longue-épée was therefore
 completely inexcusable. Precept, policy, example, concurred in
 condemning him.—The ample substance which had been granted
 to him, was absorbed by his pomps and his pleasures ; and the
 mean, little, paltry, hovel church which, at Fécamp, he had
 erected with the spare rubbish cast aside by the builders, was
 the visible symbol of the course he pursued.

§ 24. The donations made by Rollo, when he wore the
 neophyte's white chrismal vestment, are elaborately specified
 by his biographers. Rollo unquestionably intended to give, but
 verbal donations, were merely words, unless accompanied by
 actual seizin ; nor does it appear that Rollo's donations received
 this indispensable complement, for Jumièges, though particularly
 pointed out as an object of Rollo's liberality, had ceased, when
 Guillaume Longue-épée ruled, to exist as a Community. The
 pleasant country, so diligently cultivated by the Monks previously

Rollo's
 donations
 to the
 Church
 (Vol. I.
 p. 38r)
 illusory,
 for want
 of posses-
 sion.

Desolation
 of Jumi-
 èges.

to the Danish devastations, was now a forest : here and there, on the borders, you might glance at a patch of arable tilled by the remaining allodial rustics, but elsewhere, desert. Saint Himeltruda, however, was recollected in her native Flanders ; the devout could tell you where her neglected relics rested undisturbed, and two Anchorites from the Cambresis, Baldwin and Gondouin, repaired to the Oratory which contained her Shrine. They delved and dug, and hacked and hewed ; trees fell, and turves were raised ; they worked most sturdily ; beginning their clearances on some small spots of ground.

936-942

941-942

The two
recluses of
Cambrai
who, in
honour of
Himeltru-
da, settle
there.

Guillaume Longue-épée hunted in all directions, far and wide ; but Jumièges' forest he had not yet explored. Coursing through and over bush and glade, he ran upon the two old labourers. Whence came they ? and what were they busied about ? Guillaume Longue-épée, so benignly gentle in the Lady's bower, was in a vexed mood : the sight of the monks made him angry : their poverty did not excite any commiseration ; nay, a better-minded Sportsman than he, could scarcely have failed to be rather provoked by the progress the trespassers had made, in disturbing the coverts of the game. Baldwin and Gondouin bowed to the Duke, meekly saluting him, and humbly inviting him to partake of their fare, all they had they offered him, coarse barley bread and water. He refused the monks rudely, spurning them away.—The Huntsman's ardent passion quenched the Huntsman's languishing devotion : Rider, dogs, and horse, started and darted off, giving chase to a magnificent wild boar. The unfortunate animal turned fiercely against his brute persecutors, quadruped and biped, dogs, horse, and Rider : Guillaume Longue-épée's javelin broke short ; and the boar, rushing upon his chief enemies, steed and Cavalier, threw them to the ground.—Grim personages did the faint Guillaume Longue-épée behold by the side of his pallet-bed, when he recovered from his swoon and opened his eyes. The tending Recluses had stanchd the blood, bandaged the bruises, perhaps saved his life.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
rudeness
to the
monks.

Kindness
to him
when in
danger of
death.

Their humane assiduity, and the recollection of his danger, excited contrition : he repented him of his great harshness and vehement anger, a thank-offering was due, and he determined to restore the Monastery, of which some walls were standing,—white stone fragments, as they now are seen—brilliant amongst the green groves : the Choir was roofed anew, and the requisite claustral buildings, refectory, dormitory and cells, erected, repaired, or rendered habitable in a small way. But the empty

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
refounds
Jumièges,
but on a
small
scale.

936-942

}

940-941

Martin of
Poitiers
the first
Abbot.

structure was lifeless: fitting inmates must be found. The traditions of Saint Benedict were wholly extinguished in Normandy; and Guillaume Longue-épée had no means of reviving Saint Philibert's¹ Sanctuary, otherwise than by introducing a Colony from some more favoured region. The Diocese of Poitou had been comparatively spared: religion flourished at Poitiers; and Guillaume turned to Adela, that pious sister. Saint Cyprian's monastery was celebrated for sound discipline; and the Adela persuaded the Superior of that House, the venerable Martin, to undertake the duty her Brother required. Twelve Monks, Martin at their head, went forth from Poitiers to Jumièges. Martin, well-spoken and wise, became the first Abbot of the new series of Prelates; and Guillaume Longue-épée purchased, at a cheap rate, the honour of being commemorated as the Founder.

A good scholar was Martin; knowing somewhat of Greek, he had studied Dionysius the Areopagite, and the worthy man evidently prided himself upon his accomplishments. Moreover the Abbot was a deep and erudite Theologian, delighting in mystic contemplation; and yet therewithal clear-headed and practical, a sage counsellor in the ways of the world. Guillaume Longue-épée took pleasure in his conversation, and, not unfrequently, resorted to Jumièges for the purpose of enjoying the Abbot's company,—possibly also, as it was supposed, to seek refreshment in retirement, or even in prayer.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
troubles
of mind.

§ 25. Verily, he needed comfort.—As a monarch, Guillaume was splendidly prosperous: widely extending his borders, he had reduced rebellious subjects and obstinate vassals to obedience:—and, such were the honours he now received from the King, that he stood pre-eminent amongst the Nobles of the Realm.—But the heart knows its own bitterness. Guillaume's successes were poisoned by mental misery.

Errors as well as sins are sure to come home. Variety of purpose, with a purpose, is consummate wisdom:—a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace:—but, to be constantly wavering between right and wrong, between good and evil, may, on the whole, be more enfeebling to the moral sentiment, and certainly is much more detrimental to worldly esteem and influence, than the steady prosecution—for any world-applauded object—of wrong and evil. Such a character was Guillaume Longue-épée:

his changes of opinion, his political tergiversations, his violations of engagements, brought him in incessant collision with himself—the Guillaume of to-day contradicting the Guillaume of yesterday, and preparing to run athwart the Guillaume of to-morrow.

936-942
940-941

Rightly had Guillaume seen and foreseen that the social no less than the political stability of Normandy, depended on her incorporation, as a Christian State, into the French commonwealth; but whilst working to effect this end, he had spoilt his machinery by mismanagement. He had humiliated the Danish party, and in a degree broken their power; but his own strength was not thereby encreased proportionally. Whilst Guillaume had lost his position amongst the Heathen party as the Representative of the antient dominant Danish race, he had not gained a standing ground in any other community. A Deserter from every camp, no one owned him; an Alien wherever he shewed his face, surrounded by scoffers and enemies. Distrusted by all, and therefore distrustful of all, discarded alike by Heathendom and by Christendom. Many amongst either party, including the highest, the most potent, and the most noble, he had provoked to the death, and they were whetting their weapons to wreak their vengeance upon him. Even those, who otherwise, might not have been rancorous, were on the watch to assail him, enticed by the weaknesses which presented such tempting opportunities of profiting by his vacillations.

Failure of
Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
juste milieu
policy.
He equally
alienates
the Danish
and the
French
parties.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée,
extreme
discredit
brought
upon him
by his
tergiversa-
tion and
treach-
eries.

Whether Guillaume Longue-épée stepped forwards or backwards, to the right or to the left, to the east or to the west, to the north or to the south, every tramp of his foot trod down the crops he had sown. The aid he afforded to Herlouin, had exacerbated his envious brother-in-law, Arnolph of Flanders; by occasioning the loss of Montreuil and the valuable harbour; and he had continued pestering Arnolph by petty and useless warfare.

For the purpose of promoting the ambition of Hugh-le-Grand, Guillaume basely abandoned that King Louis whom he had restored, and then he immediately forfeited the wages of iniquity by betraying the Protector to whom he had sold himself,—a capital piece of folly, for Hugh-le-Grand, a mighty neighbour, might at any convenient time invade the Evrecin, an integral portion of Normandy, but which would afford the most desirable enlargement to the Capetian Duchy. When endeavouring to establish Otho upon the throne of France, Guillaume Longue-épée violated all the dictates of duty, honesty, and feeling. Through

Hugh-le-
Grand,
his views
upon the
Evrecin.

936-942 his co-operation in this strange enterprise, he became equally
 941-942 guilty of treachery against the French Sovereign and against
 the French people; for there was no one humiliation which could
 have been more painful to the French than subjection to a German
 ruler; and having incurred all this grievous liability, Guillaume,
 by deserting Otho, had deprived himself of the countenance
 which that prosperous and aspiring Monarch would have afforded
 him.

Basely did Guillaume cast away his first love, Espriota, for
 the purpose of connecting himself more closely with proud Ver-
 mandois; and yet he had latterly become the bitter enemy of
 his treacherous father-in-law. Hankering after the repudiated
 fair one, neither wife nor concubine; he had insulted the noble
 Liutgarda,—and where was the boy Richard? far away, con-
 cealed, unrecognised. If his father ever saw him, it was stealthily,
 as though he had been ashamed of the noble child;—more shame
 to the skulking father.

Guillaume's one good quality, his sincere desire of promoting
 equity and justice, which caused him to be valued at home, did
 not tell upon the Stranger.—Had he been consistent in any other
 good path, had he proved himself to be a decent Christian, a
 true husband to his wife, or a loyal liegeman to his Superior,
 or a faithful friend to his fellows, his natural gifts, handsome
 person, and agreeable manners, might have mitigated, perhaps
 even healed, the Frankish enmity. But it was quite the contrary.
 His life had been a continued tissue of falsehood, neglect of
 social bonds,—those dearest to him sacrificed to self-interest or
 ambition,—and his religion displayed so feebly or capriciously,
 as neither to deserve nor earn confidence or respect. Whatever
 degree of popularity the cheerful, hospitable, opulent Duke of
 Normandy may have enjoyed amongst the French towards the
 commencement of his career, was entirely dissipated: he had
 now become the object of implacable detestation. The Danes had
 rendered themselves terrific, and might assuredly triumph in
 having this tribute paid to their valour. But the malignant
 cunning ascribed to the barbarian Pirates by people whom they
 tormented, was even more awe-inspiring than their power: it
 invested them with a species of supernatural character. Further-
 more, it was universally believed that the Danish ferocity was
 indelibly inherent in the race, no effluxion of time could mitigate
 their inherent savagery, nor, according to universal credence,
 did they ever abandon their claim to any country where they

had once encamped or domineered. Never are our fiendish passions more diabolically roused than when we can single out the one man as the representative of the masses whom we hate : and all the hatred which the French bore to the Danish nation at large was accumulated upon the head of the "Captain of the Pirates."

936-942

941-942

Fear often seeks to protect herself by contempt; a cruel instrument of revenge; and this opprobrious appellation, "Captain of the Pirates," habitual among the French, and coming naturally into their mouths, equally fomented and betokened their aversion and their terror, "Captain of the Pirates,"—a degrading name, suggestive of loathsome sensuous ideas and odious moral feelings, offensive to the nose, hideous to the eyes, hateful to the mind—filth. and foulness, soiled garb, and bloody hands. The character thereby conveyed was engrained, the impression indelible.—What mattered the worship rendered by King Louis to Duke Guillaume,—Queen Gerberga's smiling courtesy,—the spiritual affinity contracted at the font,—the exalted rank appertaining to the Seigneur, Duke and Patrician of Rouen and the Terra Normannorum, the Lord and Suzerain of Brittany and the Armorican Marches?—Opinion was unchanged, opinion could not be changed. From the lowest to the highest, from the greasy Scullion sweating in the sooty kitchen, to the stately Usher stalking before the Council-door, from the frowsy stable-varlet to the Peer in the Council, or the Chancellor at the foot of the Throne, there was not a Frenchman who spoke of Guillaume Longue-épée, or who thought of Guillaume Longue-épée, otherwise than as the rascal Buccaneer, the Captain of the Pirates.

Fatal effect of the contemptuous epithet so bestowed upon Guillaume.

Guillaume, departing from the royal chamber, might have chanced to receive the listener's proverbial meed, had he lingered on the landing. We know how Louis and Gerberga scoffed at the Pirate, his base discarded brat, and his dishonoured trull.—Guillaume—Who is he?—What is he?—another Regnar Lodbrok, strutting about in that Ducal mantle which his father filched from the royal wardrobe; but the miscreant cannot hide his shaggy breeks—faugh!—he leaves a whiff of tar behind him.

§ 26. The difficulty of adjusting the succession of events in Norman history encreases as we advance.—Information concerning the internal transactions of the country is abundantly furnished by our garrulous friend, that trusty Scribe, charged to bear record of the family traditions; a task which he performed under the

Dudo's narrative, difficulties which it offers.

936-942

immediate inspection of the parties mainly concerned. Therefore, under one aspect, our materials may seem singularly satisfactory.

941-942

When we open the Dean of Saint Quentin's grandiloquent volume we know that there is but one witness intervening between Guillaume Longue-épée and Richard-sans-Peur, and our own times, yet Dudo distresses us by the disorderly copiousness of the facts which he discloses.

The events he narrates, present themselves to the enquirer, as the Æginetan marbles¹ did to their discoverers; disjointed, and flung down in confusion. The restoration of the Grecian groups and sculptures was not, however, impracticable. Separated members were reunited to the torso from which they had been severed. Measure, attitude and expression, conjoined in conducting each effigy to its position on the base line. The lowest crouching warrior disclosed the angle of the pediment. The height of the tutelary Deity gave the perpendicular, and the Artist, guided by these data, was enabled to reinstate each of the other images in its proper location; he could see how they were regulated by the ascending cornice, how their limbs were directed, and what their countenances told.

Somewhat after this manner, have we to deal with Dudo, and, accepting Guillaume Longue-épée as the centre of the action, we may approximate to the position which the other characters who are collected around him ought to assume.

Guillaume determines to govern through the Danish or Anti-Christian party.

Hitherto Guillaume's vacillations betokened infirmity of purpose, wanton caprice, or selfish untruth; but he now deliberately determined upon a complete alteration in his former policy. Higher principles than those which a Minister can allow to be recognized in a cabinet, would have reprobated the scheme of action now matured by Guillaume, but it was not unworthy of an able Statesman. Notwithstanding Guillaume's brilliant successes, he might well apprehend that his labours were lost. Rollo's rude military domination had been planted in the soil of the Terra Normannorum, firm as a rock, whilst Guillaume's Duchy of Normandy stood in tottering equilibrium, a tall and ornate column, trembling on its base, and which the slightest touch might topple down.

Guillaume Longue-épée had hitherto conducted his government upon a system congenial to his tastes, and conducive to the dignity and well-being of the country.—Normandy, he had planned, should flourish as a Christian State, an integral member of the French Monarchy—and, to obtain this most

desirable result, it was needful that he, the Dane by race, the Frenchman by nature, should mediate between the antagonistic nationalities. For this purpose had he wasted his life in toil and in turmoil, fought in the field and forsworn himself in the chamber, he had perilled body and soul ; but what was his gain ? Instead of being feared and honoured, he was now feared and despised : men cringed before him, and spat on his footsteps when his back was turned—thus ostracized—a red mark scored against Guillaume's name—he was irresistibly driven to the conviction, that if the outlawed “*Dux Piratarum*” bore a “wolf's head,”¹ best it would be that he should defend that head by all the Pirate's power.

936-942

941-942

Until this crisis, Guillaume Longue-épée had been working to depress the Danish interest, and to rule by French ascendancy, but he now entered upon a course diametrically contrary to that which he had previously followed, under the conviction that his wisdom would thenceforward consist in effecting a union of interests between Normandy and the great and prosperous Danish community, whose sons were preparing to achieve the conquest of the Anglo-Saxon Empire. Since the ruinous, yet inevitable, recognition of the Danelaghe by Alfred, every Anglo-Saxon song of triumph was but the prelude to the victorious advances of the Northmen. Cut down by Athelstane, their armed hosts sprang up from the blood-swamps of Brunanburgh, in tenfold number, and with tenfold vigour. Hitherto, Guillaume Longue-épée had been striving to extinguish the Danish nationality, and to naturalize the French nationality, but now he would throw himself upon the Norskmen, trust to their loyalty, and bring them out as a people.

Guillaume's previous jealousy of the Danes had made him well acquainted with all their strength. Where he had watched them as enemies, there he now knew to seek them out as friends. Open or concealed, they abounded far and near. Even amongst the Citizens of Rouen, immediately exposed to the influences radiating from Palace and Cathedral, the semi-Romanized Danes, always ready to shew themselves as thorough Danes, constituted a powerful party.—In Bayeux and the Bessin, when the Danish growth began to be altered by the new climate : repeated immigrations had renewed the old Gothic population. Whilst the old stocks were wearing out, new saplings had been planted.

Harold
Blaaland
arrives
in Nor-
mandy,
and settles
in Cher-
bourg.

All Denmark yielded obedience to mighty Harold, whose grim visage has already glanced before our view. “*Harold Blaaland*” —Harold with the blue tooth,—or Harold with the black tooth,—

935-942 choose which version you will—son of Gorm,—the antient Gorm,
 —“ Gorm-hin-gamle ”¹ and the sagacious and much-renowned
 941-942 Thyra Dannebod,—the wise Thyra, “ Thyra Denmark’s adviser,”
 that Queen Thyra whose deeds are still sweetly sung in Danish
 ballad, her memory fondly endeared to national feeling. It was
 Thyra whose energy completed the great fortification, the “ Dane-
 wirk ” : the fosse and the rampart, which, combining with hill
 and stream and dividing Danish Holstein from German Schleswig,
 shoots across the Peninsula from sea to sea.

All competitors subdued or extirpated, Harold reigned as sole
 and supreme Monarch, the “ Overking ” of Denmark : Harold’s
 crews had repeatedly annoyed the Northern Gauls, but now, far
 more terrifically than erewhile, his Dragons of the Sea were
 descried from the Channel Shores.—If Harold’s approach excited
 great uneasiness, far greater was the public astonishment, when
 it was found that Guillaume Longue-épée, instead of testifying
 alarm or offering resistance, greeted the Dane as an ally and a
 friend. Harold was cordially welcomed, sixty vessels disembarked
 their sturdy soldiery, with whom Harold occupied Cherbourg.
 Reinforcements flocked in from the Danish bailliwicks, keels
 were laid down, and, thus preparing for further operations,
 Harold flourished singularly in the Norman Territory. Either
 by the grant or the permission of Guillaume Longue-épée, Harold
 possessed himself of the Cotentin. He ruled in the Bessin where
 his Dansker-men coalesced with their kinsmen, and Harold’s
 influence was extending itself throughout the Avranchin, the
 Cinglais, and indeed the greater part of the Basse Normandie,
 according to the nomenclature of more recent times.

Guil-
laume's
perplexity
as to the
position
of his son
Richard.

A perilous venture it might seem for Guillaume Longue-épée,
 to permit these genuine Norskmén, these men of the old sterling
 kith and kin, the natural enemies of the men of the Romane
 tongue, thus to flesh themselves in the opulent country, and fill
 her ports and harbours.—Had Guillaume Longue-épée counted
 the cost of the aid he now sought to obtain ?—His present system
 could not be considered as a mere half measure ; a modification
 of the policy he had been pursuing since his accession : it amounted
 virtually to the total abandonment of such policy. By consorting
 so heartily with the native Danes, Guillaume Longue-épée was
 endeavouring to undo all that Guillaume Longue-épée had hitherto
 done. Previously, he had been governing entirely as a French-
 man, assimilating himself to the French in all respects ; but now
 he was reverting to a hostile nation, an antagonistic nation ; not

merely antagonistic as political enemies, but in language, religion, manners, customs, and all the usages of social life. By their instrumentality, he was seeking to support his power, the terrible Huscarls to be henceforward the Duke of Normandy's battle-axe guard. Had he not therefore irrevocably declared himself as the Frenchman's deadly foe?

936-942

941-942

§ 27. Still no comfort, no inward peace, no rest.—Accused by his own conscience, worn and worried by his divided mind, dimly yet painfully impressed by the perception of abiding contumely, perplexed by his encreasing dangers, Guillaume Longue-épée's spirit collapsed. The dreams of early childhood, his youthful imaginations of monastic life revived and became a passion, moodily nourished until he pictured to himself that he would flee the conflict, and purchase tranquillity by the sacrifice of his Sovereignty.—No longer Lord of Brittany and the Armorican Marches, Seigneur, Duke, and Patrician of Rouen and of the Terra Normannorum, but a poor and humble recluse, he would cast off the splendid shame of the purple chlamys, hide his face in the cowl, and, wrapping himself round in the coarse serge gown, which perhaps might veil his obloquy, retreat for the rest of his days to secluded Jumièges, the Sanctuary raised and provided by his own bounty, the ready harbour of refuge open for the Dux Piratarum.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
fancies
he will
become
a monk.

The very remarkable conference which ensued when, having repaired thither, he opened his mind to Abbot Martin, has been minutely recorded.—The Historian, when such cases occur, may, if he thinks fit, crave permission to excuse himself from enquiring who was the Reporter listening behind the arras; in the present example, however, we need not avail ourselves of this indulgence, inasmuch as we are able to ascertain without difficulty the channel transmitting the tints and lines of thought which gleam through the murky text indited by the Dean of Saint Quentin.

The
conference
between
Guillaume
Longue-
épée and
the Abbot.

The discussion, so memorable in its results, must have been a great event in the Abbot's monotonous life, the story to tell and to tell again and again with encreasing particularity, years after Guillaume Longue-épée had departed. Nor could even the Saint—for according to provincial traditions Martin was canonized—have avoided recollecting with some degree of complacency how cleverly he had managed his argument. Naturally would Dudo, when collecting the family traditions, resort to Jumièges for the reminiscences of the transactions which decided Guillaume's destiny.—And therefore we believe that the Abbot's

936-942

941-942

own report is the foundation of the existing redaction, curiously exhibiting many features marking the individuality of each Interlocutor, the Prelate's quaint erudition, and the combination of subtlety and vehemence characterizing Guillaume Longue-épée.

Guillaume, when he prepared to meet the Abbot, was bent upon carrying out his determination, and yet he was only half in earnest. Insincere to others, Guillaume was insincere to himself; nor could he avoid the apprehension that his abandonment of the Ducal Power might be fatal to the interests of the State and the ruin of his infant child. Distracted by the difficulties which enveloped him, Guillaume shrunk from facing the perils which he had aggravated by his double dealing, dreading equally the biting tongue and the trenchant blade.

"Ask your own conscience," is the Preacher's common-place, whether in the pulpit or out of the pulpit.—Alas for the result! Ask,—but who gives the answer? When Man interrogates himself concerning himself, how rarely does he conduct the examination otherwise than on behalf of his Client: and, by putting leading questions, he makes the Witness reply in the manner which best pleases him. When you profess to doubt whether you are right, you most usually practise to wheedle yourself into a certainty it is right to do the wrong. If you commit your course to the lot, and play cross and pile with yourself, you flip the coin to the intent that it should fall flat on the negative side and turn up the affirmative. The friendly confidant is rarely consulted otherwise than with the same ingenuity, so, that whilst timorously disclosing the scruples which restrain us from the determination we wish to adopt, it seldom happens otherwise but that when we place ourselves with our selected guide in the thick of the wood, we contrive to make him see our way out of the tangle.

Amidst the eulogies which Dudo has bestowed upon his hero, we have no difficulty in discovering that such was the adroit perverseness of Guillaume Longue-épée. By the management of his own cause he sought to obtain the Abbot's sanction for his pusillanimity, to the intent that he might cast the responsibility upon his Adviser, the first and original deceit, upon which the conduct of Mankind affords a perpetual commentary.

Guillaume Longue-épée approached the grave Abbot under cover. He manœuvred to satisfy his own desires without subjecting himself to responsibility. And his artifice displays much cleverness; he concealed himself, as it were, in the crowd, and merged his individuality in the collective destiny of human society.

The mediæval system of Social Polity recognized three Orders as constituting the perfect Commonwealth—the Priest, the Soldier, and the Husbandman—the Triad, tersely and sonorously described by the Teuton, as the “*Lehrstand*,”¹ the “*Wehrstand*,” and the “*Naehrstand*”: the Three who respectively offer the prayer, wield the sword, speed the plough.

936-942

941-942

The “three
Alls,” the
three
orders of
Society
according
to the
Mediæval
theory of
polity.

In our days, this triple organization is not implicitly accepted as the normal scheme of society. Calmly is the *first* Order tolerated by the esoteric doctrines of civilization, a temporary concession to the weaknesses of the yet unenlightened multitude, which may be kindly permitted to endure, until Positive Philosophy shall have superseded the last lingering supernaturalism of mankind.—A pietism, scarcely less antagonistic to Faith, indulges in the happy vision, that the progress of intelligence, rational religion, and humanity, will equally extinguish the *second* Order. And, to this effect, do the Orators of the platform pour out their bland eloquence, undisturbed by the reports of the messages of peace and good-will towards all men, despatched to the Kaffirs from the Crystal Palace through the Christian agency of the five-barrelled revolver.—Coerced to admit the need of the *third* Order, the Political Economist grudges to confess the Divinely appointed sentence which condemns man to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, and the ardent machinist announces his steam-plough as the harbinger of the good time coming, when all arduous manual toil will absolutely cease under the sun.

But, in the simple organization of Mediæval Christendom all the Three Orders were deemed to be mutually supporting; all Three equally essential for the security of the State and the happiness of the people—the Three Pillars which support the Throne. This Theory was universally adopted, no reasoner opposed it; no nation rejected it; King Canute² promulgates the doctrine as the canon of all good government; and, even now, under the homely denomination of “The Three Alls,” the “*ragione di stato*”³ of our ancestors may not unfrequently be seen symbolized in the rude imagery of the weather-beaten sign, swinging and creaking over the village ale-house door.

Diverse, yet not discrepant, all the Three Orders were equally honest, Holy Church embraced them all. All therefore were unquestionably indispensable; but, did each mode of life possess equal merit and deserve equal reward?

Chevaliers, Clercs et Villains;
Chacun est droit et bon et sains,

936-942

941-942

Si l'un de l'autre se devise,
 Si les receit tous Sainte Eglise.
 Li uns Ordres l'autre soutient,
 Et l'uns Ordres l'autre maintient.
 Trois Ordres sont, chascun pour soi,
 * * * * *
 Ceux qui vivent si diversement
 Auront ils egalement
 Un merite e un loier,
 Dites le moi, ceo vous requier ?¹

Such was the doubt submitted by Guillaume Longue-épée to Abbot Martin, as the means of suggesting the very direction which he wished to receive, shaping his course warily, and with a fair share of forensic subtlety, scarcely anticipating that he could fail to gain a satisfactory result. Was it likely that the Priest could do otherwise, than point out the abandonment of worldly joys and temptations as the most assured path which the Christian could pursue ?

A well-meaning and pious Confessor, but one not gifted with much insight into human nature, would assuredly have felt his heart melted by the gallant Prince's contrition and humility ;—the splendid Warrior indifferent to the delights of the court and the glories of war, devoting his young and vigorous life to penitence, privation, and seclusion. The excusable desire of securing such an ornament for the House of Jumièges in particular, and Saint Benedict's religion at large, might have led the most honest Superior to hail the illustrious Convert. Had Abbot Martin been a character of the ordinary stamp, Guillaume Longue-épée would assuredly have added one to the ninety-three Royal Personages who appear as fruits amidst the branches of the oft-delineated tree, figuring the spiritual development of the Benedictine Order : but, would this fruit have ripened ?—or rather, would it not, worm-stricken within, have perished off the bough ?

Our Abbot, however, though taken by surprise, was not thrown off his guard. Fore-warned for the discussion by his knowledge of the Guest, he was prepared, at once, to grapple with the exigency—to him, the device was transparent as the air. Treating therefore the subject very respectfully, dissecting the proposition with scholastic ingenuity, and adorning his disquisition with many a Greek vocable, he speedily arrived at the conclusion, that Heaven was equally accessible to all men, provided they duly performed the duties allotted to them during their progress through this world of trial.

Guillaume Longue-épée was indignant when the Abbot administered this baffling consolation; he would not abide it: he declared he could not possibly lead a righteous life amidst the allurements, distractions, and seductions of his station. The Norman Duchy had been thrust upon him in his youth—no fault of his—he had not courted the perilous dignity. His Father and the Chieftains of the Land had compelled him to accept the supreme authority when a boy, and now when he was of full age and competent to act for himself, he would cast off the grievous burden: he would be a monk—a monk Longue-épée would be!—

936-942

941-942

Abbot Martin answered as though he were appalled by the very possibility of Guillaume's accomplishing his plan; Martin was evidently convinced that Guillaume Longue-épée would become a scandal and a disgrace to the Church, incapable of perseverance, one unconscious that such principles as truth and fidelity existed; therefore, with the deepest sorrow, the Abbot gave a denial, respectful, discreet, but peremptory.—His answer was to the following import—such conduct would be a culpable abandonment of the charge imposed upon Guillaume Longue-épée by Providence: let him abide worthily in his vocation so long as life should last, protect his people, ministering law and justice. Should Guillaume Longue-épée force himself as a Monk into the Monastery, he, Abbot Martin, would flee the country, never to return.—

Abbot
Martin's
answer.

But Guillaume Longue-épée would not take any refusal; he asserted with vehement passion, that he would not continue Duke of Normandy, he would abdicate in favour of his son; the vow he had made, he would perform. And, let it be here remarked, that this very last assertion convicts him of deceit. The vow, what vow? had he made any vow when he came before Abbot Martin, there would not have been any questions to ask.—The Abbot broke up the conference by preparing to depart, but Guillaume, the angry Penitent, literally clung to his companion's skirts, casting himself at the Abbot's feet: nor, would he let the Abbot go, until his angry yet pitiable importunities extorted one concession from Martin's prudent compassion. Just as you give a play-thing to pacify a pettish child, Abbot Martin presented the Duke with the outward garments of the Monk—the gown and the cowl. Having gained these toys, the provoked and embittered Guillaume returned to Rouen. Frock and cowl he deposited in a precious shrine, the lock was locked by a silver key; Guillaume

Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
anger at
the abbot's
persever-
ing refusal.

936-942 appended the key to his girdle which he always wore about his
body ; never did he part with the key,—the key was always
941-942 ready for use should occasion arise.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
becomes
danger-
ously ill
at Rouen.

§ 28. Angered and grieved, his mental excitement increased upon him ; bodily illness ensued, and Guillaume fell sick of a raging fever, so that his life was endangered. His constitutional vigour, however, resisted the disease, the fever left him ; his head became more clear ; and, lying on his bed, he matured his plans for the government of the Land during the interval which might elapse between the Father's demise and the full establishment of the Ducal authority under his son.

During all these troubles, the anxiety concerning the child pressed heavily on that father's mind—and possibly, his distress in this behalf, though blended with other motives,—even unworthy timidity,—induced him to resolve upon the measure of abdication, in order that he might settle a firm and responsible Regency, competent to protect the infant heir.—Guillaume Longue-épée's conduct, viewed as an entirety, discloses the warning he had received. His ill-regulated plans for resigning his Dominion were evidently commingled with anticipations of his own death, and also with the dread that the young and helpless Richard, never seen by his Father since the Stepmother came, might fall into the power of his enemies.—The current phrase, that presentiments, like prophecies, work their own accomplishment, is simply one of the devices whereby we vainly strive to effect our escape from the unseen World surrounding us. The thought, and the events which the thought forebodes, proceed from the same eternal treasury of foreknowledge.

Conva-
lescent he
removes to
Quevilly :
see p. 69.

Languishing, yet convalescent, Guillaume removed from the Palace to the Park of Quevilly, the place of disport, now sought by the pallid invalid for the enjoyment of tranquillity and fresh air. Much recommended also was the Lodge of Quevilly by its sylvan seclusion :—untracked and unobserved, and secured from the Stepmother's jealous espial, there might the troubled father behold his boy.—To Quevilly was the young Richard warily conducted from Fécamp by trusty messengers, and received by Guillaume Longue-épée, surrounded by the hoary Counsellors whom he had inherited from his father, the men who guarded him in his own childhood, Botho and Oslac, and Bernard the Dane. To them he exhibited the boy, calling upon the three aged Veterans to admire the pretty Richard's ruddy cheeks and flaxen hair. Guillaume kissed the child's eyelids, stript off his

The boy
Richard
produced
by his
father to
Botho,
Oslac, and
Bernard
the Dane.

garments, and displayed Richard's tender, yet sturdy limbs, coaxing them all the while. Addressing the three Nobles, not only as his friends, but also as the representatives of the Community, he poured forth his earnest solicitations that they would take order and preserve the Duchy for Espriota's child, so worthy to become their Sovereign.

936-942

941-942

Guillaume Longue-épée appealed to them, whether he had not striven hard to secure Normandy's prosperity;—but his work was almost done.—Solemnly did Bernard, Oslac, and Botho, make their responsive promises; faithfully had they obeyed Guillaume Longue-épée whilst he lived, faithfully would they guard and obey that young child when his father should be called away.—Richard-sans-Peur should be their Count, their Duke, their hereditary Patrician. And the three Old Men, kneeling before the lovely child, swore the oath of fealty, performing homage in solemn form, placing their great wrinkled hands between his tender palms.

They accept him as Guillaume's successor, and perform homage.

Yet there was one parental duty still to be performed, even more transcendent. The Child was to be trained in the way he had to go. By no mediæval dynasty was this precept more consistently received than amongst Rollo and his progeny, even until the extinction of his line. Thoroughly had Guillaume Longue-épée thought over the education fitting for his Heir, and he declared his wishes with a minuteness which testified that the subject had been anxiously weighed and considered by him, and that he had formed a distinct conception of the ultimate results.—Not to Bishop or Priest, to Monk or to Abbot, would Guillaume entrust the fearless Richard. For all we can tell, never did his father wish that a shaveling should draw nigh him.—Botho had been Guillaume's teacher, and to Botho, the wise and courteous, the book-instructed warrior, the skilful huntsman, did he commit his son.

Guillaume Longue-épée takes order for Richard's education.

How must the young Duke of Normandy be trained?—Dignified as the Noble,—lettered as the Clerk,—firm in the saddle,—fleet in the field,—perch the falcon on his fist,—know the waters and the wealds—cast the net—dart the javelin,—slip the hound—break the deer.

Every branch of learning, every elegance of demeanour, might be acquired at Rouen. But in Romane Rouen, only half the work of tuition could be performed: to perfect Richard for the Dukedom, he must be reared elsewhere. Rouen's indwellers shunned the barbaric dialect of the Sea-Kings.—The French,

936-942

941-942

Richard is
to be per-
fected in
the Danish
tongue.

and the best French of France, therefore became current in the antient City ; but the schooling of Rouen, however good of its kind, would not suffice for the Monarch of the Terra Normannorum ; he must be a Frenchman amongst the French, a Dansker-man amongst the Danes. No other language could reach the Danish heart except the Danish mother-tongue ; and Guillaume, who could only discourse in French, must often have felt the grievous disadvantage to which his ignorance exposed him. Not merely must the young Rudo Jarl¹ comprehend the Norsk, but he must speak it as if inborn ; and nothing of the sort could be gained at Rouen. The Norsk might be read from the Rune-stave², but you could not learn the lore from the book ; the hearing ear must listen to the opening lips ; and therefore did Guillaume Longue-épée insist that the young Richard should fix his residence at Bayeux, where the very children lisped in Danish syllables.—All these behests did Botho promise to perform. As the apple of his eye, would he care for the precious child.

942
May 29.
Inauguration
of
Richard
at Bayeux.

It was the usual custom during the middle ages—not yet entirely obsolete amongst the Churches of the Roman obedience—that the opening of National Councils or Assemblies, should be hallowed by celebrating the Mass of the Holy Ghost, or held on the Pentecostal Day : and on that high festival, at Danish Bayeux, a City selected with a very marked intent, was the young Richard inaugurated, the ceremony being performed with unprecedented solemnity. Conjoined to Botho and Oslac and Bernard the Dane, seven other Nobles appointed by Guillaume Longue-épée constituted the Regency. Their names are not recorded, but, judging from the important parts which Osmond de Centvilles, Yvo, the father of Guillaume de Belesme, and the grasping crabbed Raoul-Torta, afterwards played in the historic drama, it is probable that they were amongst the number. Moreover, besides this selected Council, all the Chieftains of Normandy and Brittany—the latter country still bearing rather the appearance of a co-ordinate dominion than a vassal state—were then and there also assembled.

To Guillaume's impassioned address, a universal assent was given. On behalf of the Community, and swearing the oath on the Holy relics, did the seven Nobles become the young Richard's liegemen and perform homage to the Child, placing their hands between his hands, following the example which Botho, Bernard, and Oslac, had afforded at Quevilly.—Thus was the young Richard put in actual seizin of the Ducal authority ; and Guillaume's

mind being tranquillized, he speedily recovered his health. Yet he was often languid, as if he were wearied, and desiring to lie down and rest.

936-942

942

Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
distress
of mind.

§ 29. Guillaume Longue-épée had relieved himself from the immediate pressure of care concerning his son, but he had subjected himself to a burden of anxiety which he could not shake off. He could not be satisfied with himself. The measures which he had commenced, necessitated a complete reconstruction of the Norman Commonwealth. When he began his reign, he did not entertain any particular ill-will against the Danish party, though he delighted to be a Frenchman: but favoritism is more galling than injustice, and thereby he excited the virulent discontent which provoked Riulph's insurrection.

Guillaume suppressed this great rebellion—but his victory was really a moral defeat. He stained his character indelibly. His most zealous and attached friends had felt themselves disgraced by his unworthy cowardice. By his treatment of Riulph and Riulph's family, he had roused the pertinacious vengeance of their kindred; and, if the intensity of the outraged feeling which was dogging him to the death, can be accepted as the standard whereby we are to measure his departure from mercy and from truth, atrocious must have been his cruelty and perfidy.

The dispersion of the Danish revolt egged Guillaume on to firmness; he pledged himself to rule as a French Prince, and strove to knit Normandy into the French monarchy. Had he adhered faithfully to King Louis, it is possible that the rare virtue of a Liegeman's integrity might, from the very strangeness of the occurrence, in some degree have redeemed the Pirate from obloquy. But, abusing all opportunities, he had exasperated the leading men amongst the French, and, by his alliance with the terrible son of Gorm, Guillaume now presented himself to the whole French nation under the worst as well as the most despicable aspect; according to their judgment, a renegade, in the most odious sense. Secular policy and religious faith were amalgamated, and therefore a political union with the Danskermen in the State was the inevitable precursor of religious apostasy from Christianity. Guillaume's dealings with Harold Blaatand were fraught with imminent danger to men, women, and children, to gentle and simple, to priest and peasant, to goods and chattels, to life and land, to the Frankish Commonwealth and to universal Christianity.

Offence
given to
the French
by his
union with
the Danes.

936-942

942

Prepon-
derance
given to
the Danish
element
in the
scheme of
Richard's
education.

Neither was Guillaume's inimical policy to last only for a limited time. The foundations for the rebuilding of the Danishry were laid fast and wide. Guillaume Longue-épée had planned that the system should endure from generation to generation.—As the young Richard was taught, so would he transmit his lessons to his children and to his children's children. Guillaume's scheme of tuition professed to imbue the Pupil with the Danish ethos concurrently with his qualifications as a Frenchman, yet the whole academical course could scarcely fail to impart unto the young Richard a decided predilection for the Danish policy, and render the Danishry preponderating in his spirit and mind.

It is impossible to teach without a tendency. Be you "Popish," be you "Protestant," be you "Panthéist," be you the very perfected type of philosophical indifference, you will contrive, somehow or another, to give an inkling of your sentiments even in your lessons of words of one syllable.—Guillaume placed the noble Youth amidst the Danish population of the Bessin, at that period of human life when the clay, still ductile, though hardening, is able to receive the impress most readily, and with the best chance of retaining the stamp until solidification. Thus would the young Richard become a Danishman in all his tendencies, and, as years advanced and power encreased, a fatal foe to Christendom.—The inauguration of the future Sovereign at Bayeux indicates that thenceforward the Danish City was to be the seat of government and the Capital, Danish Normandy the ruling State, Romane Normandy the subordinate member. Besides the political importance which Bayeux would acquire as the Sovereign's residence, Rouen depended upon these Western Provinces for her supplies, being almost wholly victualled by the Cotentin and the Bessin. Throughout the Carlovingian Empire the Norsk was execrated as the chief nutritive element of Paganism, and not improperly. The extinction of that language amidst the converted Northmen, was inculcated and exacted as the indispensable test of their sincerity. Guillaume Longue-épée's instructions were calculated to render the Norsk the language in which Richard would think, whilst, to the French, every phrase he uttered in the same Norsk would be offensive as a testimony against Christianity.

Christ-
ianity
excluded
from
Guillaume
Longue-
épée's
scheme of
education.

Indeed, the general scope and tendency of Guillaume Longue-épée's educational theory, whether from designed policy, or from absolute unconcern, was practically antichristian. The one thing needful was wholly ignored; no Bishop, no Priest, no Monk or

Abbot was placed about the boy. Christianity had absolutely
 no place in the Instructor's Programme: When providing for
 the courtly training and intellectual cultivation of the young
 Prince, Guillaume Longue-épée was conducting himself like his
 equals and conforming implicitly to the spirit of the age; but,
 by excluding the Clergy from the school-room he placed himself
 in dogged opposition to that same spirit.

936-942

942

The boy's education was exclusively confided to laymen, clever men, men of war;—even his own mother, the gentle Espriota, was entirely kept away from him. For anything that Guillaume Longue-épée had enjoined, his boy might never hear a good word. Nor indeed, in this respect, had Rollo managed otherwise for Guillaume his son than the son was preparing to do for the grandson. Such wise politicians as Bernard, Botho, and Oslac, though obviously opposed to the Pagan Danes as a party, were Christians of the slackest observance. Even the legends do not, as is usual in the case of distinguished individuals, try to connect them with the Church. The only Christian Danish *Kæmp* for whom local tradition supplied a Christian sepulture, is the renowned Oggiero il Danese¹. Religion, thus neglected, there was every probability that Richard, not caring much for any of these things, would protect, if not profess, the antique Creed of Odinism. Raoul-Torta, a Frenchman, Father of Walter Bishop of Paris, Hugh-le-Grand's Chancellor, was a Church demolisher as fierce as Hasting. Under a Sovereign so minded, the Normans would fall into a state of semi-paganism more insidiously dangerous to Christianity than avowed heathenry,—Was or was not this the result anticipated by the careful Parent?

§ 30. Despite of Guillaume's more than suspicious conduct, Louis apparently bestowed so much favour upon him as to excite the jealousy of the other French Princes. As there was always one intrigue shelled in another intrigue, it is possible that Louis wished to play him off against the Vermandois-Capet party,—or, may be, it was a feint, for the purpose of throwing Guillaume off his guard. But this state of affairs did not last.

A very remarkable rumour obtained currency in England, that Count Riulph's Kinsmen—Balzo is the only one whose name we know—had appealed the Duke of Normandy before the King of France, as a cruel and treacherous murderer. No further circumstances are recorded—but Guillaume, however, did at this period certainly acknowledge the obligation of rendering suit and service to the French Monarch, like as a Peer of France. In this

The
 Council
 of Attigny.
 Peers
 summoned
 thereto.

936-942

942

quality he was summoned by Louis to a great Council, to be held in the Palace of Attigny. Hugh-le-Grand, having made his peace, was summoned. Arnoul of Flanders, and Herbert of Vermandois, were summoned ; King Otho, now cordially united to his brother-in-law, attended also, obviously as a friend and chosen counsellor of the Realm.

The return
and the
Essoign.

Following his father's example, Charles-le-Simple, Louis d'Outremer fully maintained due state, and his Counsellors theirs also. According to the law and practice of these Assemblies, it scarcely beseemed such Potentates as composed them, to appear before the King precisely on the very day which his precept enjoined. It was a point of honour not to be strictly punctual ; the King might wait in patience or with impatience through the first day, the second day, and the third day, but if the haughty Peer presented himself on the *quarto die post*¹, he had done all that could be required. The Commentator of the laws of England quotes an apt passage from Tacitus, in support of the opinion that the Freeman's pride may have found consolation in this conventional assertion of independence ; yet another reason, at least equally sufficient, may be found for the indulgence—namely, the uncertainty of intercommunication.—With the fullest desire to “keep his day,” a foundered horse, or a bridge ruined by a flood, might render the Baron's appearance on the return of the writ, impracticable. Hence the commercial “three days grace.” The most trusty Factor might be retarded in bringing the money-bag to his Principal. If, through such a contingency, the Merchant of the Rialto did not discharge his *cambio*² the very day when it became due, it would have been cruel, by reason of his involuntary default, to exhibit him in the Piazza before San Marco,—elevated, as an insolvent, on the stone of shame.

Guillaume
Longue-
épée
excluded,
whether by
accident or
design,
from the
council.
His anger.

Whether the Counsellors, earnestly desiring to speak with the King, and waiving their dignity, accelerated their pace, and, literally obeying the Precept, had come together three days earlier than could have been expected—or whether Guillaume Longue-épée had been delayed by accident, or whether he had mistaken the Essoign-day, or whether he had not cared to remember the right day, cannot be ascertained.—Anyhow, when Guillaume arrived at Attigny, the Council had been long in actual session : the portal of the council-chamber was closed : porches and galleries deserted by the Royal officers : even the important Usher had slid away. Guillaume therefore was compelled to tarry outside the dumb door. He waited and waited to be introduced—

no one came.—The proverbial discomfort of expectancy was 936-942
 increased by the vehement suspicion that the neglect was prepense,
 until, losing all patience, Guillaume smashed open the valve. 942
 Rushing in, he beheld King Louis seated on the estrade, King
 Otho by his side. “Do you treat me as an intruder?” roared
 the son of Rollo—“am I guilty of treason?” He compelled
 King Otho to rise: he would have pummelled King Otho had
 there been any delay. The Council was broken up, and King
 Louis departed.

Were the circumstances which had caused this deplorable
 turmoil purely the result of chance,—or was any insult to Guil-
 laume Longue-épée really designed? The contemporaries of this
 strange scene asked the question, but no clear answer was received.
 If, however, the intention of giving such an affront to Guillaume
 Longue-épée, as might madden him to some wild outrage, be
 hypothetical, the result of his anger-burst is incontestable.—All
 determined to abide their time.

§ 31. An awful decision, which the Princes of France had
 not hitherto been able to contemplate distinctly, now assumed
 a definite shape and form. Until this explosion of violence, they
 had not fully comprehended their case, but (as it seemed to them)
 they now understood it in all its bearings. Guillaume Longue-épée
 had forfeited the protection of every law, human or divine—a
 Pirate, a Pagan, above all, a Barbarian, he was entitled to none.
 Received into the safeguard of the Christian community, he had
 forfeited that safeguard. Uniting himself to the Danish Outlaws,
 he became a Pirate himself; his pristine liabilities reverted to
 him. In open war, Guillaume might escape by the chances of
 war, but, was he entitled to the privilege of being dealt with
 openly?—Therefore, were not all men entitled to deliver them-
 selves by every means in their power from that pest of humanity,
 against whom fair force might not avail. Moreover, the recent
 history of the Empire had afforded a precedent peculiarly
 applicable to this particular exigency. Who could do otherwise
 than applaud the skilful astuteness by which the Emperor Charles-
 le-Gras, the Archbishop of Cologne, and the noble Counts Henry
 and Everard, had freed the Christian Commonwealth from the
 Danish Godfrey?—The Emperor would not even allow the claims
 of a kinswoman’s husband to stand between the country’s safety
 and the needful sacrifice. How much misery had been saved
 to the Community, when Count Everard drew his sword, and
 split the boozing Northman’s skull!

Determi-
 nation of
 the French
 party to
 rid them-
 selves of
 Guillaume
 Longue-
 épée by
 summary
 vengeance.

936-942

Does not our age of civilization sanction this mode of reasoning equally by ethics and by practice?—Who are our Heroes?—Our generous youth are taught to twine the myrtle boughs around the swords of Aristogiton and Harmodius¹.—Still is the “God-like stroke” of Brutus eulogized in prose and verse.—Had the trigger of the Tipperary blunderbuss² been pulled in the “classic land of liberty”³ and amidst the splendid scenery of lake and glacier, would not the clumsy barrel be proudly exhibited in the Armoury of History bound up in the same “*faisceau d’honneur*”⁴ with Wilhelm Tell’s⁵ mediæval Crossbow.—The gory head of the Pretender⁶ would have been duly honoured as a draft at sight, good for Thirty thousand pounds, payable over the counter to the bearer when presented at the Treasury. And, until the sea shall give up her dead, has not the applauding voice of our assembled Legislature drowned the Dayak’s⁷ cry for vengeance?

Otho, exceedingly incensed by the indignity he had sustained, unhesitatingly proposed the summary infliction of capital punishment. King Louis, according to a widely-spread rumour, concurred in the determination. True it is, that after the bloody deed had been perpetrated, it is said that he professed much indignation at the act: but the eagerness with which he immediately strove to profit by the Duke’s assassination, imparts an unfortunate degree of probability to the accusation tarnishing his fair fame. Hugh-le-Grand is very distinctly named as one of the conspirators, and, conducting himself exactly like Louis, the immediate snatch he made at a tempting portion of Guillaume Longue-épée’s dominions, renders him liable to the same heavy condemnation. But that Arnoul was the acting leader of the conspiracy is incontestable, and he undertook to carry the sentence into execution.

Arnoul
despatches
an em-
bassy to
Guillaume
requiring a
conference
on the
island of
Picquigny.

Had Arnoul’s long-standing hatred against Guillaume Longue-épée needed any further incitement, the Norman now gave some slight pretence. Herlouin not having been fully reinstated in his dominions, Guillaume Longue-épée, on behalf of his dependant, made reprisals upon the Flemish territory: but he pursued his warfare slackly; his wish for tranquillity was encreasing upon him: his angry passions were mitigated, and he was well prepared to receive with favour the pacific legation despatched by his brother-in-law.

Arnoul’s ambassadors spake beseechingly and humbly to Guillaume in their Master’s name.—Arnoul, as his Envoys stated, craved a truce for the purpose of negotiating an enduring peace;

the terms to be proposed, should, in every way, redound to Guillaume's honour. Arnoul would himself have repaired to Rouen, but his sad podagrical infirmity precluded him from attempting so long a journey. A personal conference was however indispensable, and Arnoul therefore ventured to name the locality where the meeting should be held.—Apprehensions of treachery or suspicions, not by any means unreasonable during the mediæval era, jealousies of rank and punctilios, not entirely unrecognised in later periods, frequently suggested that such high contracting Parties should assemble on an island. It was upon the Island in the Epte that Rollo performed homage to Charles-le-Simple. Indeed, from the old Roman times, when the Triumvirs met on the Island of the Reno¹, until the nuptial pavilion was pight upon the Isle des Perdrix², history abounds with notices of interviews between royal or other great personages thus held. Therefore it was equally conformable to the usual habits of official intercourse, and suitable to Guillaume Longue-épée's personal convenience, that Arnoul indicated an eyot, circled by the Somme, opposite Picquigny, just beyond the borders of Ponthieu, almost in Guillaume's territories.

935-942

942

Arnoul's proposition was very grateful,—strangely grateful,—to Guillaume Longue-épée, who, at once, shewed himself ready to hail this submissive and loving courtesy. His Advisers, however, did not participate in their Sovereign's facility.—“Trust him not,”—said Count Herlouin;—“be assured that deceit is lurking in his offer.”—Guillaume Longue-épée could not deny the relevancy of this warning, yet he did not accept it; and, summoning his Council, he brought the matter before them. They unanimously adopted Herlouin's opinion, but Guillaume Longue-épée persevered, with fated eagerness, in seeking the removal of all difficulties.—The Duke besought his Council that they would sanction his compliance with Arnoul's proposal.—Peace he desired at any cost, and in any way; yet he would avoid fool-hardiness, in no wise omitting any degree of jealousy which prudence might require.

Guillaume
accedes
to the
proposal,
contrary
to advice.

Guillaume mustered his troops, Normans and Bretons, the latter commanded by Alain Barbe-torte and the Count of Rennes: and a large number of “Pirates” (as the French always called Guillaume's men), fully adequate to prevent any surprise, took their position nigh the Somme, observing the eastern bank of the river. Other detachments were stationed at Amiens.—The infirm Arnoul, though burthened, as he complained, by his swollen

936-942

942

17 Dec.
942.The
meeting
on the
island.Arnoul
and his
four com-
panions
await
Guillaume.

limbs, retained nevertheless, so much activity, that he was able to reach the place of tryste sooner than the young and vigorous Guillaume. Ere the Duke of Normandy landed, the Flemish Count had occupied the island.—Arnoul came forward limping—dear old gouty man—supported by two of his companions.—Four had he with him, three of them being obscure individuals:—a Henry, a Robert, and a Rodolph, who cannot be identified; but the fourth was too well-known,—none other than the ominously celebrated Balzo, Count Arnoul's familiar, the nephew of Riulph, the instigator of the great rebellion. All, the four, however, presented themselves as domestic attendants of the heavy halting Count, undefended by helm or hauberk, clad in pacific garb, and wrapt up in the furry garments suited to the chilly season. Very different was the array of Guillaume Longue-épée. Twelve full-armed Knights were ferried over in his barge,—his body-guard—who carefully kept the ground so long as the conference lasted. Guillaume appeared with this military train, according to Arnoul's own expressed desire; and the many who were distrustful of Arnoul's honesty, might try to be satisfied by the circumstance, that, to his suggestions, were owing the precautions, seemingly sufficient for the defence of Guillaume against any latent treachery.

Plot for
entrapping
Guillaume
planned by
Arnoul and
Hugh-le-
Grand.
Thibault of
Blois also
said to
have
joined
therein.

Yet the propositions, ostensibly so unobjectionable, were most considerably calculated to answer the ends of Guillaume's implacable enemies. The whole scheme for entrapping and murdering him had been organized by Arnoul and Hugh-le-Grand, with the participation, according to common fame, of Thibault¹ Count of Blois, otherwise Thibault *le Tricheur*, or *le Fourbe*, or *le Vieux*—all three epithets well and truly earned or bestowed.—It having been decreed that Guillaume should die, Arnoul, when he consented to accept the dread responsibility of becoming the principal agent, shrunk from the obloquy, or perhaps feared the distress, of actually witnessing his brother-in-law's mortal agony. It was needful therefore that this horrible catastrophe should so be woven into the plot as not to ensue until he should have turned his face away.

Moreover, as it was anticipated that the "Commander of the Pirates" would be protected by his Pirate bands, it was necessary that due order should be taken to screen the actual enforcers of the judgment from their fury.

Arnoul's
deceit.

The short December day was fully employed in copious and cordial discourse between the kindly friends.—Arnoul declared he would make every sacrifice to obtain peace and tranquillity;—Herlouin should be fully reinstated in his dominions. Arnoul

intimated to Guillaume that he dreaded the encroachments of King Louis ; nor was he less apprehensive of their common father-in-law, the crafty Herbert, and also of the mighty Duke of France, Hugh-le-Grand. Therefore Arnoul would transfer his allegiance to Guillaume, accept him as his Protector and his Superior, nay, as his Sovereign ; and, after Arnoul's death, Guillaume should succeed to the dominion of the entire territory. The hours wore away rapidly ; evening darkness drew on ; the kiss of peace closed the discussions ; and Guillaume Longue-épée prepared to quit the island : yet otherwise than as he had arrived. By the management of Arnoul's people, the twelve knights who escorted Guillaume crossed over first to the shore, in a larger boat ; Guillaume Longue-épée was left alone. Not however could this separation disquiet him, for a small skiff,—the crew, consisting of a single Mariner and two lads—was lying by. Guillaume entered : the Mariner steered, Guillaume helped to pull an oar. When the Duke was on the water, Arnoul's attendants ran to the river-brink, and called out to him to make the land again, they had an important message to deliver from Count Arnoul,—matters forgotten in the haste of parting. The boat was turned about, and Guillaume stepped forth upon the swampy greensward. The four Confederates drew the swords concealed beneath their vestments. They fiercely rushed upon the defenceless Guillaume and his companions. The sailor and the boys were desperately wounded, Guillaume slain :—Balzo, the avenger of Riulph's blood, gave the mortal blow.

936-942

942

Arnoul
having
returned,
Guillaume
is over-
powered
and slain.

It is scarcely possible to doubt but that Guillaume fell by Balzo's sword ; for it was in consequence of the act that he, ere long, sustained the retribution inflicted by the savage sorrow of Herlouin. Nevertheless, so strongly did the evil repute cling to the Tricheur's name, that, in the following century, he was still execrated as the real criminal :—and we can distinctly trace the opinion subsisting in that Treasure-house of historical reminiscences, the Monastery of Fécamp.

§ 32. The locality is well ascertained by tradition ; the *Pré au trois Cornets* being the present name of the field. The deed was committed in full view of Guillaume Longue-épée's army, assembled on the opposite bank. But the river was much broader than it is at present, corresponding to the pristine spread of the estuary. The course of the stream has also been much changed ; and the branch which separated the mainland from the little island has been choked by alluvion.

936-943

The carefully devised complot had fully succeeded. The "Pirates" were utterly baulked. To have rescued the victim was impossible; but Guillaume's troops could not even obtain the unsatisfactory satisfaction of vengeance. Arnoul and his party escaped, long before the Normans and Bretons could reach the island. The river was Arnoul's; he had cleared away the craft. At length, means were found for conveying the Corpse to the left bank of the Somme. They washed the body, stripping off the bloody garments, and found the silver key attached to his girdle.—What treasure is thereby secured? His Chamberlain gave the explanation. It was the key of the silver casket in the palace of Rouen, containing the cowl and robe wrung from Abbot Martin:—and with plaint and wail, the Corpse, wrapt in a silken shroud, was slowly conveyed to Rouen.

Guillaume Longue-épée's corpse removed to Rouen.

State of affairs in Normandy immediately after Guillaume's death.

§ 33. Normandy, when the appalling fate of the Sovereign had been announced, continued steady in gloomy tranquillity. The sympathy of grief and the apprehension of danger, the common affection entertained towards the young Child and the common peril, produced quiescence amongst all parties, and silenced all contentions. Not even did the impatient Armoricans endeavour to insurge against the Regency, which Guillaume Longue-épée had so considerably provided for the government of the country during the minority of his son. True did his friends continue to their trust. Bernard the Dane adhered religiously to his promise; he watched the child as the apple of his eye.

Bernard the Dane.

Bernard, the valiant companion of Rollo when the Terra Normannorum was first won, retained his pre-eminence,—universally acknowledged as the President of the Land,—Commander of the Norman forces,—the Leader and the Councillor of the State. Bernard's great bodily vigour was scarcely diminished; his mental powers were in full vigour. Bernard was equally adequate to the cares of the cabinet, or the strain of the chevauchée¹,—not such another in Normandy for his years. Veritably did he exemplify the true Norman type according to the repute which the Norman race popularly acquired;—the half-savage Danish cunning subtilized by civilization,—quick, clever, astute, full of devices and wiles, and enjoying the artifices by which he gained his ends. Bernard's aspect bespoke his character. The Minstrels celebrate his long flowing grey beard, which equally certified and symbolized his age and sapience:—

La barbe aveit blanche e florie,
 N'aveit en toute Normandie
 Un Chevalier de son aage
 Qui mieux semblast prodome e sage¹.

936-943

943

Yet whilst the observers admired the rough-barked antient, they would smile when they beheld his delicate young wife by his side, and express their doubts whether, in one respect, it might not be thought that the wrinkled Sage had lacked discretion. An octogenarian, he had married a tender damsel of high degree, and the Minstrels who describe Bernard's long flowing grey beard, were equally fluent in the praises of the varied charms and attractions which adorned the lovely Lady :—

Gente Dame de haut parage,
 Bele, corteise, e proz e sage².

Her name is unknown, though like many other beauties, she was doomed to attain an unlucky poetical celebrity.

Some other of the principal personages are also brought before us. Botho, occupied by the affairs of government, transferred the actual charge of the young Richard his god-son, to the anxious and affectionate Osmond de Centvilles.

Botho,—
 Osmond de
 Centvilles,
 —Raoul
 Torta.

The ungain character of Raoul Torta (afterwards the unpopular minister of the young Duke) has been clearly chronicled, but we do not know much concerning his personal history. Possibly he may have been connected with Hugh-le-Grand, inasmuch as his son Gautier, Bishop of Paris, had previously been one of the Duke-abbot's flock—a Monk in his Monastery of Saint Denis. Raoul Torta was opulent and influential, enjoying large possessions, and supported by numerous friends and retainers in the vicinity of Rouen. But though the before-mentioned nobles enjoyed the highest political station, yet the head of the Baronage—for we may now fairly begin to employ this term—was Yvo³, the "*Veteranus*," or the "*Fortis Marchio*," or the "*Formargis*," or the "*Normannus Normannorum*,"⁴ the founder of five great families, Belesme, Ponthieu, Perche, Alençon, and, through the female line, Montgomery.

Proud Liutgarda, amply endowed by Guillaume Longue-épée, and retaining her endowment, very speedily departed; and within a short time after Guillaume Longue-épée's murder, she became the congenial consort of Thibault Count of Blois. According to the Fécamp version of the sad story, the *Tricheur*, hasting away from the eyot of Picquigny, was the first who conveyed the intelligence of the happy riddance to Herbert of Vermandois,

Liutgarda
 and Espri-
 ota—their
 marriages.

936-943

Guillaume's father-in-law : and, attributing to himself,—whether truly or untruly, the merit of the misdeed,—solicited and obtained the Widow's hand. Be this as it may, the marriage operated much to the annoyance of Normandy. As long as she lived, Liutgarda entertained the most direful antipathy against the young Richard, whether she disliked the son for the sake of his father, or whether she had been provoked by Guillaume's attachment to Richard's mother, the Concubine.

943

With that much defamed but really honest woman our group must be terminated. Espriota seems to have continued for some time near her son ; but when he had passed from captivity into exile, and the troubles came on—possibly at the juncture when the shameful conduct of the French garrison of Rouen towards the Norman women occasioned so much distress—she, like her Vermandois rival, took a husband, but hers was a worthy and substantial man, Asperling, or Sperling, the rich Miller of Vaudreuil.—The fruit of this marriage was the renowned Raoul, Count of Yvri.

Divine
right of
kings—not
recognized
during the
mediæval
periods.

§ 34. "The right divine of kings to govern wrong,"¹ had not been promulgated in the mediæval era. Wrong enough was done, but not sacrilegiously sanctioned by any attribution of Divinity. Kings and beggars,—fellow-subjects to the same authority,—fellow-sinners,—none were permitted, according to the teaching of the mediæval ethos, to break God's laws, or exonerate themselves from their duty towards man. Not that all men were amenable to the same tribunals, or liable to the same temporal law, yet the Sovereign was encircled by a boundary, which, if he overpassed, shut him out as a transgressor ; there was a Code to which he must conform. Men's base passions were as rife as they ever were and always will be. Poets flattered, Courtiers crouched, and Prelates cringed, but no grave, cassocked Homilists had dared to utter the sycophantic blasphemy that the Eternal had communicated his name to a mortal king.—Render unto Cæsar those things which are Cæsar's. Render due submission, so far as submission is due ; but nothing more.—Fear God first, then honour the King.

Saul
accepted
by the
mediæval
Church as
the type of
royalty.

Assuredly, in one sense, regal dominion is really a divine right, inasmuch as through Him kings reign. The first King placed over the People of God, albeit the people sinned in demanding him, received his kingdom through the Prophet's ordination,—sealing him to be the secular Chief of the Lord's inheritance. Therefore it was appointed by the mediæval Church that the

Sovereign should be hallowed in his dignity; the Christian Minister ruling the Christian People; governing the Holy Nation by Priestly Royalty, such was the theory of Mediæval society. The King appertained to the Clerisy¹; a principle most plainly affirmed by our antient English common law. Even as the Priest was set apart to perform his office, so was the King. Even as the Bishop vowed and promised before the altar, duly to perform his functions, so did the King. And the covenant which the King, upon the demand of the Church, then entered into with his people, summed up, in three brief clauses, (hereafter to be noticed), every essential obligation of a Sovereign.

936-943

943

*Le Roi est mort! Vive le Roi!*² was the proclamation made by the gorgeous Herald to the trumpet's sound, when the surcoat was emblazoned, and the helmet crested, and the embroidered banner dropped ponderously pendant, shadowing the foliated ogive-canopy of the sepulchre.—But the maxim, *Le mort saisit le vif*³, was not undeniable law if applied to the Sovereign during the subsistence of the Carlovingian race, nay not even during the early generations of the Third Dynasty. Firmly as the principle of an hereditary right, vested in any given lineage, may have obtained, it was not a right absolutely inherent in the person. The son did not enter upon the royal authority, as a matter of course, after his father's demise. Amongst Subjects, the Benefice, Fief, Feud, or Lehn, was not brought into the heir's legal possession until he had been acknowledged by his Superior, neither could the Sovereign-apparent consider himself as clothed with royalty until sanctioned by the recognition of the Commonwealth. A father might, for the ensuring the transmission of the Kingdom to the Son, associate that Son to himself in the exercise of the regal office; nevertheless in some guise or another the affirmation of the State was required; nor could the right, though indefeasibly appertaining to the lineage, be perfected, until such acceptance could be testified:—upon each mutation of occupancy, a pause ensued.

Hereditary right requiring the ratification of the people on each mutation of authority.

Therefore, however solemn had been young Richard's inauguration at Danish Bayeux, Normandy must ratify the compact, and that assent must be given which it was needful to solicit, though no one could anticipate a refusal. The same principle is still exemplified in England when,—the right to the throne having been previously acknowledged by those who according to antient custom speak on behalf of the Community,—the yet uncrowned Sovereign is presented before the shrine of the Confessor to the Lieges of the Realm.

936-943

943

Interment
of Guil-
laume
Longue-
épée in
Rouen
Cathedral,
and
Richard's
inaugura-
tion.

It was a great advantage to Bernard the Dane and the Council of Regency, that the slow progress of the funereal train from the banks of the Somme, had afforded them full leisure for opportune consideration. The time was employed in devising the measures best calculated to ensure the country's safety, and the future stability of the young Richard's dignity. He was forthwith brought away from Danish Bayeux, and lodged in Rollo's palace in Romane Rouen, and Bernard the Dane—for we can scarcely question but that he suggested the proceedings—effected the young Duke's inauguration shrewdly and sagaciously, appealing not merely to the political opinions and affections of the people, but also to their imaginative feelings. Nor is it any disparagement to the good sense of those who directed the solemn ceremony that there was a marked attention to dramatic effect,—an impressive contrast exhibited between grief and gladness, a striking transition from mourning to joy. This tendency to poetize the affairs of human life seems to have been innate amongst the French, and it is one of the elements which potently contributed to the development of chivalry.

In the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Chieftains and Nobles, Priesthood and Laity, Normans and Bretons, were crowded—a vast commixed assembly. Guillaume Longue-épée's deep-dug resting-place had been prepared opposite to his father's tomb. By the side of the yawning grave stood the bier, bearing the swathed cere-clothed corpse.

The still existing effigy which transmits Guillaume's portraiture, may, though the tomb be of later date, be readily accepted as recording the traditions of the antient times. The long-bladed sword, sheathed in the gemmed scabbard, was lying as on the dead man's breast.—All was ready—yet the obsequies were stayed.—No movement was made for the dark descent into the pit, and the untouched corpse remained a weight upon the bier. Then was the young Richard suddenly brought forth,—the pleasant and fearless child.—You would have known Richard-sans-Peur anywhere as Guillaume's child,—the child displaying the characteristics of the antient Danish race, the bright tints, the fair complexion, the golden hair, and the brilliant eyes; the features which, to the last, were hereditary in Rollo's gifted progeny. One universal shout arose when the Boy was presented before the multitude. With one acclaim they acknowledged the heir of Guillaume Longue-épée and of Rollo;—they would serve him, they would defend him,—they would live and die for him, their natural Sovereign.

The proceedings were opened by the Armoricans, Count Juhel Berenger took up the speech, an honour possibly rendered to his Comital dignity, as if he and Alain were the chief Peers of the Northman's Monarchy. Moreover the encrease of the Danish forces in the Cotentin, and the fear entertained by the Bretons lest the Pagan Danes might renew their devastations, compelled them to draw closer to the Christianized Northmen. But in whatever manner the pre-eminence thus ceded to the Count of Rennes may have been construed or taken, any way it manifested that Bretons and Normans were equally determined to co-operate in maintaining the dignity of the Ducal Realm. Juhel Berenger insisted upon Richard's right, echoing the popular postulation, —The boy must be their Duke, their Patrician, their Sovereign.—Guillaume's shield had fallen, Richard's shield must be raised. And, continuing his impassioned argument, the Count of Rennes demanded how otherwise than mustered under one standard, could they protect themselves against the invasion of the enemy? —Again, a thundering shout declared the universal consent; and now the young Richard became qualified to receive the consecrated investiture.

936-943

943

Recogni-
tion of
Richard
on the
proposi-
tion of
Juhel
Berenger.

Only to a crowned King did the sacramental unction appertain, and not to every crowned King was that ordinance extended. The Duke's exalted rank entitled him to the benediction of the altar, and that benediction was bestowed. So to speak, he was in minor orders. In all respects, save ampulla and diadem, did the Ducal inauguration and the royal coronation correspond, and the three promises which the young Richard made to the people, binding himself to their observance in the Saviour's name—that he would preserve Peace to Church and people,—prohibit all oppression and violence—and in all his judgments observe justice and mercy—were those exacted from every Sovereign. Peculiar reference was made in the Collects to Richard's youth. He received the ring and was girt with the sword—symbolizing his espousal to the dominion whereof he was to be the natural defender.

The Lieges now perfected the compact. Again were the Armorican Chieftains foremost in testifying their obedience, placing their hands within the hands of Richard: and the other Nobles and Chieftains followed their example. The shrines were brought forth, and the Gospel book and the Holy Rood ranged in awful array before them, and, the oath of fidelity being taken, the young son of Guillaume Longue-épée was full Sovereign.

936-943

943

Loyalty
of the
Normans
towards
Richard.

But the young Richard inherited more from Guillaume Longue-épée than his dominions, he enjoyed a better defence than the trenchant sword—a more potent safeguard than any political theory—he commanded his people's loyalty. This unreasoning sentiment, resulting from a higher source than human reason, is as much a gift as any other natural affection, a free gift of the heart, uncoercible as love, and, like love, in no wise depending upon the worth of the object to whom the affection is rendered : and we are constrained to say it ought not.

However deficient in principle, Guillaume Longue-épée's character was very winning.—Not are the wisest the most regretted after death, because their wisdom rebukes our folly ; nor the pious, inasmuch as their example shames us ; nay, humiliating as the confession may be, not always even the truly loving ; their very tenderness being oft-times a trouble to our perverse hearts. Most generally are those lamented who are most agreeable, whose geniality puts us in good humour with ourselves. —*Vive Henri Quatre!*¹—Scarcely would the *vert-galant*² lover of *la belle Gabrielle*³ have been so deplored, had it not been for his sunny bonhomie superadded to the primal charm of his libertinism.

Guillaume Longue-épée's redeeming virtue was his firm and merciful administration of justice. Endearred to his subjects by the protection he afforded, his brightness fascinated them, and the resentment excited by the cruel treachery of his enemies, exalted the popular grief to a strain of indignant enthusiasm. All the affection for Guillaume Longue-épée was transferred to the young Richard. All the Norman parties, the fully Romanized, the settled Danishry, even the Pagan Northmen, entertained the same ardent feeling. Richard was a most precious pledge to whoever was interested in the affairs of Normandy, whether as a friend or as an enemy.

Richard's right was unassailable and indubitable.—No ambitious intruder from amongst the Northmen would be allowed to rise up as his rival. No stranger from without, should dare to challenge his dominion. All conjoined in revering their infant Chief as the representative of the Commonwealth. Adverse as the parties were in interest and opinions, all were consentaneous in their determination.—Under one Ruler, Normandy should continue one State, one undivided Monarchy. They never swerved from this normal doctrine, the boundaries of Normandy never receded, and the Dukes of Normandy became as independent as the Kings of France, whose superiority they acknowledged, but whose behests they never held themselves bound to obey.

CHAPTER IV.—PART I.

LOUIS D'OUTREMER—LOTHAIRE AND LOUIS-LE-FAINÉANT—
RICHARD-SANS-PEUR—ACCESSION OF THE CAPETS.

888—987

942—954

943

888—987.

942—987.

§ 1. HIC DEFECERUNT REGES DE STIRPE KAROLI¹.

The last era of the Carlo-vingian dynasty—accelerated rapidity of its decline.

—Inscribed in uncial capitals, this sentence, or its equivalent, rouses the reader as he labours through the manuscript commemorating the fates and narrating the fortunes of antient France. It is the usual practice of the French monastic chronographers thus to bear record of the great event—The parchment rises up before you as a sepulchral memorial, the words startle you as the epitaph of the doomed race. The sand is running out rapidly. The thrice-repeated Eight, the Eight hundred Eighty and Eight, dissolved the Carlovingian Empire; and the Ninety and Nine circling years which ensued, and through which we are now passing, are fast conducting us to the last of these remarkable secular numbers,—the Nine, the Eight, the Seven,—when the knell of Charlemagne's dynasty was rung.

All the devices whereby Man seeks to delay the dread sentence which decrees that he shall return unto the dust from whence he was taken, all his endeavours to cast a veil over the hideousness of death, either enhance the loathsomeness of corruption, or sharpen the rebuke of mundane vanity. Charlemagne's embalmed corpse, then and still abiding in the ghastly tomb-chamber of Aix-la-Chapelle mocked and mocks the decay, the disgrace, and the ruin of the glorious Empire which he had founded. Nevertheless, whilst the Monarchy was failing in the persons of the perplexed Rulers, the monarchical spirit continued to wax in strength. More firmly was the abstract doctrine of hereditary right protected by law, and far more forcibly advocated by public opinion, than when the Pontiff placed the diadem on the brows of Pepin's son.

Increasing strength of the monarchical principle.

942-954

943

Never indeed, under any circumstances, had the Monarchical principle been contravened by the populations within the ambit of the Empire—no other form of government was known by them. The exceptions, when examined, prove to be no exceptions, or exceptions proving the rule. Regality was the organic element of the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth could not otherwise exist: an acephalous body politic was inconceivable. One supreme Pontiff, Head of the Christian Church; one Emperor, Temporal Head of the Christian Commonwealth; one King in each Kingdom.—No, not even when the remnants of the Carolingian Empire had been rent asunder, was the dream of founding a Republic entertained. Each King whose Kingdom had at any time been fashioned out of the ruins of the Carolingian Empire ruled his realm with imperial right; every King, receiving the regal benediction, was as an Emperor within his kingdom.

Character
of Louis.

Louis d'Outremer acted on the full conviction that this position was irrefragable. Well versed in the arts of government; bold without rashness; happily unincumbered by any inconvenient scruples of political morality; retaining the undiminished consciousness of his exalted dignity despite of his mortifications and misfortunes: all these qualities invigorated him during the hard conflict he had to wage—he fought the good fight of royalty with the spirit of a King. During his whole life Louis was, to use the common expression, under female influence, and, for a man of his rank, in a singular manner; that influence having been only exercised by Mistresses who might legitimately demand it.

Influence
of Ogiva,
whom he
appoints
Lay-
Abbess
of Notre
Dame at
Laon.

During childhood and adolescence the energetic Ogiva, who had rescued him from perpetual imprisonment or death, continued to act as a wise and sagacious guardian. After his marriage with Gerberga, the closer claims of the wife superseded parental authority; yet the dutiful affection which Louis entertained for his mother was not diminished. He loved her and he honoured her, testifying his sentiments by practical kindness and liberality. So completely had Louis been despoiled of his domains, that Gerberga, on her second marriage, does not appear to have received any dowry, whilst she lost a part (some say the whole) of that which, as the relict of Gilbert the bold swimmer, she ought to have held in Lorraine. Louis, therefore, not having any proper means of his own, enabling him to make a competent provision for the widowed Ogiva, applied himself, as was the custom, to the resources afforded by church property. There existed at Laon a noble Convent, founded by the venerated Saint

Salaberga in King Dagobert's days. This House of Religion was peculiarly under royal protection. When the King entered the Close, he dismounted from his horse, and his dogs were left to bark without the gate—and, when he attended service in the Choir, he honoured the Festival and the Sanctuary by wearing his Crown. But Royal patronage was onerous as well as honourable. The Monarch assumed the irresponsible power of presentation to the preferment, and when Louis appointed Ogiva as the Lady Superior, such an act was perhaps the minimum abuse of his authority. Through his gift, the Queen Mother of France and Lay-Abbess of Notre Dame de Laon received the revenues of the opulent establishment;—where, unfettered by monastic rule or inconvenient vow, she might hold her little Court, and enjoy herself in sober ease and matronly dignity.

942-954

942-943

Louis possessed in Gerberga the truest helpmate. The natural character of King Otho's sister, King Henry's daughter, was closely analogous to her husband's; their merits were the same, the same their failings. Mutual affection encreased the original conformity of the Royal pair: whether the wife of Louis or his widow, the Queen Consort of France exhibited parallel talent, parallel spirit, and parallel energy.

Never yet had Louis faltered since the cheers of the multitude welcomed him on Boulogne shore. Louis brought a will of his own from beyond the sea. The propitious omen still seemed to be verified, he still kept his seat on the curvetting steed, still manifested himself the master.

Measuring the results which he obtained against the means he possessed, King Louis had been singularly successful. Courage, prudence, and talent had enabled him to make head against the difficulties and evils which, from his very birth, had swarmed around him.—Under the domination of three successive Usurpers, the honour of Charlemagne's race had been tarnished, and the son of Charles-le-Simple had inherited a maimed and humiliated Kingdom.—Replaced upon the throne, the Protector who seated him there was trying to edge him off.—This Protector rapidly disclosed himself as a rival, seeking to supersede and betray the authority which he had professed to restore.—Neither faith nor trust could Louis find in his lieges. Throughout the wide extent of France but one walled city owned him as her lord, the oft-beleaguered Laon.—But now the ranks of his enemies were thinning, the Commander of the Pirates was laid low; and within a short season after this deliverance, Louis was also freed

942-954 from the opponent who had most distressed him by pertinacity and perfidy.

943

943

Death of
Herbert of
Vermandois. Tra-
ditionary
accounts
thereof.

§ 2. A much-talked of day there was, when the travellers journeying from Laon to Rheims, or the travellers journeying from Rheims to Laon, both parties pursuing their route by the road which wound around the foot of the Mont Fendu, reined in their horses as they crossed each other midway on the causeway, —arrested by the strange and fearful spectacle exhibited on the summit of the hill—a corpse down dangling from the tall gallows-tree, and coming out stark and dark against the sky. This was the carcase of Count Herbert, who, (as it is said,) pursuant to the judgment pronounced in the King's Cour Plénière at Laon, expiated his crimes by receiving condign punishment. Such a sentence passed upon the representative of Charlemagne was sufficiently appalling; but when we are told that Louis himself was the Hangman, it is excusable to indulge in the supposition that popular belief may have adorned the tale with additional horrors. In consequence of this stern vengeance did the Mont Fendu become the record of Herbert's fate, acquiring the name of the "Mont Herbert," which it still retains.

Some trustworthy Chroniclers however, relate that the murderer of the martyred Charles died in his palace, on his bed, —convulsed,—raving amidst his convulsions,—and shrieking out the confession of his treason.—“We were twelve who did it!” was his dying cry.—Neither narrative necessarily disproves the other. Either may be substantially true—both, making a discreet allowance for the tempting pleasures of imagination, equally credible. Although we may be in doubt as to the particular mode adopted by Louis to rid himself of the regicide, still we may readily believe that the noble malefactor perished by the King's righteous and legal judgment, or by the King's command. If Herbert was actually gibbeted, could it be denied but that he had deserved the doom?

Herbert's
tomb at
Saint
Quentin.

In Herbert's own country, long did the traditions continue current, and the monumental evidences in which they were embodied, have been accepted by the most recent of the Vermandois historians, as confirmative proof of the Count's melancholy fate. When the stranger was entering the Chapel of Notre Dame la Bonne, adjoining the great Collegiate Basilica of Saint Quentin, the guide was wont to stop the visitor at the threshold, and ask him to look down upon the worn and fractured slab on which he trod: and there, (as pointed out and explained by the

Sacristan), he might admire the incised outline of Count Herbert's effigy, displaying the culprit's neck encircled by the hateful halter; a representation always assumed to be a coeval memorial of the fact, inasmuch as it was believed that his sons caused him to be buried in that chapel, and no one doubted but that the stone had been laid down by their command.

942-954

943

Be this as it may, four out of Herbert's five sons, his children by Hugh-le-Grand's sister Hildebranda, divided his dominions amongst them. Albert the Good, the second son, preferred to Eudes the eldest, for reasons which will be hereafter mentioned, became the Count of Vermandois: Eudes acquired Amiens: Robert, the third son, who died without male descendants; and Herbert the Handsome, the fourth son, the conqueror of hearts, successively obtained the Palatinate County of Troyes, which their father's boldness and adroitness had founded; whilst Hugh, the puisné, whilom the Parvulus, wasted the whole of his life in his contests for the Archbishoprick of Rheims against Artaldus. An attempt was made to dispossess Herbert's children, but Hugh-le-Grand supported his nephews, and aided them in vindicating their rights before the King. Hugh-le-Grand was also gratified by a remembrance carved out of the defunct's estate, to wit the superiority of Creil and Thury, and Couci's noble tower, all which fiefs were held under him by Bernard de Senlis. The late Count Herbert had detached these domains from the temporalities of Rheims, and his sons seemed to have ceded to their Uncle, as a token of gratitude, that which was not their own.

Partition
of Count
Herbert's
dominions.

Legal evidence frequently extends no further than to raise vehement presumptions. When dealing with historical evidence it rarely happens that we can elicit much more. And it is not a far-fetched supposition, that Louis if he did in any wise plan or effect the removal of the Vermandois Count had fully reckoned upon the consequent advantages. The power of Vermandois was broken by the partitions of the inheritance; and whether Herbert of Vermandois was choked in his bed or strangled by the hempen noose, whether Guillaume the Captain of the Pirates had been lawfully executed or foully murdered, the result was identical. Two members of the treasonable Triumvirate had breathed their last breath: and the confederacy whereby Louis had been so venomously assailed was at an end.

Therefore it would appear, at first sight, that through the death of Count Herbert, Hugh-le-Grand was the loser, and Louis the gainer: but it was his destiny that his fairweather gleams

942-954

943

Hugh-le-Grand—
increase
of his
power.

of sky should always be speedily clouded ; and Louis, though some time elapsed before the full extent of the reaction became manifest, was really on the suffering side.—*Qui habet socium habet magistrum*¹.—In the English language we lack any proverbial version of this instructive apophthegm, so well exemplified on the present occasion by Hugh-le-Grand : who, liberated from the constraint of partners no less grasping than himself, and always ready to check, contradict, or sacrifice him, presented himself in far greater force than before.

943

Birth of
Hugh
Capet.

Concurrent with this important phase in Hugh's political affairs when, had his Astronomer "erected a figure," Jupiter could have been found to be lord of the ascendant, a most unexpected event occurred which complemented his good fortune. In early manhood Hugh-le-Grand had been childless ; in the prime of life Hugh-le-Grand continued childless—wives and concubines equally barren ; but now, in Hugh-le-Grand's old age, he ceased to be childless ; a child was born to him. Hugh-le-Grand, hitherto characterized as the nephew of a King, the brother-in-law of a King, the son-in-law of a King, and the son of a King, though not a King himself, became, at last, the father of a King. Hadwisa, the sister of King Otho, was delivered of that sturdy child, the gossips' marvel, who, receiving the paternal name of Hugh at the font, acquired in after-life, for the torture of antiquarian wits, the world-renowned epithet of Capet².

Hugh-le-Grand's
conduct
becomes
more
definite.

Hitherto Hugh-le-Grand had pursued his schemes of aggrandizement somewhat desultorily.—He persisted in his self-denying determination that he would never wear the Crown. At the commencement of Louis d'Outremer's reign, this abnegation of the royal insignia merely amounted to a distinction without a difference. The Protectorate approximated so closely to the Sovereignty that the office might be easily accepted as an equivalent ; but, when deprived of his Protectorate, he never pretended to exercise any marked predominance over his Confederates. He became the liegeman of Otho, readily acknowledging also his German brother-in-law as King of France : and, except when directly co-operating with the other leaders, he seemed to content himself with nibbling the royal territory, and to be satisfied if from time to time he could win some town or tower. But in future we shall find him acting definitely, whether defying the Carlovingian sceptre or gnawing under the throne, and not sparing any exertion of power, any flattery or any fraud, for the purpose of attaining his ends.

He was the same Hugh-le-Grand, and yet substantially altered. Henceforth we shall constantly find him acting, so to speak, in the spirit of an ambitious parvenu, seeking to be the founder of a family, giving his whole mind to the acquisition of capital, which he hoards for the benefit of his heir.

942-954

943

Louis encouraged to plan the subjugation of the Terra Normannorum.

§ 3. Immediately after the butchery of Picquigny, Louis prepared to adopt measures for regaining the Terra Normannorum, commencing with the territory between the Seine and France. Yielding to the narcotic influence which plausible deductions from popular opinions exercise upon the mind, the scheme of annexation may, without any twinge of conscience, have been preconceived by Louis, Guillaume Longue-épée yet living, adding to his convictions that it was a righteous deed to slay the Captain of the Pirates for the safety of the Carolingian Commonwealth.

No probability of real peace with the Northmen.

To speak of peace between the Danes and the Carolingian nations was indeed a conventional falsification. There could be no peace between them, according to the doctrines which they mutually maintained. The Danskerman's print of his foot sealed the soil to him and his heirs for ever. If ousted, his title was not barred, and he would regain his own whenever he could or dared; no effluxion of time could affect the justice of his claim. The Danish champion challenged the Conqueror on his coronation-day—The Carolingian people, on their part, would not admit that any title could be lawfully obtained by the Northmen;—their title was incurably bad;—no cession was valid, no treaty binding, no oath was made to be held. No defiance needed to be given to the perpetual enemy; and, when Guillaume Longue-épée had fallen—no matter by whose instigation—Louis might surely believe that his royal duty bound him to avail himself of the opportunity which now was offered for the “reintegration of the Realm, and uprooting the detested Pirates.”—It seemed as if Guillaume Longue-épée had worked prepensely for his country's ruin. When called to the dominion of the Terra Normannorum, the antagonistic parties were rivals; his attempted fusion had produced confusion—and, taken away from that dominion, he left them prepared and ready for mutual hostility.

Louis justified by political prudence to plan the re-annexation of Normandy in the first instance:

Dismissing, however, from our consideration all questions bearing upon the culpability or the innocence of Louis, and, without attempting to determine whether his aspirations prompted Guillaume's assassination, or whether the assassination suggested the desire, it is indubitable that he, the King of France, could not fail to watch for every opportunity of destroying the Pirate's

942-954

943

nest. That the Northman should reign in France was a foul disgrace, an ever-increasing national danger. Louis had a sufficient warning before his eyes. Through Alfred's fatal grant¹ to Guthrun the Danes were devouring England. Louis must have felt that it might be within his power to restore France to her integrity. One strenuous struggle might render the Kingdom safe and sound. Adversity taught Louis the lessons of prudence ; necessity had enforced them. Discretion was one of the principal talents by which his authority had been sustained. He never presented himself as an aggressor except when he could reasonably expect success. The caution of the warrior-statesman, would have verged upon incompetence, had it caused him to doubt but that the right time for hitting the blow had arrived.

...but his plans are thwarted by the unexpected firmness of the Normans.

All the political data upon which he had based his calculations of success, were, when he first entertained the scheme, such as fully warranted his conclusions. The Normans were a divided people, their ruler a child, and the deductions from these premises fully justified the course of action he was contemplating. But, as soon as the determined attitude taken by the Normans, when they rallied round the young Richard, became known to Louis, he must have had a presentiment that his adverse Nemesis was preparing to thwart him. The sources of weakness had been so over-ruled as to become sources of strength. The hearts of the people were turned. Richard, the child, was shielded by the ardent developement of the people's love, and the divided people were prepared to defend the united Norman Monarchy—Instead of being able to make a speedy entry into the Terra Normannorum, or to effect an easy conquest, Louis had now to anticipate an hazardous delay, whilst the actual conflict might require the most strenuous exertions of policy and power.

Advantage resulting to Hugh-le-Grand by the pressure of Norman affairs upon Louis.

Whether directly or indirectly, the affairs of Normandy and the Normans always affected the destinies of France, and, under the present contingencies, these Norman influences were, through the strange complexity of parties, operating decidedly for the benefit of Hugh-le-Grand. Otherwise than by the aid of the dreaded rival, Louis could scarcely expect to accomplish his intentions.

Hugh-le-Grand's command of Normandy.

In addition to the certainty that any manifestation of ill-will from Hugh-le-Grand, when Louis should commence his operations, would be a serious impediment, he possessed peculiar means of embarrassing the French Monarch. Hugh-le-Grand's Duchy of France commanded Normandy. The Seine gave him water-way

from Paris to Rouen : and his northern frontier was conterminous with the most vulnerable portions of the Norman territory ;—the Evrecin was open before him. Moreover, the fragment which Hugh had split off from the Vermandois inheritance, though not in the immediate vicinity of Normandy, much encreased his means of interference amongst the Normans. By the possession of Couci and the fiefs dependant thereon, Hugh became the liege-lord of Bernard de Senlis, that Vermandois kinsman whom Guillaume Longue-épée had believed to be his surest resort, and Bernard de Senlis cherishing the consanguinity, though now somewhat distant, claimed Guillaume's son as his nephew, and evinced himself an affectionate member of Rollo's family¹.

942-954

942-943

Louis hated Hugh-le-Grand : and, if hatred ever can be lawful, Louis had good reason.—“We were twelve who did it.”—Had Herbert of Vermandois, the agonized self-accuser, named the names of his accomplices in the Peronne tragedy, would he not certainly have proclaimed Hugh-le-Grand as one ? So believed king Louis,—Hugh was his father's murderer,—and he nourished his resentment against Hugh as a sacred duty. But a suspension of their mutual enmities was urgently needful for Louis, and not unwelcome to Hugh. Louis therefore put on his choicest smirking mask, and opened the smoothest flattering palm, and began to bid higher and higher for the co-operation of his crafty enemy. The rays of court favour shone brilliantly on the Duke of France. We shall see how he obtained from Louis a large expansion of territorial power : and Hugh-le-Grand, exalted as he already was in station, deemed himself nevertheless encreased in honour by the marks of royal distinction he received,—the decorations which royal condescension bestowed.

Hatred borne by Louis against Hugh-le-Grand.

A series of events now ensued, arising from the contrarious and complicated forces which did not entirely expend themselves, until Richard's Norman reign was verging towards its conclusion. During many troubled years after his accession, Normandy became implicated in the contests amongst the rival parties, either striving to retain or gain Normandy, or endeavouring to render the Country a fulcrum of power.—The ultimate result may be briefly stated, Hugh-le-Grand aided most efficiently in building up the Norman Duchy, and the Duke of Normandy's wisdom and valour sustained Hugh Capet during his progress to the Throne.

Views of the contending parties.

The main plot of political intrigue continued to be worked by the same actors and agents as heretofore.—We shall find Hugh-le-Grand and Louis, sometimes simulated friends, but

The adversaries of Normandy.

942-954

942-943

always open or secret enemies.—Arnoul of Flanders figures in the scene, still suffering from occasional attacks of the gout; nevertheless, despite a malady emphatically designated in legal documents as “tending to shorten life,” he attained the venerable age of ninety-two years. And although already fully entitled to the epithet of *le vieux*—he was more anxious than ever to improve the advantages he had gained by his brother-in-law’s assassination.—Thibaut-le-Tricheur, and his fine consort Liutgarda, both stimulated by ambition and by spite, consistently appear as the persecutors of Richard to the utmost of their power—Otho vibrates between his two brothers-in-law, the King of France and the Duke of France, and holds himself high above both of them.—All are equally unscrupulous, not a truth-telling tongue or a sound heart amongst them.—And our Chroniclers, the Dean of Saint Quentin and the Monks of Rheims, distracted by the troubles, and infected by the faithlessness of the times,—will, to the end of the Chapter, perplex and mislead us equally by their concealments and their disclosures.

§ 4. It is perhaps one of the greatest curses waiting upon intolerance, that the removal of the wrong invariably generates further evil. Even the grudging relief which hard necessity occasionally extorts from an oppressor in favour of an hitherto proscribed party or sect, is an act sure to be misrepresented on either side. Those who previously revelled in the full tyranny of ascendancy, resent the diminution of injustice as an affront, whilst the oppressed construe the concession as a summons to retaliate in their turn; and this was the crisis which Guillaume Longue-épée had brought on.

Guillaume Longue-épée’s vacillations,—the tokens and results of his insincerity—the alternations of encouragement and disfavour which he had manifested towards each of the antagonistic parties of Normandy, were calculated to give the greatest provocation to both of them. When first called to the full exercise of his authority, Guillaume had prided himself upon his French consanguinities, courted French society, adopted French manners, and absolutely identified himself with the Romanized party. And although he may not have inflicted any positive injustice upon the Danishry, he was assuredly harsh and ungain towards them. But, after various shiftings, and in the gloomy evening of his reign, when he had tasted the contempt of the French, and was convinced of their implacable hatred, he had completely reversed his earlier policy. Giving the most favourable interpretation to

The Danish and Christian parties provoked against each other by Guillaume Longue-épée.

his educational measures concerning Richard, they testified that he viewed Christianity as a thing indifferent. Guillaume was reverting to the antient race of his forefathers: he cordially conjoined himself to the Pagan Danes, and was proclaiming the restoration of his brotherhood with Scandinavia. Yet, in so doing, he had not withdrawn his confidence from the Romanized party; nay, he clung to them as his most intimate friends; to them, he entrusted the person of his child.—Therefore when Guillaume's days were cut short, he had armed the rival factions against each other. He had bequeathed to the Danishry the full benefit and advantage of his favour, affection, and patronage; whilst at the same time, by granting the custody of the infant heir to the Romanized or Christian party, the opponents of the Danishry were, by such his concurrent act, fully invested with the powers of government.

942-954

942-943

Bernard and his party being in possession—they, like all clever men under similar circumstances,—determined to keep possession. They had the management of the inauguration in Notre Dame of Rouen. The administration of the oaths, *more Christiano*, manifested their decided intention. No further promulgation of the opinions entertained by the Regency could be needed. They were seeking to confirm Christianity as the State Religion, and therefore the Danishry, though thoroughly loyal towards Richard, kept away. The Danish-minded and the declared Pagans kept together. The Cathedral ceremonies were so planned as to affront and defy them. What concern had the old-fashioned Danes before the altar? What cared they for Gospel book or Orison, Collect or Benison, or Bones of Saints or Martyrs?

Indeed, the whole Danishry might argue that such an installation of the young Prince was clean contrary to his father's intentions. Guillaume, at all events, sought to maintain an equilibrium between the two nationalities; whereas the Christian Ordination of the Sovereign was a gratuitous innovation, uncalled for, and absolutely subversive of the compact. No such rite had hitherto signalized the accession of Duke, of Senior, or of Patrician.—Rollo had not sought the Clergy's benediction when he obtained his dominion;—no,—nor Guillaume Longue-épée either. If, with the intent of conciliating the Romanized Northmen, Guillaume had appointed that the acknowledgment of the Heir at Bayeux should take place on a High-day coinciding with a great Christian festival, yet, in this concession, he was very

942-954

942-943

chary. The act was altogether the act of the Civil Magistrate. The Heir entered not into the Cathedral, the Basilica of Saint Exuperius was deserted—no Priest or Prelate was summoned to hallow the secular ceremony—no blessing asked. The instructions given by Guillaume Longue-épée for the training of his child were sagaciously calculated to withdraw the young Prince from clerical influence, whilst, on the contrary, the Rouen consecration effected by the Regency was as evidently adopted for the purpose of launching the young Sovereign under the protection of the Christian Hierarchy. Lastly, the Danishry might insist that when Guillaume had directed that the child should live amongst the Danes, grow up amongst Danes, dwell in Danish-Bayeux, and be trained for the duty of government in the Danish capital: Bernard had most solemnly promised Guillaume Longue-épée that he would observe all his injunctions. Yet, what had Bernard done?—he had swerved from the testamentary directions given by Guillaume, in the most prominent and cardinal article,—he had removed Richard from the Danish-spoken city to Romanized Rouen.

Movement
of the
Danishry.

But if the Christians were holding fast, the Pagans were up and doing.—The movement which Guillaume Longue-épée had imparted to the Danishry was proceeding with accelerated rapidity. Harold Blaaland and his Danes were settled in the Cotentin, and this immigration imparted a new vigour to the Pagan interest throughout the whole of the Terra Normannorum.

Thormod's
renuncia-
tion of
Christ-
ianity.

Thormod, a powerful chieftain, and probably a Norman born, renounced his simulated Christianity and resumed the worship of the moody Hammer-wielder, the tutelary Demon, whose name he bore,—and we may imagine him enjoying his hearty meal of horse-flesh, the test of repentant sincerity. Communications were opened with other Danish Chieftains afloat or beyond the sea—a Sithric is named amongst them. A war of religion was impending. Odinism, considered as a system of positive belief, may have been on the wane, but a bitter antipathy against the faith of others is perfectly compatible with the laxity of our own.

The Danes
combine
for the
purpose
of uniting
Normandy
to the
Danish
common-
wealth.

However, the Danes still retained a strong habitual attachment to their ancestral credence. Laws, customs, even food and clothing, contributed to keep the heathen Danes in the old paths, and, obeying the impulse given by Guillaume, they were earnestly endeavouring that the Terra Normannorum should be reunited to the grand Danish Commonwealth.

Not that these views detracted in any wise from their loyalty

towards Richard. They were as earnestly attached to the young Duke as their opponents. Even Harold Blaaland, who might be so excusably tempted to avail himself of the child's nonage, entertained a most honest affection for him. Since the Christian Danes would not content themselves with an equality of rights, the Danes must protect themselves. Normandy must be preserved as a united Monarchy, but the Duke must grow up a Dansker-man, and the State maintain the dignity of a true Danish community.

942-954
942-943

§ 5. In our age, a public debt is the most satisfactory evidence of "social Progress." By becoming liable to bankruptcy, the Ottoman Empire has been brought within the pale of civilization. Had France, in the tenth century, been qualified to possess this most delicately sensitive of political thermometers, the *Rentes*¹ of Louis d'Outremer would have been suddenly quoted at a very remarkable rise. Yielding to the panic excited by the Danish revival—at all events no other reason can be honourably assigned,—the Romanized party resolved not only to obtain the guarantee of the Carolingian crown, but even to place Normandy in absolute subjection to the French Monarchy.

When, upon Richard's accession, the news of the determined attitude assumed by Normandy reached Louis and Gerberga, their hopes were dashed, scarcely sustained by a distant and indistinct prospect of revival. How greatly therefore must Louis have been cheered on being required to receive the Norman Nobles proceeding from Rouen, as the escort of the young Richard. The train appeared at the Palace-gate, entered the presence-chamber which had witnessed Guillaume Longue-épée's mortification, and, conducting the young Richard before the throne, they prayed that Louis would grant investiture to the infant, Rollo's heir in the second degree, even as he and his father had done to Guillaume and to Rollo. What demand could possibly be more grateful to Louis than such an unsolicited acknowledgment of his supremacy? Kindly he received the child;—What did the kindness cost him?—nay, yielding at first to the winning influence of Richard's comeliness, he was even inclined to regard the youth with favour. Far otherwise Gerberga,—so vexed and mortified when she compared the young Norman's pleasant countenance and well-shaped limbs with the looks of her poor, sallow, wry-legged little Lothaire.

The
Norman
nobles
bring
Richard
before
Louis at
his palace.

But Gerberga had her revenge in another way; though she could hardly call Richard a hideous urchin, it was in her full

942-954

942-943

Investiture
of Nor-
mandy
granted to
Richard as
his father's
bastard.

power to bestow upon him a viler epithet. When the Court Chronicler bears record of the Duchy grant, he describes the *status* of the young Duke with contemptuous accuracy—*Rex Ludovicus filio Willielmi nato de concubina Britanna, terram Normannorum dedit*¹—and whilst the Normans rejoiced in the confirmation of Richard's authority, the French might boast with delight, that good care had been taken to mark the young fellow as a half-caste bastard.

The
Normans
perform
homage
to the
King.

Thus far, the proceedings were regular, though the treatment received by Richard was rigid and needlessly humiliating; but a further transaction ensued, neither warranted by precedent nor dictated by principle. Without any notice taken of their mesne² Lord, the Normans performed homage to Louis, and became his men, swearing the oath of fealty, thereby acknowledging him as their immediate Suzerain, and, having been guerdoned by the King's copious liberality, they joyfully returned to Rouen. In such manner did the Normans, as far as their acts had any validity, deliver their Duke, their country, and themselves, into the power of Louis. They made an unconditional surrender of their rights. Normandy, and all that belonged to Normandy, was his by constitutional law, and Louis might now confidently meditate upon his schemes of conquest.

Louis never could have denied to himself that he sought the utter destruction of the detested pirate-race. Louis might shrink from the crime of shedding the young child's blood, yet, should he be provoked by apprehension, or tempted by opportunity, there were many convenient modes and devices, suggested by the traditions of the past, which would effectually incapacitate Guillaume's spurious representative, or remove him out of the way. The fettered bastard might be left to rot in a dungeon, or be blinded, or maimed in his limbs. Richard was now legally the Ward of Louis. The trust of Bernard, Botho, and Oslac was annulled. What would become of the Minor should the King assert the rights which an irresponsible Guardian could claim.

Unquestionably it was a stroke of sound policy, that Richard's accession should be constitutionally sanctioned by his Carolingian Superior. The recognition of Normandy, as an integral portion of the French Monarchy, insured her existence as a Christian State, and incorporated her with the Carolingian Commonwealth.—But, had the Nobles who, assuming to act for the Norman nation, effected the recognition, been duly

mindful of their independence? Did not their conduct result from the over-zealous anxiety of ill-concealed fear?—Why bring the young Duke personally before Louis?—Would not an embassy have sufficed? There was danger in removing the child beyond the Norman border. The very sight of Richard might tempt Louis to profit by the helplessness of comparative infancy, and suggest to him that it was both a prerogative and a duty to assume the bodily custody of the Heir. To such objections, some replies might be attempted, not altogether satisfactory, though, in a certain degree, plausible; but their supplementary act of homage seemed unsusceptible of justification.

942-954

942-943

Richard's
rights put
in peril
by the
Norman
homagers.

That the nobles of the land should personally become the French king's liegemen, was therefore indignantly resented by a large and influential party amongst the Normans; but whilst they disdained such a degrading subjection, they incontinently, with eager inconsistency, did the like or worse, giving a new whirl to the wheel of Fortune. The unexpected improvement in the prospects of Louis might have encouraged him to feel almost independent of Hugh-le-Grand;—but so strangely were they set up against each other, that Hugh-le-Grand immediately got almost as much out of Normandy as Louis. The discontented Normans sought the aid of the Duke of France against the King of France, and, becoming his men, they accepted him as their Suzerain. In the homage rendered by these seceders to Duke Hugh, they paid no more attention to Richard, or Richard's rights, than the others had done when rendering homage to the king of France: they leapt over Richard in the like manner. This defection seems to have been principally manifested in the Evrecin, and virtually amounted to the incorporation of that district with Hugh-le-Grand's adjoining Duchy. By this political schism the Christian party was split into two parties, the King's men and the Duke's men, both eager to endanger their common object—the independence of Normandy—by their mutual enmity.

A party
amongst
the Nor-
mans
resent the
homage
rendered
to Louis,
and be-
come the
men of
Hugh-le-
Grand.

§ 6. Capital encouragement this for the Pagan Danes. They immediately availed themselves of these internecine Christian dissensions. Fresh from the north King Sithric came, and joined his forces to Thormod. The Danish keels swarmed around the shores, many having probably passed over from Ireland or from England. The warfare was prosecuted as of old: the black sails hovering round the coast, the troops disembarking and harassing the interior. Sithric's squadron entered the oftplagued

Danish in-
vasion—

King
Sithric and
Thormod
join their
forces.

942-954

Seine. A general insurrection ensued.—Hey-saa ! Hey-saa ! Hey-saa !—the cheering national gathering cry, resounded through the Danishry. The Pagan Northmen boldly and energetically prosecuted their design of vindicating their supremacy without detriment to their loyalty. Thormod obtained possession of Richard ; he would be the young Sovereign's Protector, and, as he might maintain, the protector according to Guillaume's heart's desire. Was it not the dying wish of Guillaume that his sturdy son should grow up as a valiant Danskerman ? Thormod therefore laboured earnestly and successfully for the conversion of the young duke, and had persuaded, or compelled him, to adopt the tenets of his Danish forefathers.

Thormod obtains possession of the person of young Richard, and converts him to Paganism.

Concealments of the Norman historians.

Every historian is grievously tempted either to colour out or to blot out whatever may displease his taste or contradict his views ; perhaps the latter course is the safest and most honest. Could the purest conscience or the clearest mind tell the whole truth concerning our Civil wars in such a guise, that his narrative should be pleasant and profitable equally to Cavaliers and Round-heads ? Compromise can never answer in such cases. Fancy a portrait of Charles Stuart, *party per pale, Saint and Tyrant, both proper*,—would such a likeness gratify either High Church or Nonconformity ?

This disagreeable incident in the life of Richard-sans-Peur is completely ignored by the Father of Norman history, who, like all the other Norman writers, discreetly labours to suppress all examples of the struggling vitality yet retained by Pagan principles. Not a word of the young Duke's perversion appears in the invaluable memorials which we owe to Dudo's diligence. Dean Dudo and all his successors, whether in prose or verse, were thoroughly ashamed of this passage in the Norman annals, and resolved that Duke Richard's infantine adoption of pagan error should be considered as a thing which never had been. How anxious the Panegyrist was to maintain the Christian character of his patrons, may be gathered from the circumstance that he addresses Guillaume Longue-épée as a Holy Martyr. Our knowledge of Thormod's successful mission is solely derived from the French historians, who, scoffing at the Leader of the Pirates, take a grim delight in bearing witness to his child's facility. Had it not been for the malicious sincerity of Frodoardus the monk of Rheims, and Richerius, the son of Louis d'Outremer's confidential officer, the whole transaction would have been buried in oblivion.

The boldness of the Danishry excited corresponding exertions on the part of Duke Hugh and of the King. Had the pagan Danes succeeded in effecting the occupation of Normandy, then the Duchy of France and the kingdom of France would have been equally jeopardized. The grandson of Robert-le-Fort rivalled his grandsire's strenuousness : Hugh waged such a rapid succession of conflicts with the enemy that the chroniclers have failed to number them. Skirmishes and forays kept up the continuity of warfare. The Danes were very stiff in the stour ; Hugh-le-Grand, during his campaign, suffered great losses, nevertheless he retained his position steadily, and, favoured by his Christian partisans amongst the Romanized Danes, was enabled to establish himself in Evreux.

942-954

942-943

Hugh-le-Grand's energy against the Danes.

Louis, on his part, directed his operations with the spirit and talent of a great Captain. Avenger of the murdered Guillaume, and Guardian, as he professed himself, of the infant Heir, he advanced into Normandy for the rescue of the young Richard and the re-establishment of Christianity.—Louis was magnificent in the field. As he moved, Charlemagne's golden Eagle was borne before him, and, when he encamped, the Imperial Ensign crowned his pavilion. His ranks were always filled. Destitute of means, despoiled of his domains, without any sources of revenue, nor, so far as we can ascertain, possessing any power of compelling military service, the magnitude of his army offers a constantly recurring enigma. The Danes either had not time to "horse themselves," employing the phrase rendered so familiar to us by the doleful Saxon chronicle, or, if they had, they preferred combating on foot, according to their national custom, advancing against their enemy with sword and shield.

The Pagan Host, commanded by Thormod and Sithric, was numbered by thousands.—Eight hundred full-armed knights constituted the nucleus of the army which Louis had assembled ; —a formidable force in themselves, yet not sufficiently ample to enable him to outflank the enemy. He therefore concentrated his cavalry, and made the onslaught. A sanguinary battle ensued, terrible as any which a Carlovingian Monarch had ever waged. The Danes gave way before the charge. King Sithric fleeing, tried to conceal himself amongst the bushes in a spinney, but his pursuers following the trail, found him out, and the spears of three French warriors dispatched the crouching victim. Louis, at the head of his horsemen, rode over Thormod, and, galloping forwards without recognizing the man whom he had run down,

"Battle of the Rescue." Danes defeated by Louis—Thormod and Sithric slain.

942-954 attacked another Danish battalion. The elastic Thormod had, however, instantly curled up from the trampled turf-ground, unbruised and unharmed. His keener eye enabled him to mark the King, and, scurrying on with his companions, they assailed Louis in the rear. Whilst Louis was sabring to the right and to the left, Thormod ran at him behind, and thrusting at the King through the fault of his hauberk, wounded him dangerously under the shoulder-blade; but Louis, quickly turning round, clave his adversary's skull. Hugh-le-Grand poured in also with his forces, and the Danes,—nine thousand miscreants,—taking to their vessels, abandoned their enterprise. The French gloried in the slaughter. The Christian party having regained their preponderance, the regular order of things was fully restored. The Regents resumed their powers, Oslac, Raoul Torta, and Bernard the grey-beard: the latter, honoured and respected by all parties, was considered as the Stadt-holder.

The
"Battle
of the
Rescue"—
its im-
portance.

§ 7. The locality where the armies met is not ascertained, but the final conflict probably ensued somewhere nigh the Ponthieu Border. We will therefore designate the battle as the "Battle of the Rescue," for the result absolutely liberated the young Richard from the grasp of the Pagan Danes, and a battle without a name is unquotable in history. The tale is told to us in tones of triumph—the chroniclers exhibit unwonted animation in their brief details—The agile start of the overthrown assailant, and the fate of the skulking Viking—are incidents bestowing a romantic character upon the narrative, most rare in this period of dull though sanguinary hostility. A Christian King engaged in single combat, chasing the rascal heathens, and wielding his weapon in the midst of the *melée*, had performed achievements which revived the antient days of imperial glory.

Oft and oft and desperately, had Charlemagne's fate-stricken lineage warred amongst themselves, brethren against brothers, uncles against nephews, and nephews against uncles, sons against fathers, and fathers against sons; but, how scantily had they measured their ineffectual swords against the weapons of the common enemy! During the sad interval of misfortune and misery which had elapsed between the death of Charlemagne and the "Battle of the Rescue," once only had the dreary annals of graceless dissension and national degradation been brightened in the plain of Saulcourt, when, as the Gleeman sang, the blood rose in the cheeks of the Frankish soldiers, rejoicing in the sport of war. But the arm of the young hero of Saulcourt had been

palsied by the folly of his troops ; and the engagement was an event of small moment in the general course of events.—Though a recreant had been punished, and a marauder slain ; yet barren were the laurels which inspired the resounding lay.

942-954

942-943

Strongly contrasted with such a fruitless conflict, was the result produced by the skilful prowess of Louis, which not only enhanced his personal renown, but was also most opportune for King and kingdom. The French had adopted as an indubitable proposition, that the Northmen were intolerable. As a Nation, they were in a manner pledged never to desist until they had effected the subjugation or expulsion of the vile intruders. Now at this exact nick of time, Louis, without any effort on his part, had, by the acts of his natural antagonists, been placed in the most advantageous position for combining the advantages gained by the military success of the General with the colourable claims of the Monarch. The Norman Patriots had been working for him. No greater service could have been rendered to Louis than the help he derived from the Norman Regency and their partizans who had so anxiously laboured to bring the young Richard before him at Compiègne : not only acknowledging the Suzerain's superiority, but conceding to him the immediate regal right over Rollo's land.

The oracular volumes of the *jus gentium*¹ are not less com-
plaisant than the vaticinations of the Sybil², hardly ever failing
to afford a response by which the wishes of the Querent may be
gratified. It is the apophthegm of our English Tribonian³, that
execution is the life of the law : but, if execution be the life of
our common law, it is the very "Law of nations" itself. The
last reason of Kings always ranks first in the Quarreller's cogita-
tions, be he Autocrat, be he Democrat. Had the Lamb stood
where the Wolf stood, he would have found as legitimate a *casus*
belli, as the Wolf found, could he, the Lamb, have dared.

The concessions made to Louis enabled him, in the first
instance, to conceal his designs ; and he was in every way
encouraged and incited to avail himself of his advantages resolutely
and speedily.—During the Lotharingian disturbances Louis had
been tantalized by his reasonable but disappointed expectations.
Lorraine was lost, but the acquisition of Gerberga's hand might
console him for the loss of Lorraine : and, would Gerberga let
him rest, if, the way being so clearly opened, he did not compensate
himself by expelling the Pirates and their progeny, and sending
them beyond the sea ?—The name of the Terra Normannorum

942-954 was an affront to the Frankish royalty; the domination of the
 bastard Richard, the son of the bastard Guillaume, was a scandal
 942-943 to the Realm.

Flushed therefore with victory, yet having astutely matured his plans, Louis advanced to the Norman capital, leading on his exulting army. Had he required any further incitement to persevere in his intention of regaining the usurped land, it would have been furnished by the aspect of the country as it was again unfolded before him during this second examination. The exuberant fertility of Normandy, the fine, fresh, full-formed women, the hale manhood, the forests and chases, the thickly-planted villages, the flourishing towns, and the prosperous population testified the comfort and value of the territory; and he fully determined that, as far as depended upon his exertions, never should Neustria revert to the Pirate power. Louis presented himself clothed with a fourfold right—the young Duke was his lawful Ward,—the Norman Nobles, his Homagers,—King of France, he was the Sovereign of the country,—but above all, he entered Rouen as a Conqueror.

943
 Louis
 enters
 Rouen as a
 Conqueror.

§ 8. No mistake could be made about the fact. The Norman nobles might attempt to disguise the humiliating catastrophe, but they could not gainsay it.—They had sold Richard and the Terra Normannorum into the hands of Louis. They had cheated themselves by their own want of sincerity. When they journeyed to Compiègne and instructed the graceful boy to bend the knee before the Carolingian throne, they had no expectation that the Suzerain, whom they made a shew of accepting, would repair to Rouen, and receive the infant Heir into his charge. When they became the homagers of Louis, they merely planned to play him off against their adversaries; the idea never crossed their minds that he would traverse the Border and enforce their obedience, the Sovereign's approach announced by Charlemagne's standard.—When they honoured him as King of France they never dreamt that, concentrating all the powers of government in his person, they should behold him installed in the Palatial castle of Rollo. They did not realize the words of homage when they spake the words of homage—they thought that the words were idle words, but idle words are fearful realities.

There was, in fact, no valid excuse which they could frame for themselves. Supposing, that by the utmost stretch of charity, they might be induced to doubt whether Louis had premeditated Guillaume's assassination, they could not avoid confessing that

Louis had become an accessory after the fact. Common fame convicted the French nobles of being connivers in the misdeed, and the French would scarcely have condescended to evade the accusation. Against the Normans, the French indulged themselves to the fullest extent of contemptuous hostility. The concession of the Terra Normannorum to the son of the British concubine had been effected coldly and sternly. Not merely were all the usual conventional courtesies excluded, but there was an emphatic manifestation of ungraciousness. A gratuitous insult was incorporated in the grant when the royal Chancellor inscribed upon the record that Richard was a half-caste bastard.

942-954
942-943

Moreover, the Normans only asked that Richard should have his own ; and for this they had made the extravagant concession which virtually took away his own from Richard. They had voluntarily become the royal homagers, discarding Duke Richard's authority. Surely, the Regency party must have confessed to themselves, that the indignation of their political opponents who had disdained such crouching obedience to the son of Charles-le-Simple had not been roused unreasonably. If it was true that the royal homagers had been seduced by the royal bounty, the greater their degradation !—The more they dwelt upon the retrospect, the more must their self-reproach have become heavier. Richard was, in no wise, properly reinstated as the representative of his Grandsire. Richard had not obtained any security for his own rights, nor the Normans either. Not so his wary ancestor. Rollo had endeavoured to get whatever hold he could upon the slippery conscience of his adversaries, and to render the relation between the King and the Patrician, and between the French and the Normans a national compact, in which there was no superiority conceded to the French Monarch beyond the points which were safe and honourable : a Duke acknowledging the Hierarchical precedence due to a crowned and anointed King.

Injudicious concessions made by the Regency party.

The homage rendered by Richard very disadvantageous to his interests.

When Rollo, obeying the directions given by the Frankish Counsellors, placed his hands between the hands of King Charles, and became the King's Man, his homage was counterparted by the French,—aye, and more than counterparted. Charles King of France, and Robert Duke of France, and the Counts and the Proceres, and the Bishops and the Abbots, had promised to be faithful to Rollo-Robert in life and in limb, and the honour of the realm : and moreover it was solemnly declared that the territory, as he held and possessed the same, should pass to his heirs and descendants from generation to generation for ever.

(Vol. I. p. 379.)

942-954

It is true that no such covenant was exacted by Guillaume Longue-épée, because, in his case, no promises were required ;
 942-943 Guillaume began to rule as Duke whilst Louis was an exile. When King Louis was out of possession, Duke Guillaume was in ; but the present transaction did not offer any such safeguards. The compact was one-sided. Richard had struck no root in France, there was no reciprocity, no mutual bond.

Louis received by Normans with simulated cordiality.

It is perhaps the greatest of trials to which our temper can be subjected, when, upon the retrospect of our conduct, the potent chemistry of self-deceit fails to extract any comfort from past errors. The Regents, and all who concurred in the proceedings which had delivered Richard over into the power of the Carolingian Sovereign, could certainly find none. However, there was no immediate help—matters were very untoward, all the Normans could do would be to bide their time.—*Le bon temps viendra.*—Bernard the Dane was quite the man to adopt the spirit of the motto which, still gracing the achievement of his descendants, has perhaps, more than once, cheered the desponding heart. For the purpose of saving their credit, the Normans put the best face they could upon the matter ; they professed a cordial acceptance of the explanations given by Louis, welcoming him as the avenger of the murdered Guillaume. Louis, on his part, displayed the deepest grief for the death of the noble Duke, Guillaume Longue-épée the Martyr.—Arnoul, he vowed, should receive a condign punishment.—The Normans knowing how complicated were the plans and plots of the French Court might believe that Louis, for reasons of his own, was not altogether insincere in his manifestations of hostility against Flanders. Moreover he was accompanied by Herlouin, who professed he never would abandon his determination of avenging his benefactor.

Louis therefore was greeted at Rouen with loud and loyal acclaim. It could hardly be deemed any indication of suspicion, that, before he had entered the City, Richard was removed from his father's palace and placed under the special care of Osmond. The arrangements made by Louis were equivalent to a declaration that the King of France had fully prepared to dwell peacefully amongst the Normans.—Some of his children had accompanied or joined him. The Bishops and Counts of France resorted to his Court as he held the same in his royal residence, and, when settled, he requested that the young Richard should be brought to him.—An affecting scene ensued : Louis, the tears flowing

from his eyes, kissed and caressed the orphan, bewailed his destitution, admired his beauty. Richard—he promised—should be treated as his child, live with the young French Princes, eat at the King's table, sleep in the King's chamber. 942-954
942-943

Osmond departed, though not at ease ; and thus closed the first day, the day during which Richard had passed into the actual custody of his Guardian.

On the following morning, the morning of the second day, the anxious Governor again appeared before Louis, soliciting that he might be permitted to resume his charge, and return with Richard to his own dwelling. Osmond assigned a reason which could be propounded without disrespect and urged without intrusion. One antient usage of Roman civility was long retained in the Gauls : many a hypocaust still subsisted, and it was needful, as Osmond explained, that Richard should take the warm bath ;—but Louis would not part with the boy.

On the third day's morning, Osmond presented himself to the King, and, undeterred by his two previous repulses, insisted determinately that Richard should be restored ; but Louis haughtily and doggedly gave a peremptory denial.—The intelligence of this detention, founded upon fraud, spread rapidly throughout the city. A general insurrection ensued ; Rouen was in a state of siege ; the house-doors closed, the streets blocked up by the infuriated populace, the storm-bells booming. The inhabitants of the suburbs swarmed in, joining the citizens, and the nobles donned their armour, girt their swords, and mixed amongst the insurgents. These men of might probably belonged either to the pure Danishry, or to the Danish party ; for the popular anger was fiercely directed against Bernard and the Regency—stigmatised by the general outcry as perjured traitors, who had surrendered their Sovereign into the hands of the enemy :—and the crowd having vented their indignation, rolled on to attack the King.

Louis
detains
the young
Richard
in his
custody.
Popular
insurrec-
tion.

Appalled by the raging multitude, Louis despaired of safety, otherwise than through Bernard's intervention. Bernard had reason to fear for his own life, so great was the odium he had incurred ; yet this feeling was transient. Clever Bernard never failed to fall on his legs : and, after the first burst was over, he fully regained the confidence of all the contending parties. The acute grey-bearded Statesman instantly sought to avail himself of the consternation excited in Louis by the peril which the latter had brought upon himself. In reply to the King's message he

942-954 forthwith suggested that Louis must come forth, restore the young Duke to Osmond, and crave the forgiveness of the Normans ; no
 942-943 other mode of escape was practicable. If the opportunity was neglected, Bernard could not save him.

Louis
appears
before the
multitude
as a sup-
pliant, and
surrenders
Richard
to the
Normans.

This declaration inflicted a severe mortification upon the Carlovingian King, for the acts enjoined must have been exceedingly repugnant to his feelings ; but the sooner the penance was over the better. Louis did come forth with the young Prince, and presented him to the multitude, reiterating his caresses and expressions of affection.—How Louis loathed the touch of the warm soft creature !—He detested the family resemblance which endeared the comely son of Guillaume to Norman loyalty. In the sight of Louis, the Bastard was hatefully legitimated by his likeness to his Pirate fathers—the blood which mantled in those youthful cheeks was foul—the bright eyes of the tiger-cub bespoke his innate ferocity. Despite of his disgust, Louis gulped the humiliation. He was supported in his re-doubled duplicities by the political principles which his conscience never contested.—Every fraud was fair when dealing with a Dane—Submissively did Louis explain his conduct to the listening Normans.—Guillaume's faithful subjects were labouring under an erroneous impression : the young Prince was not detained as a captive :—nothing like it. Louis simply claimed the privilege of instructing his Ward in the art of government, and conveying to the youth all the knowledge which might qualify him to perform the duties of a Ruler and a Lawgiver.

The supplications of Louis were miserably abject ;—let them do what they thought fit ; provided his life be spared. He was failing with fear, yet retaining all his presence of mind—bitterly angered, yet thoroughly self-possessed ; and, though in the utmost dread of death, actively planning for the future, trusting that he might regain by sagacity what he had lost by compulsion. The boy was restored to the Regents, the crowd dispersed, and the tumult was silenced. Louis, however, could not be reassured ; for though he was permitted to return to the Palace, which he still retained as a home, yet the Normans would not liberate him, and he continued a prisoner in Rouen.—All the profit which he had gained by his wiles, his crimes, his policy and his valour, seemed to be lost. Victorious in the field, but defeated by the rabble, threatened equally by danger and by shame, most doubtful as to his course, yet determined to temporize, he sent for the three chief members of the Regency,

Oslac, Raoul Torta, and Bernard the Dane. Certain of the Prud'hommes of Rouen were associated to the Regents : and, whether for the purpose of preserving secrecy, or of ensuring safety, he received them in an upper chamber.

During the conference which ensued, Louis treated Bernard as the spokesman of the Norman Community. To him, still the man most universally respected and obeyed by all parties, he addressed himself in particular, demanding counsel and aid. Bernard's reply was courteous, but peremptory. Saving the King's supremacy,—a submission by which Richard was honoured,—King and Duke, Duke and King, must meet upon equal terms. Richard must hold the Terra Normannorum even as his Sire and his Grandsire had done before him. The King of France must defend the Normans against all men, and, in like manner, would the Normans defend the King, rejoicing in the protection which he afforded. Louis conceded all that was asked—words, words, words ;—whether his promises were broader or narrower, to him it was no matter.

Louis kept his Court brilliantly at Rouen, and when the new treaty for the permanent settlement of the constitutional relations between Normandy and France was ratified, a large number of the French Bishops, Counts, and Barons assembled in the Palace of Rouen, the Norman chieftains being also convened.

Louis then and there granted to Richard the Terra Normannorum, to be held by hereditary right from generation to generation. Richard again performed homage, and Louis then made the covenant which he had previously avoided. The golden shrines, the Gospel-book, and the Holy Rood, were brought forth : and, placing his hands upon the sacred symbols, Louis solemnly pronounced the oath, that he would defend the Duke against all mortal men ;—he could not have the slightest difficulty in making a promise which he held to be entirely null.—The French Prelates and Nobles followed the King's example, but rather reluctantly. An expression is employed, intimating that they were somewhat restrained by conscience ; their scruples, however, gave way, and they swore also. The youth and innocence of Richard imparted a marked character to the ceremony ; and when Louis and the French afterwards violated their pledge, more than usual indignation was excited by their perjury.

§ 9. However, the pacification was accepted, and, in appearance, so cordially, that Louis continued to reside in Rouen as pleasantly as if it were his own City to all intents. We collect

942-954
942-943

Conference
between
Louis
and the
Norman
Regents.

Richard
again
performs
homage,
and Louis
swears the
land to
him upon
the prin-
ciple of
mutuality.

Louis
pacifies the
Normans,
and treats
with them
to obtain
the direc-
tion of
Richard's
education.

942-954 from this somewhat preternatural tranquillity that, the parties
 942-943 being nicely balanced, the Christian Danes were compelled to
 deal with Louis as their ally against the Pagan interest. By
 gentle management, the acute Monarch assuaged the anger he
 had excited : and, gaining more and more power, he continued to
 negotiate with Nobles and People, expatiating on the advantages
 which would result to the young Duke if they would permit him
 to treat the young Richard as his own son, as one of the royal
 family.—Soundly shall he be trained to think and to act, to
 distinguish and to judge, to be courteous and wise.—A thousand
 times more will young Richard learn in my Palace in France,
 than ever he can acquire in Normandy.

Mais une chose vous requier,
 Que Richart m'en laissez mener
 Por estre od mei tant et ester,
 Qu'il ait coneu et apris
 Ce qu'est honeur al siecle et pris.

 Qu'il sache un œuvre bel traiter,
 Bel definer e dreit juger,
 Chose obscure, forte et couverte,
 Gent declairier et faire aperte.
 De tote la riens qui est faite
 Parlée, dite ne retraite,
 Aura engin et connoissance
 Mil tanz en mes palaiz en France,
 Qu'il n'en aureit en Normandie¹.

The pupil of glorious Athelstane, might, as an inducement for their compliance with his request, have appealed to his own life and fortunes. If Louis did not expatiate upon his own cultivation and proficiency acquired at York, yet it was universally known how well his Anglo-Saxon education had prospered ; and, upon thinking men, his silence concerning himself might render his example the more forcible.

Louis now exerted himself to restore peace and good order. He commenced a circuit, ostensibly for the purpose of settling the government after the disturbances ; and proceeded, in the first instance, to Evreux. There he made a short stay, compelling the inhabitants to return to their obedience, and render fealty to the young Richard :

Feauté fait prendre de toz
 Al Duc Richart, le bel, le proz,
 Ses dreiz li quiert ausi s'en paine,
 Cum si ceo est ses fiz demeine².

But this parental assertion of Richard's rights was a selfish artifice. The strength of Hugh-le-Grand's party was in Evreux, therefore all that Louis effected in appearance for his adopted son was virtually executed for his own benefit. His toleration also of the Regency was, in like manner, a consistent portion of his scheme. If Louis might be slightly restrained by their position, it was prudent that he should render outward respect to an authority generally advantageous to him, and which he was able to divert for his own advantage.

942-954

942-943

So warily and delicately had Louis conducted himself, that the young Richard was never exempted from the wakeful observation which Louis characterized as paternal care. Osmond's pupil was really a prisoner at large.—King Louis had promised that Richard should go wherever he went, even as though Richard were his son; and this undertaking he fully performed.

Politic
conduct of
Louis. He
conciliates
the
Normans.

The resolute though tranquillizing policy pursued by Louis, was calculated to gratify both sections of the Romanized Northmen. By superseding the power of Hugh-le-Grand in the Evrecin, he satisfied his own voluntary homagers through whom the political schism had originated, whilst he never manifested any displeasure against the individuals, who, in the first instance, had disdained to become his vassals. The favour he shewed to Yvo. de Creil testified his desire of keeping on good terms with the Normans generally. Yvo held the extensive lordship of Belesme in the Hiesmois; the Castle erected there, became the head of his Barony, and, in the next generation, furnished the family surname; but his domain of Creil was an appendage of Couci, Bernard of Senlis being Yvo's immediate seigneur. Now this great nobleman, very influential in the Terra Normannorum, and connected with the Duchy of France, in which Creil was situated, passed into the French service, was appointed Master of the royal Arbalisters, and will appear hereafter as a Royal officer, high in command.

Double
dealing
of Louis
with the
Normans.

Louis d'Outremer's log-book does not lie open before us, nor is his chart unrolled, yet we have sufficient information concerning his track to ascertain that he steered his course ably; making the best of his misadventures; ready to drop down any favourable current into which he might be driven by an adverse gale.

Subtle
dealing
of Louis
with the
Normans.

Louis was pre-eminently endowed with the qualification so generally rewarded by success, that it has been considered as the peculiar attribute of great men—a ready adaptability to circumstances. Yet he holds but an obscure station in the

942-954 annals of his Kingdom: the brightness of his gifts being clouded
by his misfortunes.

942-943 His talents for governing were signally displayed under the series of exigencies which he was experiencing.—Kept in durance by the justly excited indignation of the Normans, subjected to grievous mortifications; deeply irritated by the contradictions he had sustained, he nevertheless avoided harsh measures, and sought the means of conciliation.

When the restraint, imposed by the revolvers, was removed, Louis frankly prolonged his residence amongst the pacified insurgents until he became habituated to them, and found the means of identifying himself with their feelings. He obtained their confidence by the apparent trust which he reposed in them.

Again convening the Nobles, he renewed his pledges that the foul murder of Guillaume Longue-épée should be fully avenged.—Hitherto, the promises made by Louis that he would punish Arnoul's misdeeds had been expressed in general terms. He now entered into details, explaining the plans of his contemplated campaign, during which he proposed that their exertions should combine with his own.

Louis convenes the Norman chiefs and nobles, and details the plan of his intended campaign against Flanders.

Returning to Laon, as he informed them, he would summon the *arrière ban*¹, and raising all the forces of France and of Burgundy—he would make war against Arnoul, and reduce the barrier-fortresses of Flanders.—Arras, Saint Omer, and Furneus, were particularized,—together with a fourth, of which the name has not been preserved². It is rather remarkable that a blank is left for such name in the only extant manuscript of the Chronicler who has preserved the fullest statement of the King's address: as though the Penman expected he might recover it. If this blank can be supposed to have been left by the Author, the circumstance assumes importance when we shall be called upon to value the testimony of the rich narrative due to the Anglo-Norman Benoit, who, somewhat conventionally, we denominate "Benoit de Saint More."—The blank in question occurs between the names of Furneus and Saint Omer.

Thus, as Louis explained to the Assembly, would he wholly humble the power of their detested enemy. Furthermore, he exhorted the Bretons and the Normans, (whilst he should be engaged in raising his forces,) to do their duty, preparing to co-operate in avenging their lost Sovereign. No peace or truce should be granted; no mercy or forbearance would he extend to Arnoul the Traitor. Three hundred thousand marks of silver

should not buy off Arnoul's deserved punishment. Before the feast of Saint Gervais the perfidious Count should be undone,—
“and Richard shall go forward with me.”

942-954
942-943

Pour treis cenx mille mars d'argent
N'en aureit-il treve ni pais
De ci qu'a feste de Saint Gervais,
Del grant damage e de la perte
Li ert rendue sa deserte
Iteu com il l'a deservie,
Vil desleiez e fei-mentie.—
Richart viendra od mei avant¹.
* * * * *

Louis suddenly renews his proposal for the removal of Richard to Laon—to which the Normans assent.

‘*Richart viendra od mei avant!*’—Against this astounding proposal, not a voice was raised. Bernard the Dane, Regents, Nobles, all bowed assent: and the people of Rouen exhibited the same wonderful complacency.—But a short while since, when the young Prince, though in his own Palace, in the Capital of Normandy and under the safeguard of the whole Community, had been, as they apprehended, fraudulently coerced by his royal Guardian, they were inflamed to the highest pitch of desperation; and now, they allowed the seducer to glide away in possession of this precious pledge for the express purpose of removing him into the heart of France, and immuring him within the massive walls of Laon's impregnable tower. It is pleaded on their behalf that they yielded to his bland allurements and specious promises:

Od si faites sedicions,
Ed od teus allocutions,
Les a deceus, c'est la fin,
Od soi enmeine le Meschin.
Las! tante larme en est plorée,
Ainz qu'il veie maiz sa contrée².

But, was their facility to be thus excused?—Had not Louis been sufficiently tested and tried as a deceiver?

Are we to conjecture, that when Louis so unexpectedly pounded his request, the Normans were stunned by the sharpness of the blow?—Yet it is difficult to believe that Bernard the Dane, the toughest relic of the old times, could have been taken by surprise; and impossible to suppose that the most trusty friend of Rollo would betray the child of Guillaume Longue-épée. It is therefore needful to assume the existence of some powerful motive which induced this strange mutation of opinion; and a solution may, perhaps, be found in the hypothesis, that the Romanized Northmen suspected they could not depend upon Richard's

942-954 perseverance in Christianity. Such a misgiving would not have
 been destitute of probability. Guillaume Longue-épée's instruc-
 942-943 tion had opened the ears of the facile boy to the persuasions
 of Thormod. Richard escaped perversion, yet the effects of the
 teaching suggested by his father were permanently discernible.
 The pliant youth became so thoroughly versed in the Danish
 tongue that he spake it with equal fluency as the Romance. He
 was renowned for this accomplishment. At the close of his long
 reign he was distinguished as one of the very few Normans who
 retained a knowledge of their ancestral language; and, through-
 out his life, he always appears as a boon hail-fellow, well met

Probability
 that the
 Normans
 assented
 for the
 purpose of
 placing
 Richard
 out of the
 power
 of the
 Danishry.

amongst the Danes. Now the heathen or heathenizing party
 being still numerous and formidable, the Romanized party who
 enjoyed the ascendancy at Rouen might be desirous to remove
 the young Duke beyond the sphere of Danish power, and still
 more beyond the subtle dangers of the moral influence which
 the Danishry exercised. Laon was entirely secure against a
 'coup-de-main,—no river up which a Danish fleet could sail,
 flowed through the surrounding plains. No Danish Hosts had
 ever nighed the Rock of Laon or been signalled by the Warder
 stationed on the topmost turret of Laon's huge tower.—Louis
 anyhow would educate the boy as beseemed a Peer of France
 and a Christian, and keep him clear from Pagan infection.

Vicinity of
 Bernard de
 Senlis to
 Laon.

Concomitant circumstances may also have been admitted as
 diminishing the perils to which the Minor might be exposed when
 his person should be placed in the actual custody of his Royal
 Guardian.—Laon, though distant from Rouen, was fairly within
 ken of Senlis, where antient Bernard, the trusty Uncle of Guil-
 laume Longue-épée¹, now usually dwelt. Richard would be under
 Bernard's shadow: and Couci, Count Bernard's stronghold,—the
 stronghold wherein Guillaume Longue-épée, when crazed by
 terror, had contemplated of taking refuge, was quite in the
 neighbourhood of Laon.—Starting from Laon, and refreshing
 your horse at Couci by the way, you might reach Senlis between
 prime and evensong.

Richard
 accompa-
 nied to
 Laon by
 Yvo de
 Creil and
 Osmond de
 Centvilles.

These ready means of communication with Count Bernard,
 that affectionate and powerful kinsman, so prompt for action,
 Hugh-le-Grand's liegeman, a member of the Vermandois family,
 and therefore radically antagonistic to Louis, might surely be
 valued as affording some security.—Closer safeguards had also
 been provided. When the royal cavalcade, defiling beneath the
 Beauvoisin gate, moved off from Rouen to France, the gazing

multitude might behold Osmond de Centvilles riding by the side of the merry boy's horse, and, with the Tutor and the Pupil there was also the *Fortis Marchio*, otherwise the *Formargis*, the Veteran Yvo, heading the king's cross-bow men, and preparing to take charge of the proud Castle in which the young Richard was to be prepared for the exercise of sovereign power. Thus would the Heir of Normandy be sure to have excellent friends about him ; some more distant, some nearer, whose fidelity and activity compensated for the paucity of their number.

942-954

942-943

Whether this escort had been conceded to Norman solicitude or proffered by the cunning courtesy of the French King, the effect of the sedative, thus administered to the popular anxiety, must have been the same.—Louis dealt with the Normans in a masterly way. Bernard may have discerned the King's manoeuvres, but, for the present, his sagacity could not serve to defeat them. Bernard, and Oslac, and Raoul Torta had been elided from the government without any visible effort. Louis, all his rights and privileges coalescing,—Liegelord, Suzerain, Protector, Guardian, Conqueror, King,—had become supreme in Normandy. He therefore could safely depart, and Bernard, who had previously acted as Governor of the City, being put aside, that most important office was entrusted to Count Herlouin as the Royal Lieutenant.

Louis
supersedes
the Nor-
man au-
thorities—
appoints
Herlouin
Governor
of Rouen.

Count Herlouin was a brave soldier, one of Guillaume Longue-épée's best friends, and rendered very recommendable to the Normans by his enmity against Arnoul. Yet there were those who entertained a dislike against him because it was held that he had brought Guillaume Longue-épée to his death. Herlouin's enemies argued that it was the protection he had obtained from Guillaume Longue-épée in the Montreuil affair which provoked Arnoul to the perpetration of the murder, and that therefore he was the original cause of the crime. Without denying the fact that popular unreason may have cast this undeserved responsibility upon Herlouin, we would also suppose that his strenuous adhesion to Louis, and his desertion of his patron's child, may have enhanced the aversion to which he ultimately fell a sacrifice ; —and, as we shall find in the course of this history, he perished during the crisis when his services were most needed by the French king.

§ 10. Hugh-le-Grand held off cautiously during these first stages of the Norman revolution, a revolution ultimately so conducive to his own aggrandizement and to the irreparable detriment of the King. He avoided embroiling himself with the

Hugh-le-
Grand
and Louis
equally
cautious
and
mutually
inimical.

942-954 Normans, allowing free scope of action to Louis; for although
 942-943 Hugh kept up his relations in Normandy, yet he refrained from giving any open support to his homagers, and not only permitted Louis to pursue his schemes undisturbed, but actually made a formal surrender of Evreux. The apprehensions which Louis entertained concerning Hugh-le-Grand, his distrust of Hugh-le-Grand, his deep resentment for the injuries he had sustained from Hugh-le-Grand, and, most tormenting of all, the drear foreboding that he had not yet come to the worst of Hugh-le-Grand—kept him in constant disquietude. But the able antagonists were well matched and worthy of each other. The son of Charles-le-Simple and the sire of Hugh Capet were equally keen-sighted and agile:—lunge and guard, guard and lunge,—the fencing match continued during their respective lives. Hugh-le-Grand's temporary tameness was considerably motivated according to the maxims of his family. Never did Hugh really recede, and, if he now appeared to halt in his career, he had slackened only for the purpose of making a fresh advance. When practicable, Hugh-le-Grand always preferred to cover his usurpations by the sanction of legality, and he had various objects in view, which, so long as there was a King in France, could not be effected otherwise than through that King's instrumentality.

Partition
of the Ver-
mandois
inherit-
ance.

The sons of Herbert of Vermandois were bickering about the partition of their inheritance, to which an allusion has been previously made. Hugh-le-Grand was much interested in this transaction,—he watched his nephews' affairs as well as his own,—and they all appeared before Louis when holding his Court at Compiègne.

See Vol. I.
p. 195,
II. p. 18r.

It will have been noticed by the reader, that the genealogical table of the succession exhibits an apparent departure from the usual rule, inasmuch as Albert the second son took the County of Vermandois and assumed his father's title, and Herbert the Handsome, the fourth son, was left, according to the original scheme of allotment, with only his face for his fortune, whilst Eudes the eldest, received Amiens. Now for this, there was sufficient reason—Eudes was more active than Albert, and had been already put in possession of Amiens by his father. If Vermandois was the prouder dominion, Amiens was the richest of the shares. Amiens—*urbs inter alias eminens*¹—maintained the splendour which distinguished her during Julian's flourishing reign². The Counts of Amiens, who date from Louis-le-Débonnaire, acquired so much power that they might almost be treated

Amiens
assigned
to Eudes.

as independent Sovereigns. But the Count had a rival in the person of the Bishop, who possessed great privileges, and was lord of a numerous body of military tenants. So long as the Prelate was canonically elected by Clergy and People, the Citizens would find in the Prelate a protector against the Count, but when the Sovereign, as at this period, exercised the donative patronage, this usurpation enabled him to drop the mitre upon the head of any serviceable partizan, and thereby appoint a permanent Governor, who, protecting the interests of the Crown, might check either the "feudal" Lord or the Civic municipality. Those who discuss the vast question of the Prerogative and the Pontificate, and who consider the pull as lying merely between Pope and King, should keep such facts in mind. It is probable that Hugh-le-Grand helped in managing to establish Albert, who was of a very pacific disposition, in the county of Vermandois, in order that Eudes, the fighting man, should be able to control Louis: whilst, in relation to Hugh's more immediate territorial concerns, the transfer to him of Couci and its appurtenances, Creil and Thury, may have required the royal confirmation.

942-954

943-944

§ 11. Great familiarity ensued between Louis and Duke Hugh, an affected dismissal of all grudges. Soon after Louis had quitted Rouen, we find him in the place where of all others we should least look for him, to wit, at Paris a portentous event in those times. For, whereas, according to the current of modern ideas, the King of France and the City of Paris are now naturally suggestive of each other, they were then inevitably repulsive. No Carlovingian Monarch had ever been seen in Paris since Charles-le-Chauve. Not a square toise of land was owned by Louis in the future Metropolis. At Paris, Louis had neither house nor home, nor right, nor power. He could not have repaired to that jealous city otherwise than pursuant to the Duke's invitation: nor can it be supposed that he lodged elsewhere than in the Duke's palace, situated, as French antiquaries tell us, near the antient Moûtier¹ of Saint Barthelemy. It must have been esteemed a signal token of confidence that Louis should pay such a visit. Cautious men might shake their heads and murmur:—was it not dangerous for Louis to enter within the walls, and expose himself to the perils of having the portals closed and the doors bolted after he had passed them?—Treachery, however, was not to be apprehended from Hugh at this juncture,—because it would not have answered;—but the residence of Louis at Paris was unexpectedly prolonged.

Louis
visits
Hugh-le-
Grand at
Paris.

942-954

943-944

Louis, suddenly sickening, languished throughout the summer, and could not move during several months. People believed that his blood was corrupted. We do not possess any information concerning the nature of the ailment, but it evidently undermined his health—and his strange death seems to have been preceded by temporary mental hallucinations.

Medical practice divided between the clergy and the Jews.

Deroldus the king's body physician and Bishop of Amiens.

The era upon which we are now employed offers a brief but rather remarkable passage in the history of mediæval therapeutics, with some bearing upon Church and State. During the reign of King Raoul, and amongst the nobles of the Court, was a certain Deroldus, a man of high rank and station—*Vir spectabilis ac palatinus*¹—and much loved by the King, who, having taken orders, and acquired great skill in the healing art, became Raoul's body-physician. The medical profession was, during this era, divided between two rival classes of practitioners, the Clergy and the Jews. Amongst the Hebrews we may quote the celebrated Zedechias, who, having prescribed for Charles-le-Chauve during his last illness, was in danger of his own life in consequence of an accident, which, were it retributed upon the faculty at large as it was likely to have been upon him, would speedily extinguish the College, namely, the sufferer dying under his care. The medicoclerical doctors were prohibited by the canons of the Church from receiving fees. Deroldus therefore never put his hand behind him when concluding his visit, as the unscrupulous Zedechias would have done, nor indeed had he any call to do so; for he was no loser by his conformity to the decorum of the cloth. In some way or another, Church-property was the reserved fund upon which the King was accustomed to draw, and when Physic and Divinity were conjoined, the fees were generally paid in a lump by some "good piece of preferment," as the same (during the ante-reform age) used to be styled in the official language of His Majesty's faithful Commons, when addressing the Sovereign on behalf of their Chaplain that his services might be rewarded by the Crown—and King Raoul accordingly nominated Deroldus to the great See of Amiens.

Deroldus, like Zedechias, lost his patient, but the opprobrium of the Jew became the luck of the Bishop. We will not suppose, for a moment, that the successor of Raoul felt any degree of obligation towards his predecessor's medical attendant: however—be that as it may—when Louis, whether grateful or not, was called to the throne by the demise of Raoul, Bishop Deroldus, retaining his appointment in the royal household, was forthwith received into the King's high favour.

The Bishop and his rival, the Leech of Salerno.

Gerberga, conjugally antagonistic, as is usual in such domestic affairs, patronized a learned Leech of Salerno, whom she much desired to call in, but Louis, usually so conformable to his wife's wishes, was obstinate on this point, and would not give up the Bishop.—Louis teased the grave visitor by seducing him into a dinner-conversation before his competitor, thereby exposing his comparative ignorance of surgery, botany, and other branches of science. The puzzled foreigner was provoked, and a pharmaceutical duel ensued, appropriately fought by exchange of poisons. Deroldus triumphantly vindicated his skill in this branch of practice, though it is rather doubtful whether he behaved honourably. The unfortunate Neapolitan, less perfectly versed in the art, afterwards carried to such perfection in his country, was worsted in the conflict. The subtle venom—a powder, it seems, administered to him by the Bishop in the *sauce-piquante* of which both partook,—assumed the shape of a pill when it entered his veins, and ultimately lodging in his left foot, he was compelled to submit to amputation as the only means of saving his life; but further details would be irrelevant. It is sufficient to know that Zedechias would have had no chance with the Bishop had he been driven to deal with him.

942-954

943-944

Hugh-le-Grand's ducal style ran proudly. He wrote himself—*Hugo excellentissimus Francorum Dux*¹—nay, sometimes he employed a form now usually considered as exclusively appertaining to royalty,—*Hugo, clementiâ Omnipotentis Dei, Francorum Dux*²—and he held the noble Duchy of France as amply as his father before him. Yet, though enjoying unchallenged possession, his title was not so perfect as he could desire. The tenure by which these territorial dignities were held is not clearly understood. Usage unquestionably regulated the construction of the written documents. Large expressions do not always comprehend as much as they might be supposed to include, and brief phrases may convey far more than the words would appear to warrant. We only know that various "great Feudatories," in whose lineage counties and cities are known to have been *de facto* hereditary, did acknowledge that the Sovereign might treat their patents as revocable at pleasure. The grandson of Robert-le-Fort was therefore neither satisfied with the guarantee which the muniments of his Neustrian Duchy afforded him, nor certain that, supposing there was a tribunal competent to take cognizance of the question, it might not be adjudged that the right of the crown was insufficiently barred.

Partition
of Bur-
gundy
upon the
accession
of Louis
d'Outre-
mer. See
pp. 100
and 101.

Much less contented must Hugh-le-Grand have been with his

942-954

position in Burgundy. Hugh's influence as Protector had enabled him, upon the accession of Louis, to encrease his paternal inheritance by the addition of one-third of the Burgundian kingdom : but nevertheless his dynastic position did not content him.

943-944

The three
Dukes of
Burgundy,
Hugh-le-
Blanc,
Hugh-le-
Noir, and
Gilbert.

The scanty information we possess concerning this powerful and opulent territory is perplexingly deficient in precision. We know that Burgundy was divided into three Duchies, but we cannot ascertain their several boundaries. Hugh-le-Grand, more generally known in Burgundy by the colloquial designation of Hugh-le-Blanc, may be considered as Duke of Langres.—Good Hugh-le-Noir, might be called Duke of Avalon ; but *Hugo Niger*, though colloquially distinguished by his colour, did not adopt the epithet as a diplomatic identification ; so that when he is mentioned in the same document with Hugh-le-Grand, he is merely noticed as the *alter Hugo*.—The third department of Burgundy belonged to Gilbert, Hugh-le-Grand's own brother-in-law*. This last-named Duke connects himself with Norman history. From Gilbert, in the female line, came Renaud, who married the Adeliza Judith, the grand-daughter of Richard-sans-Peur. Lastly, over and above these three Burgundian Duchies, there was a fourth Burgundian "Grand Fief," that is to say, Mâcon, which constituted a distinct County, held by Leutaldus, the son of Alberic of Narbonne, a true friend of Louis d'Outremer.

Concord of
the Bur-
gundian
Dukes.—
Hugh-le-
Grand
neverthe-
less taking
the lead.

The partition between the three Dukes had prospered. The once fiery competitors renounced their rivalries ; and, their dissensions having subsided, Hugh-le-Grand took the lead in all Burgundian affairs. This union of interests, and the good understanding subsisting between him and his coparceners, enhanced his general influence ; but the prerogatives of the Crown in Burgundy concurrent with, and also counteracting the unquestionable pre-eminence of Hugh, were very great. Burgundy was still treated as a separate Realm by the French Kings—a fact which has not excited sufficient attention. And the King of France, anointed at Laon, seems to have possessed a greater direct jurisdiction over Burgundy than he could claim in the other provinces,—more it should seem than in any other portion of the Realm, whether North or South of the Loire.

Antiquarian research being baffled by the vagueness of the Burgundian records, it is impossible to ascertain how far Royal pretensions conflicted with Ducal rights ; but Hugh-le-Grand

* This connection does not appear in this history, but Gilbert was certainly father-in-law to Hugh's son. See note on *Gilbert*, p. 512.

was determined to end all uncertainties as soon as he should find the means, and to close all open questions on his own behalf, and upon the most advantageous terms.

942-954

943-944

We know not what kind attentions Louis, when lodged in Hugh's Parisian Palace, may have received from his Host, but we have very instructive hints as to the moral pressure which he sustained. It is probable that some concessions made by the Sovereign to his Tormentor resulted from policy, a conjecture, however, not excluding the certainty that many more were surrendered to irresistible requests. When we shall meet Louis, venting his indignation, and telling his own story, then we shall hear him confess how deeply he resented the tyranny which Hugh-le-Grand was used to exercise over him. However, at the present juncture, his good sense not only restrained him from manifesting any discontent when he assented to demands which did not admit of a nay-say, but also induced him to add a grace to the grant.

So much worship was yet rendered to Royalty, that the spiritual relationship contracted with the Sovereign through baptismal sponsorship, was esteemed a transcendant honour. We may recollect how highly Guillaume Longue-épée had appreciated the favour which invited him to present a royal infant at the font. Gerberga, the buxom Matron, had just enabled Louis to confer the like compliment upon some other distinguished personage, and Hugh-le-Grand was selected as the infant's godfather. "Alerada" was the name given to the babe, espoused at a very early age to Renaud Count of Rheims and Rouci. This *gossiprede*¹ was only an adornment of the substantial advantages which Hugh-le-Grand was reaping, but the distinction magnified him before the crowd, and Louis knew better than to refuse a token of condescension which imparted strength to his own cause. It was thankfully accepted as testifying the *entente-cordiale*² subsisting between the Potentates.—Louis and Hugh-le-Grand were exhibited to the public walking arm-in-arm.

943

Hugh-le-Grand stands godfather to Alerada the king's daughter.

The confirmation of authority which Hugh-le-Grand craved in his dominions, was effected by Royal Precepts or Charters, imparting to him further privileges, so as to coalesce with his previous rights of possession and of inheritance. Louis appointed the Duke to be his perpetual Lieutenant in his Duchy of France. With respect to Burgundy, the whole Province, or, as we should rather say, Kingdom, was subjected to him, *Hugo Dux, filiam Regis ex lavacro sancto suscepit, et Rex ei Ducatum Franciæ delegavit, omnemque Burgundiam ipsius ditioni subjecit*³: and these two

Further powers granted to Hugh in his Duchy of France, and the whole of Burgundy subjected to him.

942-954

943-944

distinct transactions, presented by the Chronicler in connexion with the sponsorship, the latter being conferred as a special decoration, were construed as creating him Duke of all the Gauls : *Hugo Dux in magna gratia Regi habitus, ejus filiam ex sacro lavacro suscepit, unde et eum Rex omnium Galliarum Ducem constituit*¹.

Important
results
of the
cession of
Burgundy.

Our information concerning the quoted instruments is limited to the curt phrases employed by Richerius² and Frodoardus³. The commentary must be sought in the sequence of events. We can scarcely doubt but that all the rights of the Crown within the territories to which these singular documents related, were virtually transferred to Hugh-le-Grand. In the Duchy of France or the County of Paris, Hugh-le-Grand had nothing beyond the regalities to desire, and both in Burgundy and in the Duchy he now became an irremovable Viceroy. But the privileges so obtained by Hugh-le-Grand, produced very important political results, both present and future. Hugh assumed even a loftier bearing than before ; Burgundy was annexed to the Duchy of France, and passed with the Duchy ; and the grant thereof made by Hugh Capet to his son Henri-le-Grand, severing the same from the Crown, created the premier Duchy of Christendom, the most splendid appanage which a Prince of the third Race could enjoy—the rival of the Throne.

Yet Louis may have been the more willing, or rather the less reluctant to make these vast concessions, upon the calculation that he could now afford the sacrifice ; it might be taken as a compensation for the dividend of his Royal prerogatives relinquished to Hugh, that he had, through his own exertions, won a full equivalent elsewhere. Normandy was, under every aspect, a glorious acquisition. Nobles and chieftains obedient, the people docile, Rouen well guarded, Hugh-le-Grand as well contented as he ever could be expected to be, Danish audacity chastised, the King of France, laurelled as a victor in the battle-field, Guillaume Longue-épée in the grave, and his son, the only representative of Rollo's race, safely secluded in Laon Tower. No Carlovingian monarch had been so triumphant as Louis within the memory of any living man, or far beyond : and Louis, encouraged by his successes, determined to re-plant the Eagle standard firmly beyond the Loire.

Notwithstanding the submission rendered by the Aquitanian Princes upon the accession of Louis, they did not care to realise the notion of a King. After the departure of Charles-le-Simple, these haughty chieftains sternly repudiated the authority of

Raoul, whose usurped domination they treated as an interregnum ; but they did not exhibit any corresponding feeling of loyalty towards Louis, and were so slack in recognising the legitimate Sovereign, that, in the dates of their charters, the Ducal notaries often forgot to insert the regnal year. Raymond Pons¹, the great Marquis of Septimania and Count of Toulouse, though not actively rebellious, was prominent amongst the slighsters of the Royal supremacy.—In fact, they were becoming independent Sovereigns.

942-954

944-945

Louis, having recovered strength, though the grievous malady under which he had sickened continued lurking in his system, moved from Paris to the South : and Gerberga, during the royal progress, rode with her Husband. The monition issued by Louis was pacific, but Hugh, at the head of a large body of troops, was prepared to enforce obedience ; nor did the presence of Gerberga remove the possibility of hostilities—Gerberga never flinched from the perils of war.

944

Louis moves towards the South for the purpose of enforcing his royal supremacy.

Raymond and the other Aquitanian Nobles, Dukes, and Counts, having appeared before Louis at Nevers, he gave a command to them by which he asserted the fullest right of sovereignty over the Aquitanian kingdom. Required to surrender their Provinces into his hands, they complied implicitly : whereupon Louis, in the plenitude of his prerogative, issued new grants for the express purpose of testifying that the authority of the Princes proceeded wholly from the Crown. Whatever powers of government they possessed, were to be deemed and taken as exercised on behalf of the King, and, the renewed Charters being accepted, they were permitted to return home. This very remarkable transaction affords the best commentary upon the anxiety manifested by Hugh-le-Grand to obtain such securities as could bar any royal right, whilst it equally exemplifies the marvellous strength inherent in the royal authority. The Aquitanians yielded to the moral influence inherent in the crowned and anointed Monarch ;—had they resisted, how could Louis have enforced his demand ?

The Aquitanian Princes surrender their Provinces, and accept re-grants thereof.

§ 12. Louis, in all his transactions with the “ Pirates,” conducted himself with such consistent untruth, that, upon the first impression we are inclined to disbelieve every promise which he made to them, or any explanation which he gave. Yet, when he emphatically declared to the Normans his hostile intentions against Arnoul, we have reason to suppose he was in earnest. His capacity, recklessness and talents, qualified him for a conqueror ; his aspirations were great and glorious ; schemes of

Plans formed by Louis for extending his dominion in Flanders.

942-954 aggrandisement were floating before his mind. The plan of the
 Flemish campaign which he had detailed before the Norman
 944-945 nobles, sufficiently proves that he was not indulging in empty
 bravadoes: he had considerably planned the hostile invasion
 of Flanders. If he acquired popularity amongst the Normans
 by punishing Guillaume Longue-épée's murderer, well and good;
 his main object being nevertheless to effect an important acquisition
 of territory. The Counts of Flanders were not so personally
 odious to the French as the race of Rollo; but the pride of the
 Carlovingian Sovereigns had been deeply insulted when the son
 of "*Houd-u-wacker*" had established himself in the Flemish
 march- and marsh-lands; and though Arnoul was the grandson
 of Charles-le-Chauve, the amours and abduction of Madam Judith
 were awkward anecdotes in the family history.

(See Vol. I.
pp. 287—
292.)

If we examine the map, we shall find that a line drawn from Arras to Furneus includes somewhat more than the modern French Flanders; Louis d'Outremer in seeking the annexation of these opulent tracts to his domanial kingdom, seems to have anticipated, though with unequal success, the plans of Louis Quatorze. The inclinations of the French people, supported by the political agency at his disposal, encouraged his views in that direction. Opportunities were now arising by which, without any exertion, various desirable possessions, tending greatly to his advantage, were falling into his power.

944
 Increasing influ-
 ence of
 Louis.—
 Montigny
 and
 Amiens
 surrender
 to him.

The inhabitants of Montigny, grateful perhaps for their deliverance from Serlo the Brigand¹, were anxious to place themselves under royal protection, and, slaughtering the Vernois Commander, they gave up the town to Louis. In those wars of small things, Montigny was not to be despised; but a far more important item was speedily added to the account. Bishop Deroldus had been silently exerting himself on behalf of his tutelary Patient, and the Citizens of Amiens, aided by the Bishop's military tenants, having ousted the stalwart Eudes, placed themselves under the obedience of the crown. Louis determined to grant the County of Amiens to Herlouin: and prepared to attack the Flemish territory in right earnest. He entered the City, and, after holding a council with the inhabitants, who seemed to be cordially well inclined towards him, he summoned Herlouin, the Count-expectant, to join him at the head of his forces. Arnoul, notwithstanding the gout, summoned his lieges and advanced immediately towards Normandy, determined to be the assailant; and, as if to shew the greater despite

against Herlouin, he was accompanied by Balzo, Riulph's avenger. The Flemish troops were intercepted by Herlouin. A sharp conflict ensued, Arnoul was defeated and put to flight, Balzo, slain, the murderer's hands cut off, and the bloody trophies sent by Herlouin to Rouen.

942-954

944-945

§ 13. Fresh troubles for Louis were maturing, all of the same quality, wasting away the strength of the monarchy; and all caused, or encreased, or exasperated, by the cautious, yet ever vigilant agency of Hugh. Ambition is most surely successful when made to operate by combining her blows with an unintermitted pressure, of which the effects become sensible, whenever accumulated sufficiently to occasion a rift in the body which the weight is crushing. Bald and petty as the majority of the incidents constituting French history during this downward progress may appear, it is absolutely necessary to detail them. We must pursue the revolution minutely through the descending stages, and stage by stage during the descent, if we seek to ascertain the process which conducted the wary Founder of the third dynasty to the throne.

Hugh-le-Grand's constant maintenance of his views upon France.

The regalities which Hugh had so successfully wrested from the King in Burgundy and in France, now stimulated him to make further exertions in Normandy. The claim of Hugh-le-Grand over Normandy approximated in a certain degree to an hereditary right. Robert Duke of France, when the conference was held on the Island of the Epte, was felt by all, to be the superior of King Charles. It was by the assent, and under the protection of Duke Robert, that Rollo-Robert had been settled in his land; and the conventional pictorial embellishment which adorns the hide-bound educational volumette, King Charles, clad in his royal robes, capsized by the Danish soldier, whilst Duke Robert stands upright, clad in full plate armour, conveys a truthful impression of the relative position of the parties.

In consequence, without doubt, of this feeling, Louis when he first planned the Norman invasion, proposed that, the Pirates being expelled, he, the King of France, should take the "Haute Normandie," or all the territory on the right bank of the Seine, whilst to the Duke of France should appertain the "Basse Normandie," or Normandy *outré Seine*. The existence of such a compact explains the spontaneous submission of those Normans, who turned away from Louis to Hugh. Louis, as they might maintain, had no right to their allegiance, and the act, however construed with respect to Richard, gave the Duke of France a

942-954

944-945

title to the country of which the legitimacy could scarcely be distinguished from the title of the King. Upon this construction, when Hugh entered into the Evrecin, he only took possession of his own. True it is, that Hugh ostensibly abandoned his rights in Evreux; but, of course, he reckoned this surrender as a deed to be cancelled, so soon as any opportunity should arise.

Hugh was called upon to be watchful, for in some degree, however slight, the Carlovingian family had been gaining stability. When Charles expired in the dungeon of Peronne, Louis was the sole throne-capable representative of the Carlovingian dynasty. The existence of that branch depended upon his single life, but now the race was reviving; every child promised by productive Gerberga diminished the chance of the infant Capet; and, ere the expiration of the year during which Gerberga had boldly ridden with Louis to Aquitaine, there were evident tokens that such an event might be again confidently presaged.

Hugh-le-Grand's intrigues amongst the Normans.

Hugh-le-Grand therefore began to negotiate actively among the *Nordmanni*, and concluded a treaty with them—pledges given and pledges taken on either side,—a transaction implying a more stringent bond than mere homage. Moreover, it should seem that this alliance comprehended not merely both the Norman parties, the Romanized Normans and the Norman Danishry, but also the pure Pagans. Hugh's adherents thus became numerous and formidable, waiting only the word of command. However, there was a pause; Hugh did not begin by sounding the trumpet in Normandy: it was his constant practice to work against Louis like a skilful besieger, surrounding him with parallels, and connecting these parallels by zigzag covered ways, and advancing the more rapidly because he did not take the shortest path. Louis and Hugh were equally active, but the former unwarily continued furnishing his antagonist with those further means of annoyance, which, ultimately coalescing with the efforts of the Normans, not only deprived him of Normandy, but accelerated the ruin of the Carlovingian dynasty.

Quarrel between Louis and Otho, fomented by Duke Hugh.

Transactions concerning Lorraine (see pp. 140—141).

§ 14. It will be recollected that, not very long since, a pacification had been concluded between the two brothers-in-law, Otho and Louis, through the intervention of Guillaume Longue-épée, greatly to Gerberga's satisfaction. But there never was a truthful transaction in the Luegen-feld commonwealth, and Louis maintained his pretensions to Lotharingia.—All Charlemagne's Empire belonged to him. He was Charlemagne's descendant, and his brother-in-law, the Saxon, an intruder;—

and now, that Louis had occupied Normandy, his success in reintegrating his kingdom in the Western quarters, rendered him the more desirous to win back the noble territory of which he had been deprived in the East.

942-954

944-945

Louis had concurred in the appointment of Otho,—Gerberga's son by her first husband, Gilbert the bold swimmer,—to his father's Duchy. He assented willingly to the family compromise, and abandoned his rights in favour of his stepson; but the young Duke died, having scarcely held his dominion two years. Otho thereupon treated the feud as vacant, and in his gift, and he accordingly granted the Duchy to Conrad the Red, the son of Werner Count of Worms and Spire, bold and wise, but who had no heritable claim. Louis was provoked, and sent his agents into Lotharingia for the purpose of treating with the discontented nobles, and exciting them against King Otho. In this transaction Louis conducted himself with equal want of honesty and of discretion: he intrigued with Count Manasses, Hugh-le-Grand's liegeman, taking him into his confidence, speaking most disrespectfully of Otho, and branding the brother of his affectionate wife as a perjured traitor.

Death of
the young
Duke
Otho, and
appoint-
ment of
Conrad
the Red.

A family quarrel ensued: Otho discovered the emissaries of Louis, and cast them into prison. Hugh-le-Grand had now an adequate reason for swerving away from Louis, and prepared to recommence military operations against him. King and Duke began to compete for Otho's alliance. Louis dispatched his ambassadors to the German King: and the representatives of the King of France and of the Duke of France, severally presented themselves before Otho, holding his Court at Aix-la-Chapelle in Charlemagne's eagle-crowned palace, as though he were their common superior. Count Manasses revealed the French King's slanders in the full presence of the assembly; the ambassadors of Louis were dismissed contumeliously, Count Manasses and his colleagues received into high favour; and Otho associated himself to Hugh-le-Grand, prohibiting his lieges from giving any aid to the King. No open hostilities ensued, but this episodic squabble revived the jealousies between Germany and France, and, for a time, had an unfavourable influence upon the affairs of Louis. The affectionate Gerberga laboured earnestly for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between her husband and her brother; the rancour was mitigated, and, personally, Otho and Louis became sincere friends, yet the political rivalry between the Saxon successors of Charlemagne in Germany and the Heirs

942-954 of Charlemagne in France, subsisted until the extinction of the
Dynasty.

944-945
Richard in
the Tower
of Laon.

§ 15. The superabundant kindness displayed by Louis towards Richard whilst abiding under the immediate observation of the Normans at Rouen, can only be designated as outrageous hypocrisy: but, when Richard had been removed to Laon, Louis continued to treat him mildly; nor was any tendency to harshness manifested. Richard remained under the tutorial care of the wise Osmond, having for his companions the other noble youths trained in the King's House, and, conjointly with them, he performed the honourable servitude of waiting at the Royal table. This kindness was politic: Louis had lulled the apprehensions of the Normans when they placidly permitted the transfer of Richard from Rouen Palace to Laon Donjon. Even a report tending to excite a doubt concerning the boy's safety, might rouse their apparently dormant loyalty.

When Louis had possessed himself of the young Duke's person, he exposed himself to grievous temptations. He had practically reannexed the *Terra Normannorum* to the Kingdom of France. So long as Richard could be retained in captivity, the Guardian Regent was in no great danger of being evicted: and, if Richard, being in captivity, should die childless—and was there much chance that he could die any other way?—then the detested race of Rollo would be extinct, and the Kings of France would hold the land for evermore.

Arnoul
excites
Louis
against
Richard.

If such can be conjectured as the inward thoughts of Louis, there were outward advisers, who, soon after the boy had been safely lodged in Laon tower, were suggesting that he should avail himself, to the utmost extent, of the advantage he had gained. Arnoul was haunted with the recollection of his crime and the fear of punishment: the whole Norman nation might unite in seeking to avenge the blood of their Prince. The Governor of Rouen, Herlouin, high in the King's favour, was Arnoul's particular and declared enemy: and, if the faithful vassal had displayed his affection towards the murdered Guillaume, by mangling Balzo's corpse, what might not Arnoul himself expect should any chance place him within the reach of Herlouin? Arnoul was not without some apprehension of the King's power, should he be supported by the Normans in his enterprises against the rich Flemish towns, and therefore sought a reconciliation. He proceeded with his usual astuteness.—Arnoul was most anxious to appear before Louis and make his peace. He would

have repaired to Louis in person, but his inveterate complaint, his tormenting "podagre," kept him at home. 942-954

Arnoul's ambassadors made great efforts on his behalf. Louis having presented himself to the Normans as the avenger of the murdered Duke, it was needful that appearances should be saved, and a decent deceit continued, to prevent the artifice from being too clearly exposed. The Count of Flanders declared he would prove his innocence by submitting to the ordeal-trial in any form—the glowing iron, the scalding caldron, or the deep-chilling pool—but his main object was to combine with the King for the expulsion of their common enemy, the Norman Pirates.—Was it not a disgrace that the Neustrian territory should be thus usurped by the foul Barbarian? The tenure of the Flanders March-lands only bound Arnoul to defend his country against the Danes;—from all other service the Lord-Marcher was free. But Arnoul was willing to encrease that service; he would aid King Louis whenever he should require, and also render an annual tribute of ten pounds of gold to his Seigneur's Treasury. Moreover, the Ambassadors enlarged upon the affronts which Louis had sustained at Rouen.—Would he bear in patience the disgrace inflicted by the Rebels?—Could he ever be sure of his own kingdom or his own life, if the now caged cub-wolf were let loose to roam at large?

944-945

The King's Counsellors received these suggestions favourably, persuading Louis to unite with Flanders against the Northmen; nor did they shrink from exhorting Louis to detain the young Richard in perpetual captivity. Forcibly were these appeals addressed to Louis as a statesman. That Louis should seek to preserve his conquest was a desire which human nature could not abandon, and the detention of the young Prince might be represented as affording the means of effecting that end in the most merciful way. A rigid policy might, in effect, prove most consonant to humanity. He contented himself for the present with charging Osmond that, unless by his, the King's, special permission, Richard was never to go beyond the city-walls. Louis places Osmond and Richard under arrest at Laon.

This constraint was ungracious and severe. Which of the two, Pupil or Tutor, Osmond or Richard, was most annoyed by the humiliating arrest, it would be hard to say. Penned up in Laon, how could the young Duke receive due training in the accomplishments so needed for the adornment of his rank, the sports of stream, or wood or field? It was not from the lesson-book that the Bachelor could learn them.

942-954

944-945

Osmond
and
Richard
break
their
arrest.

However attenuated his Royal Estate, the Rex Francorum was still the Supreme Judge of his People, Leader of the Nation, Lord of the Land. He had ceased to manifest himself as their Legislator : no Capitular was issued in the Sovereign's name for the general government of the Realm, yet the King still gave the law between man and man, judged the right and redressed the wrong. Louis administering justice beneath the antique canopy in his only city of Laon, might feel that, despite of his misfortunes, he was not an unworthy representative of the great Emperor. Now it chanced that in the calm autumn season, when the fresh air and the clear sky invited to sport and pleasure, Louis was compelled to deny himself the recreation he would so gladly have enjoyed—he had to labour in his calling, being required to employ himself in the Tribunal. It was the Session-day of the King's High Court, a busy day of contention and vexation ; the jostling litigants crowding the Hall, each Suitor impatient to plead his plea, and each Pleader loud and fluent. Stunning was the strife of tongues, and when the Sovereign took his Seat, it was plain that many an hour must wear away, before the Royal Judge could rise. Osmond could not resist the temptation of disobeying the irksome injunction—the King set fast upon the bench—when could such a chance recur ?—so he minded not the breaking of bounds, but rode forth with the boy. Much did Richard need good practice in the art of falconry, how to fly the gentle bird, to loose the leash and sound the lure.—The day was long, the sport delightful, and the long day ended ere the truants had returned.

The Court broke up, and the first intelligence with which Gerberga greeted her husband, worried by his weary work, was that Osmond and the boy were absent from Laon.—Evening drew on, had they not escaped ?—the King fretted in extreme anxiety. Spitfire Gerberga exasperated her husband's impatience, reproaching him with his carelessness in leaving the prisoners unguarded ; and Louis continued silent for very rage, until Osmond and Richard, having returned without apprehension, were brought before him.

Anger of
Louis—he
threatens
Osmond
and
Richard.

Louis, overcome by passion, assailed the offenders with bitter threats and disgraceful contumely. Osmond, the "vile fool," was threatened with the loss of his eyes. Scurrilous as the language employed by Louis towards Osmond might be, his vituperations of Richard were even more ungenerous. Louis insulted the child by degrading his mother, bestowing upon Espriota the

worst name which can be applied to woman, a lewd harlot, who enhanced her guilt by seducing Guillaume Longue-épée from his lawful consort. If the Bastard ever repeated the attempt of escape, he should be effectually secured, laid fast like a log. The warning monument of the Merovingian princes¹ in the Abbey of Jumièges foreshadowed his destiny—he was threatened with the horrible operation which state prisoners sustained by the commands of those whose consciences forbade them from shedding blood, yet allowed them to inflict a living death,—the stiffening of the victim's sinews by the actual cautery. Osmond and Richard were in danger of life and limb, and Louis in a paroxysm of indignation shouted that he cared not if all the world should know it. Additional Warders were appointed; and the two French knights, Gerard and Rosceline, were told to consider themselves personally responsible for Richard's safe custody. If he evaded, they might expect to be burnt or hanged.

942-954

944-945

§ 16. Through this undignified outbreak, Richard was ultimately saved. When Louis declared his wish that the perils impending over the Heir of Normandy should be universally known, his anger threw him off his guard.—The brief fury made his foot slip, and the slip ultimately brought on his fall.—Osmond easily found the means of conveying the intelligence to Couci, the friendly Castle of Bernard de Senlis. The wary and powerful kinsman transmitted the intelligence to Bernard the Dane: and, repeated by the grey-bearded Chieftain, the sad report was rapidly diffused throughout Rouen and the Terra Normannorum, exciting deep indignation and deeper terror.

Diligently did the Normans counsel amongst themselves how they might best guide their course, but no earthly succour could be found. Herlouin, now wholly devoted to Louis, and the insolent French garrison, retained Rouen in bondage. Any attempt to deliver Richard from Laon Tower by force, was utterly hopeless—who could batter the citadel's walls?—any insurrection against the royal authority would be worse than futile. Richard was the hostage for the obedience of the Normans. The mere rumour of any insurrectional movement reaching Laon would have been the signal for summoning the Executioner and his Assistants to lay hands upon Richard. Normandy therefore continued outwardly tranquil, and yet the Normans had found the means of testifying their sentiments most impressively and forcibly: submitting themselves to the Oppressor, they sought aid in prayer.

942-954

944-945

The
Normans
express
their
griefs by
devotional
offices.

During three days, a Solemn Fast was observed throughout the Terra Normannorum, processions pacing along the streets and highways, the doleful litanies resounding, alms amply bestowed and masses said and sung; and, month after month, was the Fast repeated, and the intercession made. It was not within the power of Louis to prohibit these religious observances, neither were they susceptible of misconstruction. Every verse of each penitential psalm brought Richard before the people's mind; they were helping him in the only way they could, and their supplications testified that they were prepared and ready to give him succour in any other way, when way should open:—" *Le bon temps viendra,*" thought many besides Bernard.

Indeed, all parties were kept in check. Louis held up the dart, but dared not strike, restrained perhaps by compunction, and in some degree by fear, whilst Osmond sedulously attended to the education of the intelligent and docile Richard. But no help came. Time wore away heavily. The sense of danger increased, until, at length, the anxiety became unbearable to the imaginative boy. His earnest entreaties induced Osmond to attempt his rescue; and there was one in that dungeon-tower with whom Osmond could well mature his schemes, the noble Yvo de Creil, the renowned father of Guillaume de Belesme.

Symptoms
appear of
Richard's
declining
health.

§ 17. Hitherto, the young Richard had continued in the enjoyment of exuberant health. Gerberga used to hate him for his good looks; but now, as he waited at the royal board, many symptoms of declining vigour began to be discernible. His ruddy cheeks were pale and wan, his hitherto cheerful countenance, triste and worn. When he presented the cup the wary Queen was compelled to observe how thin his poor hands were becoming, and his plump and rounded limbs were falling away. Richard's ghastliness could not efface Lothaire's ugly freckles, nor did the shrinking of Richard's members straighten the legs of crook-shanked Lothaire; but the contrast between the two lads was in some degree diminished, and so far Gerberga may have rejoiced therein. However, more weighty matters could not fail to be brought before her mind. Richard was sickening for want of fresh air and exercise—what course ought to be pursued? Richard declined rapidly,—food does not nourish the gentle Bachelor, nor sleep refresh him, said all who saw him,—he could hardly stand for very weakness; and took to his bed, from which it seemed he never could be enabled to rise.

It would have been a moral miracle if Louis and Gerberga had not speculated eagerly upon the probable consequences of Richard's death.—Louis received important advantages from Richard's life. The Normans were held fast by the grip which Louis had upon Richard, and, Richard dying, that resulting security would be lost.—On the other hand, if Richard did die, then there would be an end of Norman sovereignty, and Louis would obtain his full intent, without the discomfort of committing any act which conscience might whisper to be a crime.

942-954

944-945

Louis therefore, in conjunction with Gerberga—or, far more probably, Gerberga taking the lead—formed a scheme of which the development, reserved for the Capets, exercised in future ages a most powerful effect upon the French Monarchy—the creation of appanages.—Three sons already had Louis by Gerberga, and she was promising more. According to the principles hitherto prevailing in the Carolingian Monarchy, the rights of primogeniture were never exclusive; the younger branches had some provision. But there was no longer stuff enough to continue the system of partition; the morsel was too scanty to be divisible. The less they would have to share, the more fiercely they would dispute; a quarrel between Lothaire and his brothers for the city of Laon would extinguish the dynasty.—Supposing, however, that Normandy should escheat to the crown by Richard's death without issue, an event, which humanly speaking seemed to be almost inevitable, then and in such case, could not the universal aspiration of the Normans, that their country should be preserved as one State under one Ruler, be rendered subservient to the best interests of France? A son of Louis and Gerberga might become their Duke, and the Normans be allowed to retain the show of independence within their own borders, without impairing the stability of the French Monarchy.—

Richard's death considered certain, Louis and Gerberga determine that Normandy shall become an appanage for a Son of France.

The symptoms of Richard's danger became more threatening—doleful were the lamentations of his attendants; and Osmond never departed from the scene of sadness—so soon to be closed by the young Prince's death.

Meanwhile the King and the Queen were absorbed in joyful expectations. They treated the reversion as indefeasible; as for Gerberga she could not enjoy a moment's tranquillity until the glad intelligence should be brought to her,—incessant were her inquiries at the sufferer's door—is he only dying? All the French fully participated in the belief that Richard was about to breathe his last. What possible reason could they have to

942-954

944-945

doubt the fact, or deem that the debility was feigned?—Nor was the debility feigned:—no artifice could have blanched Richard's rosy hue or wasted his comely frame. Yet though the whole was a sham, the symptoms were real, the results of resolute self-denial. Osmond's hint, "make yourself ill," was spiritedly and patiently carried out by Richard; he "made himself ill" in right earnest, stinting himself of food, and denying himself his needful rest; and so he persevered until the continued abstinence brought on positive danger;—he was clemmed by self-imposed vigils and starvation.

The sorrow of the sick room had filled the Palatial Castle with hilarity, and the King's grand banquet, celebrated on the evening when Richard seemed to be at his last gasp, was the public manifestation of this feeling. All Laon, so to speak, had been bidden to the feast, the Streets and Places were deserted. Whether as guests, or as attendants, or as spectators, all the inhabitants had been drawn away by the festivity. During the progress of Richard's illness the Warders had gradually relaxed in their diligence, and now, if Richard had not actually expired, he was as good as dead, and therefore, joining the general merriment, they relieved themselves from their duty altogether.

Richard's
escape
from Laon.

The auspicious moment had arrived, and Osmond seized it. Brief were his and Richard's orisons invoking the help of Saint Leonard, the captive's Liberator—and ere King Louis and Queen Gerberga had risen from the board, Osmond and his precious charge were safely lodged in Couci Tower.—The commemoration of the feat is found in the symbolical bearing, the wings displayed, the honoured heraldry of the Centvilles family; and if we enquire how the escape was effected, we shall be told, that Osmond adopted the very device through which Ogiva rescued the infant Louis. He had wrapped the boy in a truss of forage, and thus conveying him into the stable, both mounted the horse,—and off.—

§ 18. Couci was reached speedily, where the discreet Châtelain gladly received the young Richard into his care. Osmond continued coursing on to Senlis, where he arrived before the grey of the morning. The sudden apparition of Osmond exhausted by anxiety and fatigue appalled Count Bernard; but the feelings of surprise and alarm were speedily and joyfully removed by the information of the rescue. Who was to be their champion? There was but one, Duke Hugh.—Soon as the morning broke did old Bernard de Senlis consequently bestride his courser, and

accompanied by the smallest number of attendants, ride straight forward to Hugh-le-Grand at Paris. 942-954

Bernard did not however make more haste than good speed, for he bethought himself as he journeyed, how he must deal with his crafty Liege-lord. Abstractedly from the general condition of those times, that no man trusted his brother, there was a special reason why the Count of Senlis needed to be cautious when treating with the son of King Robert. Bernard suspected that, efficient as Hugh-le-Grand's aid would be in supporting the cause of the legitimate Norman Duke, it would not be a superfluous caution to protect the young Prince against such a Protector.—Should young Richard's enlargement produce no better effect than an exchange between the Tower of Laon and Duke Hugh's Palace at Paris, small would be the gain. 944-945

Richard
under the
protection
of Bernard
de Senlis.

We now enter into a strange and complicated series of intrigues amply detailed, yet blindly told. The confused narrative of the communications which ensued between the parties concerned, is however in some degree elucidated by the subsequent events, and, acting like impatient visitors, who, provoked by the intricacy of a garden maze, force their way through the quickset walls, we shall at length arrive at the sought-for centre of the labyrinth, the entire emancipation of Normandy,—that most important passage in the annals of the French, slurred over by their historians, and blurred by the garrulous eloquence of the Norman Herodotus.

The conversation with Hugh-le-Grand was opened by Bernard de Senlis. He commenced by a few politic ambages, or,—to speak more plainly,—lies. What the Count professed to seek was the advice of Duke Hugh. The young Richard was in great peril, still incarcerated by the French King; and now he claimed Hugh-le-Grand's advice; how could the Captive be best freed? Hugh broke out in loud exclamations against the wicked King's perfidy. Could Richard be delivered, Hugh would employ every exertion for his restoration. Instantly did Bernard clench the offer, and, throwing himself at his Seigneur's feet, he disclosed the circumstances of the young Duke's rescue, and craved that Hugh would confirm the voluntary promise by his solemn oath. The Relics,—so painfully rendered the habitual witnesses of untruth and fraud,—were brought forth as usual, and the oath being sworn, Bernard hastened back to Couci as speedily as he had ridden to Paris, but in a very different guise, surrounded by a noble escort, and, fondly embracing his nephew, the boy

Negotiations
between
Bernard de
Senlis and
Hugh-le-
Grand on
Richard's
behalf.

942-954 was removed to Senlis, where he abode until the period of his restoration arrived.

944-945

Vexation of Louis. His endeavours to effect the recapture of Richard.

§ 19. Gerard and Rosceline, the unfortunate Warders, were the first to experience the King's indignation. Louis placed them in close confinement and threatened them with death—an unprofitable ebullition of anger, and a useless severity, had he inflicted the punishment.—Osmond owed them nothing; Louis might have burned them or hanged them, Osmond would not have cared.

Louis was driven to despair by the calamity. In the conduct of the Norman enterprise, he had deserved great praise and incurred heavy censure. At the onset, the Warrior's exertions and the Statesman's craft had been amply rewarded with success, and now all his wiles and toils were wasted, all the fruits of the glorious "battle of the rescue" lost. Richard's guardian had disclosed himself as Richard's most dire enemy. The amicable occupation of Normandy was exhibited under the true but odious aspect of a conquest, effected by a clever, but disgusting, combination of force and deceit. His character was gone: and this consideration unquestionably decided his future conduct. Disimulation was useless, he discarded all quibbles and pretences: Normandy was his, and he would defend his dominion with the sword. But he could not disguise to himself that the escape of the young Pretender would prove a great annoyance. Never could the title of Louis be secure, so long as young Richard was at liberty.

The first endeavours of Louis, counselled by wise Gerberga, were therefore directed for the purpose of recapturing the young prince. A confidential messenger was dispatched to the Duke of France, praying the Senior that he would exercise his authority over his Homager, and compel Bernard de Senlis to restore the ward whom Osmond had "stolen"; a degrading expression, but strictly warranted even by our old English common law. Hugh-le-Grand answered grimly, No such thing will I do; I will not expel Count Bernard from Couci and Senlis, or from Creil, or from Thuri, nor distrain him to surrender his dear nephew. And not merely did Hugh refuse, but he, forthwith, *defied* the King.

Hugh-le-Grand refuses to compel Bernard de Senlis to surrender Richard to the King.

This act rendered Louis exceedingly anxious, dreading possibly lest the *defiance* given by Hugh should be the signal of inveterate hostility. Louis possessed a most discomfiting knowledge of the consequences which had ensued to his father from the *disfidatio*,

the casting of the hawm at Soissons. Whether Hugh performed this symbolical ceremony or not, the intent of the speaker was the same. In this stress, Louis turned again to Arnoul, and, for once in his life, Arnoul was free from gout when he was wanted. A clandestine conference took place between Louis and the Count of Flanders at "Restibulis," an obscure village in the Vermandois, which has wholly disappeared from the map. Arnoul advised that Hugh-le-Grand should be brought over, or rather, bought over, by the so-often contemplated cession of the Basse Normandie. Arnoul's arguments were plausible. Louis, surrendering Normandy "beyond the Seine," would only renounce a territory which he could not retain without difficulty, and thus, freed from the burthen, be the better enabled to defend the Haute Normandie on this side the river ; but the greatest gain to both parties would be found in the extinction of the Norman Commonwealth. Once divided, Normandy would cease to exist. Doubts might certainly be raised, whether such an accession of power obtained by Hugh-le-Grand under the pressure of circumstances might not prove somewhat disadvantageous to the King, yet it was the most eligible compromise, and Louis prepared to pursue this plan, but making, of course, the accustomed mental reservation, that, if it were needful, Duke Hugh should be deceived.

Having therefore determined, as suggested by Arnoul, that he would bid high for Hugh-le-Grand's co-operation, a second summons was issued, repeating the injunction that Hugh was to repair to the King upon his faith and liegeance ; and a reverend deputation of Bishops conveyed the mandate to the Duke of France. Louis now appears stationed at Compiègne, where, royally crowned, he was accustomed to receive the homage of his lieges. A pleasant place also for recreation was Compiègne : there were the King's stables, the King's kennel, and the King's mews. Louis carried his head high, nevertheless it seemed that, when dealing with the Duke of France the King could hardly decide whether he was addressing a superior or an inferior ; for the message was conveyed somewhat timidly, though speaking the language of command. More reliance was placed upon the influence of the Bishops who presented the Precept, than on the potency of parchment and seal. Hugh complied, though proudly asserting his independence ; he would come because it pleased him to come.

Not therefore would Hugh repair to the Palace, where he might have had to linger at the portal of the presence-chamber

942-954

944-945

Conference
between
Louis and
Count
Arnoul at
"Resti-
bulis."Conference
between
Louis and
Hugh
at the
"Bourg de
la Croix."

942-954

944-945

until the stately Usher should be pleased to open the door. The King was necessitated to go forth and meet the Duke, and the interview ensued, as between man and man, at the Bourg de la Croix. Hugh-le-Grand was surly and disrespectful. Why or wherefore—he asked—had he been summoned? there he was, yet merely because he wished to render due respect to the venerable Bishops who had solicited him. Louis was, on his part, peremptory and ungracious, repeating the words he had previously employed. Hugh-le-Grand must restore the ward, Richard, whom Osmond had “stolen.” Hugh’s answer was fully to the purpose; he could not compel the restitution except by a forcible seizure; an assertion hardly susceptible of a denial. Louis then urged the tempting proposition for the partition of Normandy upon the most favourable terms. Louis would not insist upon an equal division, share and share alike. Hugh should have the better portion, more extensive than the King’s land on this side the Seine, whilst the inestimable advantage accruing to both of them would be the complete suppression of the Pirate sovereignty.

Treaty
between
Louis and
Hugh for
the parti-
tion of
Nor-
mandy.

Hugh immediately accepted the offer, cancelling all his engagements in favour of the young Richard:—they were not worth a thought; Richard was the son of Guillaume Longue-épée, grandson of the robber Rollo. Who could dream there was any obligation to observe a covenant entered into for the benefit of a Dane? Hugh and Louis then determined the plan of invasion;—Whilst Louis advanced to Rouen, Hugh should march concurrently to Bayeux and reduce that stronghold;—these simultaneous movements would completely liberate France from the proud and insolent Northmen; scattering them like drift to Denmark beyond the sea—curse all who hold with them—curse them all!

Bernard
reproaches
Hugh-le-
Grand for
the viola-
tion of the
pledge he
had given
on the
behalf of
Richard.

If the encouraging promises previously made by Hugh-le-Grand to Bernard de Senlis, that he would support the young Richard had been rapidly promulgated amongst the Normans, the news of his subsequent tergiversation now reached the Normans, and Bernard even more speedily. It came in letters, it came in talk, and Bernard burnt with indignation. Rapidly, as was the Veteran’s wont, he rode away to Paris. Facing the Duke, the respect due to the Liege-lord restrained, for a brief interval, the outraged Vassal’s tongue. But this reticence could not last. Bernard mingled rebukes with warnings, upbraiding the Duke’s treachery and sneering at his folly.—The Duke of

France was working to strengthen his royal rival. Would the Carlovingian refrain from resuming the ceded Provinces as soon as he could exert the power?—With some degree of contrition Hugh-le-Grand confessed the charge, scarcely attempting to excuse himself. He had made the covenant with King Louis, and the covenant he would keep, provided the King proved true to him; but, should Louis endeavour to over-reach the Duke, then the covenant should be held as null.

942-954

944-945

§ 20. Further consultations ensued between Bernard de Senlis and Bernard the Dane, and the vivacious plot budded forth into a new ramification. Acute as were the two Bernards, they could not discover whether, on the whole, Hugh-le-Grand anticipated more advantage by helping Richard than by acting in combination with the King. But they fully ascertained that the preposterous alliance between the King of France and the Duke of France held them together only by a thread. Let Hugh receive any rebuff from Louis, let any suspicion be excited in Duke Hugh's mind, and the confederacy would be at an end. For the purpose, therefore, of gaining the positions which would respectively enable them to embarrass Louis and embroil him with Hugh, the associate Statesmen adopted a further ingenious device. It was settled between these two venerable intriguers, that, whenever the contingency for action arose, Bernard the Frenchman should deceive the King by truth, that is to say, appearing openly in his real character as the King's enemy, whilst Bernard the Norman should make a demonstration of being the King's friend: not merely separating themselves, but even carrying on war against each other, should occasion require; and each arranged his part accordingly.

The two Bernards agree upon a plan for separating Hugh-le-Grand from Louis.

Bernard de Senlis, whose strength was in the Isle of France, planned to make a diversion in favour of the Norman cause, by directing his attack against the core of the King's dominions. For this purpose he formed an alliance with Thibaut-le-Tricheur, whose power had been rapidly encreasing since the death of Herbert of Vermandois. Thibaut enjoyed the distinction of bearing the worst character in France, being also one of her greatest potentates; for it is said that about this period five noble Counties obeyed him as their Lord—Tours and Meaux, and Beauvais, and Blois, and Chartres; and with him, Bernard de Senlis formed an alliance. But so thoroughly rotten were such compacts, that, although this co-operation was proposed and accepted for the benefit of Richard, Thibaut was planning, under

Thibaut-le-Tricheur confederates with Bernard de Senlis.

942-954

the influence of the implacable step-mother Liutgarda, that it should, somehow or other, tend to Richard's harm.

944-945

Bernard
invites the
aid of
Harold
Blaaland.

Bernard the Dane, honest after his fashion, and praiseworthy consistent in pursuing his great object—the young Richard's restoration—availed himself of the results produced by the dubious policy which Guillaume Longue-épée had adopted towards the conclusion of his reign. When Guillaume had settled Harold in the Cotentin for the purpose of counterpoising the Romane interest by the Danish power, he had also secured the alliance, not merely of a political partizan, but of a trusty friend. We can, on the whole, hardly find the match of Harold Blaaland in this historical era; but the honest though unscrupulous Seaking had cruised away, and he was now in his own realm. To Harold therefore Bernard immediately applied himself, conveying to him the intelligence of Richard's rescue—a joyful event, however miserably darkened by the usurpation of the Heir's inheritance—and inviting him over for the purpose of supporting the rights of the orphan Sovereign. Harold immediately responded. He launched his keels and hoisted his sails preparatory to a new passage of arms.

944

Alain
Barbe-
torte and
Juhel
Berenger—
Civil wars
of Armo-
rica which
attract the
Danes.

§ 21. Armorica was at this period suffering severely under the chronic plague of the Celtic race—inveterate dissension.—Alain Barbe-torte was no longer the wild man of the woods, wielding his club against the brute beasts, yet instead of drawing his sword against the enemies of his people, he was now raging against his old friend Juhel Berenger.—Beudic, the Count of Cornouaille, became mixed up in the quarrel—He was one of the powerful obscure, concerning whom, as is the case with many of his contemporaries, we know nothing more than the sound of their names in the dynastic genealogies. At this juncture the Danes were directing their course towards the confines of the Terra Normannorum, and they appeared close upon Brittany when the civil war began. It would have been as preternatural in an antient Ostman¹ as in a modern Milesian, to witness an affray and abstain from joining in it, whether there was any chance of profiting by the turmoil, or whether there was no such chance. But, in the present case, over and above their general delight in pugnacity, the Danes had a special incitement,—the desire of visiting upon Alain Barbe-torte the affronts they had received from him, when, after his return from the greater Britain, he had regained his Land.

The first port made by the Danes was the port of Dol.—

Disgracefully had the Northmen been worsted at the drunken bride-ale there; and now they more than compensated themselves for the shame. They surprised the City, perpetrating their habitual atrocities. Dol was at this era a very important See, contesting the Metropolitan rights of Tours. The unlucky Bishop retreated to his Cathedral, indulging the vain fancy that the sanctity of the structure would repel the Pagans; but such numbers of the panic-struck flock poured in after their Pastor, that he was deplorably suffocated in the crowd. The Bretons rallied, regained the City, and, chasing the Northmen to the water's edge, boarded the "Long Dragons," and slaughtered the crews—an enterprise worthy of Alain Barbe-torte's best days. No permanent advantage however resulted to the Breyzad cause. Further conflicts ensued, in which the Bretons were thoroughly defeated. Again the victorious Danes spread themselves over the whole breadth of Armorica. Whether they captured Nantes or not is somewhat doubtful, the fact depending upon the critic's delight—a various reading. The annals of this interesting nation and country are so exceedingly scanty that each minute event commands more than usual attention when presented amidst the dearth of details. However, it is certain, that the Danes continued masters of Armorica during many years. Alain Barbe-torte was enabled to expel the enemy: but the Bretons emigrated in large numbers; and this occupation of the country, which was reiterated in the times of Alain's successors, unquestionably accelerated the decline of Breyzad nationality.

942-954
944-945Successes
of the
Danes in
Armorica.

Harold, however, re-established his headquarters at Cherbourg, where he awaited the summons of Bernard during more than two years. But the Danes, whether Harold's followers or independent adventurers, occupied various strongholds in Normandy, and encouraged the populations who were preparing to reject the royal authority.

§ 22. Harold Blaataud's invasion, followed by the brilliant successes which the Danes were obtaining, gave great alarm to Louis.—Sufficient reason had he for consternation; much more was threatened than the loss of Rouen and the Terra Normannorum. Since the reign of Charles-le-Simple, the Gauls had been spared, but at the expense of England. England now, however, was recovering strength: the battle of Brunanburgh had given a staggering blow to the Raven standard. The "magnificent Edmund," the Uncle of Louis, Ogiva's brother, had subdued the "five Burghs"¹—that most formidable Danish

Alarm
created by
the Danish
invasion.
Vigorous
measures
adopted
by Louis.

942-954 confederation ; nay, had expelled the Northmen from the whole Mercian region.

944-945 The obstruction thus given to the stream of devastation might very possibly repel the flood into the earlier channel, and France again become a Danish battle-field. Louis, therefore, rousing all the energies of his Realm, determined for action. The Count of Flanders had hitherto decidedly rejected all compromise with the Count of Montreuil. So long as the envious grudges subsisted between Herlouin and Arnoul, Louis could not satisfactorily avail himself of their services, and his first motion therefore was to effect a reconciliation between them. This measure proved very advantageous. Herlouin had kept Rouen quiet—a great test of his talent :—and Arnoul, now exceeding fourscore years of age, came forward with marvellous vigour.

Louis determines to oppose the Danish invasion, and to keep Normandy in subjection.

Invasion of Normandy by the combined French and Flemish forces.

Most energetically did Louis commence his aggressive operations against Normandy. Again and again have we to remark the strange flashes of power exercised by the occupant of the tottering throne. Much assistance in this case was afforded by the Bishops, who abounded in the camp, heading their military levies. It was their duty as subjects that they should furnish their quota of troops, and equally against their duty as Christian Priests to shoulder their lances in war : but secularity was gaining fast upon the Church ; and the spectacle of the two fighting Archbishops, Hugh, the quondam Parvulus, and the active Artaldus—could not fail to offer a deleterious example.

Arnoul, neither limping, nor halting, nor complaining of the gout, came on with his sturdy squadrons—none could surpass the Fleming in those days. The muster of the combined forces, French and Flemish, probably took place on the border, in or near the Ponthieu territory, whence they marched to Rouen, taking the south-west route. Arnoul's contingent constituted the vanguard of the royal army. Eu, which had offered such a stubborn resistance in Rollo's time, was the barrier of the Terra Normannorum on the north-east. This stronghold was occupied by the insurgents, but they lacked the pluck of the old Berserker garrison. Arnoul assailed the Normans, and, having completely routed them, marched forward, clearing the way for the King.

Eu taken by Arnoul. This success opens the country to the French.

The battle of Eu decided the campaign. Louis followed up the success, leading on the French, who prosecuted the war with unwonted fierceness. All their traditional hatred was revived against the fierce Normans, the false Normans, the filthy Normans ; the French were repaying the affronts and injuries

which their ancestors had sustained. The troops of Louis expanded over the Pays de Caux, burning and destroying all before them ; the inhabitants fleeing away in terror, utterly unable to stand against the fury of the invaders.

Concurrently with these operations, Hugh-le-Grand, crossing the Seine, probably below Paris, pursued his course through the Evrecin. Advancing towards the north-western districts, seven hundred full-armed knights constituted the centre of his formidable army, principally raised from the Duchy of France, and recruited by the Burgundian levies. The Burgundian Prelates also contributed their forces. Under other circumstances very many of the Normans might have sided with Hugh ; but it was now evident that he was combining with Louis in the scheme of partition intended to terminate the political existence of Normandy. Throughout the whole of this contest, all other feelings were merged in the universal determination, which pledged the Norman people to maintain the unity of the Norman Monarchy. Hence, an obstinate resistance was offered to Hugh in the once friendly Evrecin. The Hiesmois also rejected the Duke, and beat him off.

The chief fortress of the *Pagus Oximensis*, the renowned castle of Falaise, claiming Julius Cæsar as her founder, is not distinctly mentioned in the narrative. However we can scarcely doubt but the point d'appui afforded by Falaise, and the rocky *fells* from which the name is derived, aided the sturdy warriors of the regions in foiling the invader. Hugh and his troops fully emulated the cruel vigour displayed by Louis ; they infested the whole country as far as the Mont Saint Michel : and the Duke, having fought his way onwards, presented himself before Bayeux. We have good reasons for conjecturing that Harold Blaatand's men had thrown themselves into this Danish city. It was foreseen, from the onset, that the acquisition of Bayeux would prove a difficult enterprise ; and this probably, was one of the reasons which induced King Louis to furnish Hugh with occupation by the promise, that, should he win the place, the conquest should be his own. Bayeux was, in fact, valiantly defended, and Hugh's protracted operations seemed to have been limited to a blockade.

§ 23. The country suffered dreadfully. Louis and Hugh acting in union, or at least acting with a common intent, were too strong for the Normans. Bernard the Dane therefore now felt himself committed to the full extent of the scheme propounded by him to his namesake of Senlis. Louis must be lulled by a show of

942-954
944-945

Hugh-le-Grand enters France concurrently with Louis.

Hugh-le-Grand besieges Bayeux.

Bernard the Dane—his plot for enticing Louis into Rouen.

942-954 complete submission, and brought into Rouen;—means might
 then be found to baffle him, entrap him, may be, enthrall him.
 944-945 Nevertheless Bernard's object at the present crisis was to effect
 a speedy termination of the distressing warfare which the French
 were waging against the Normans, not merely in the spirit of
 conquest, but of vengeance.—Stout-hearted Bernard never
 doubted of success. He relied upon the ample resources he
 could command. Harold Blaataud was always in readiness. Let
 Bernard but give the word, and the Danes—the prime Pagan
 Danes—would gird themselves for the liberation of Guillaume
 Longue-épée's land. Bernard could count the swords which
 would clash and the bucklers which would be raised.

Our English proverb, "diamond cut diamond," is emphatically localized by a French parallel adage, "*à Normand, Normand et demi*."—Of the *Normand et demi*, the Grey-beard Bernard was the absolute personification: his task required an extra allowance of subtlety, inasmuch as his plot involved a double contrivance. Louis was to be enticed to lead himself into the snare, and the Normans were to be enticed to spread the snare, by submitting to a course apparently so dangerous, that, were it suggested in the first instance, they would assuredly refuse to incur a risk calculated, as they would think, to bring on their ruin. It was in such intricacies that Bernard's soul delighted, and he began with the cheerfulness of a May-game. Indeed the triumph of gaining an advantage by superior astuteness, unquestionably prompted no small proportion of the crookedness which distinguishes this era. The pleasures of imagination not unfrequently instigate the sinner by giving a zest to sin. The absence of the excitement resulting from the danger of the constable's staff, has a share in making the clever rogue feel flat in any honest calling.

Bernard
 professing
 to act in
 the name
 of the
 Normans,
 offers their
 submission.

Bernard, professing to speak the sentiments of the Normans, but without having had any communications with them on the subject, opened a negotiation with Louis in the character of a Plenipotentiary, earnestly beseeching him to spare the country. Why should King Louis waste and destroy the domain which was his own? Ready were the Normans to enter into his obedience, and bow to the King's august supremacy. Their delusion had been dispelled. Normandy deprecated the calamity denounced against the land whose Ruler was a child. Normandy needed a Judge, a Protector, and a King, nay, a Crowned and Imperial Sovereign. The Normans craved the King's mercy. Let him stay the chastising sword, so that the plough should speed again,

Bernard
 invites
 Louis to
 Rouen,
 offering an
 unconditional
 surrender.

and the people live in quiet ; and therefore Bernard urged him to repair to Rouen with his Bishops, and his Courtiers, and his Court, and his Princes ; and, if wise Gerberga rode beside the King, the greater would be their joy.—Leave the little one safe at Senlis, quoth Bernard—enough are three arrows and a musket-hawk, for such a lad as he :

942-954

944-945

Moult souffroms bien ceste fiée—
Que Dan Bernart l'ait à Saint-Liz :
Trop est encore assez petiz ;
De treis fleches e d'un moschet
Doit assez avoir tel vâlet¹.

In opening this negotiation with Louis for surrendering the Capital, Bernard acted entirely upon his individual responsibility. The Normans had not any knowledge of the transaction until Louis was marching towards Rouen at the head of an army, reckoned in round numbers, at ten thousand men. Therefore, when the Normans received the information that the King though promising peace had required their unconditional surrender, nay, that Richard was to be completely discarded, great was their grief, greater their surprise. The conduct of Bernard appeared inconceivable to them. Through Bernard's agency they saw the young Richard contemptuously disinherited, and Louis brought in by Bernard's counsel. Bernard the Dane, young Richard's guardian, recklessly abandoning the Infant's rights,—all was lost !

Helas ! comme sont à deuil menez
Nul confort ont ne nul conseil
Moult ont de Bernard grant merveille.
Deseritez, est à sa vie,
L'enfant Richard de Normandie !²

Some alleviation however was practically imparted by the conduct of Louis and his army : the devastation of the country was immediately stayed : the villains returned to their cottages, the cattle were driven back to the fields, the plough sped again.—Amidst all their anxiety, the Normans could not really make up their minds to distrust old Bernard ; therefore no murmur was uttered, no demur made.

§ 24. From whatever quarter of the Haute Normandie, Louis could approach Rouen, the City was protected by the thick-grown forests constituting the country's pride. On and on he proceeded, quite unmolested. The Normans were true to old Bernard's bidding, but had they been determined upon

942-954 resistance, the march would have been very perilous ; the tangled
 and massy zones of thickets and trees affording such ample
 944-945 ambushments against an enemy. Those forests were the more
 important in a military point of view, as being the barrier against
 France. Nor could any other communication be had to or from
 Paris otherwise than upon the tracks penetrating these living
 circumvallations. On the East, the traveller had to encounter
 the renowned “ *Foresta de Leonibus*,” a locality with which we
 have, so to speak, become personally acquainted. On the North,
 Rouen was covered by the woodlands composing the *Forêt Verte*,
 still marked on the map, and the *Forêt de Bichorel*, of which the
 greater portions have been long since essarted, through which
 Louis had to descend from the Flemish border. These out-
 stretching woods were conjoined, or nearly so, to the forest of
 Lions and its growths, and had also to be traversed by those who
 proceeded Rouen-ward from Paris ; and all the main roads, as
 well from the Northern parts as those running through the forest
 of Lions, joined the great thoroughfares which led to the Porte
 Beauvoisine athwart the rich and verdant open meads spread-
 ing between the woodland margins and the City-walls.—These
 fields constituted a noted and much-admired feature of the
 environs.

Louis
 enters
 Rouen.

All that Bernard promised to Louis concerning the hearty
 welcome he should receive at Rouen, was fully realised to eye and
 ear.—When Rouen was scarcely discernible in the far distance,
 Louis received his merry greeting, spoken from every church-
 and chapel-tower, which boasted of a bell.—And when Louis
 drew nearer, then arose the full-toned solemn chant, swelling in
 the air as he rode along the road. And when, ambling through
 the pleasant meadows, he came close upon the Porte Beauvoisine,
 he was prevented by the long processions of the Clergy robed
 according to their order and degree,—Archbishop and Canons in
 their richly-broidered copes, holy banners borne aloft, and gold
 and silver censers swinging ;—and lastly, thicker and denser as
 he advanced, but most of all, after passing beneath the well-
 known archway he entered the narrow street, the vast crowd
 hailing him as King.—A blessing on their honest voices !—had
 they dared, they would have toppled him into the Seine, rushing
 with delight to the river’s banks, enraptured with the sport of
 seeing and hearing him fall splash into the water, struggling,
 sinking, shrieking, drowning : and truly if Louis, according to
 the popular code of retribution, had to be punished for his inward

thoughts, this treatment would have served him right : he was just as eager for their destruction. 942-954

When Louis had, after the Battle of the Rescue, made his glorious entry through that same Porte Beauvoisine, he was in some degree enabled to excuse his assumption of authority by asserting a species of vicarial right, consequent upon the non-age of Guillaume Longue-épée's Heir.—No need now for such delicacies and pretences. He was Lord and Master.—Yet, great as was the success, the triumph would have been comparatively insipid, had it not been accompanied by the anticipation of sweet revenge. How had these Normans and their Ancestors insulted and enslaved the French, rendered them tributary, robbed the Monarchy!—Here in Rouen had he been villainized, disgraced, hooted, imprisoned, bullied, degraded!—Here had they put him in fear of death, compelled him to display his cowardice, shamed him before the world!—Was not the roar of the multitude when they compelled him to come out with the vile bastard, yet sounding in his ears? And with these recollections fermenting in his brain, Louis made his stately entry into Rollo's Palace, and feasted in Rollo's Hall. 944-945

Outrageously riotous was the banquet on the evening of that joyous day. Whether by chance or by intent, the worst and most debauched of his Camp were assembled at the Board, and it was the custom of the French, as told by themselves in the tone of nations who glory in their own vices—and what nation is there which does not?—to lengthen such feastings late into the night, revelling in the enjoyment of their rude and scoffing talk, and their gibes, and their jeers, and their scurrilous merriment, at the expense of all the world and of themselves. The feast in the palace on the evening of the king's entry.

Without stroke stricken—*sans coup ferir*—Rouen was virtually a city taken by storm, and the discourse which passed amongst this boisterous crew was such as might have ensued had they won the Norman capital by force of arms. Intoxicated equally by success and by intemperance, the language into which Louis was betrayed disgraced his exalted station. The threats he poured forth against the Normans proclaimed the full extent of his previous abasement. Had it not been for his own confessions, no one but himself could have known the unseemly secret, that his accusing conscience made him feel the insults of the mob so keenly and so deeply. He boasted he had stamped upon the Pirate's nest—now shall the sons be punished for the insolence of their filthy forefathers. If perchance permitted to abide in

942-954 the land, let them rot each day in misery—"our subjects, our
tributaries, our slaves."

944-945

The
banquet of
triumph.

The jovial companions whom Louis addressed, responded most cordially to these sentiments, and reckoned, like their Sovereign, upon the gains of their enterprise. Rouen had been exempted from the dire calamities consequent upon a successful assault.—The comely women had not been abandoned to the lust of the captors;—no wealthy burghers tortured into the surrender of their hoarded gold;—no houses sacked or fired;—no Rebels strung up, and their broad lands granted to the Conquerors.—Such were the accustomed concomitants of successes like those which the French had obtained; therefore, although the gratification was postponed, yet the victors anticipated ample satisfaction when the season of fruition should arrive.

A tranquil morrow ensued;—the soldiery entered upon their garrison duty. Instinctive prudence restrained the inhabitants. All parties were consistent dissemblers, and pitched their notes in harmony. The invitation which Bernard had given to the King was his own device—the Normans had no share in it. Not a word in his address had been prompted by them, not a thought was theirs; yet, though filled with perplexity, they could not renounce their traditional trust in Bernard. Therefore Bernard professed to explain, on their behalf, the reasons inducing their ready submission to the Carlovingian supremacy: and, when required by him to take their part in the drama, the Leaders and Nobles spoke according to the cue which the chief actor gave.

Bernard
and the
Normans
declare the
reasons of
their sub-
mission to
the King.

Bernard solemnly declared to Louis that the Normans, taught wisdom by experience, now entirely renounced that boy whom Osmond had stolen away—they had in nowise sought his liberation—he was gone, and they were rid of him. Let the Count of Senlis appoint Richard to be his heir—they would have none of him if they could help. Wretched is the realm whose ruler is a child.—Nor were the Normans disloyally unmindful of past sorrows; yet those sorrows were irreparable. Arnoul's treachery had deprived them of their Duke and defender; but, by accepting Louis as their King and their defender, they accomplished a fortunate exchange. Hitherto had they obeyed the progeny of Rollo, now would they be ruled by Charlemagne's imperial race—no longer vassals of a minor power, but members of an Empire. The pride of Louis was gratified by an explanation thus motived. It might be accepted as an apology for the affronts offered to his Dynasty, and, without placing any trust in their professions,

or mitigating his intent of bringing Normandy into servitude, he graciously accepted the submission thus made. 942-954

§ 25. Bernard's work, however, was only beginning. In order to comprehend the development of his elaborately complicated plot, it must be borne in mind, that though his firm expectation of ultimately entrapping Louis was grounded upon Harold Blaataand's co-operation, yet the immediate object he sought, was the dissolution of the confederacy between the Duke of all the Gauls and the French King. Bernard courted his Royal master—for such he fully acknowledged Louis to be—cleverly and assiduously. Foremost did Bernard stand as he presented himself in the royal circle, fresh and ruddy, nobly attired in his costly damask robe, over which his long grey beard was flowing. Despite of Bernard's age, none more jovial than he. His agreeable gifts,—humble tokens of affectionate obedience—were pleasantly welcomed by the Sovereign. Ample supplies of wine came in from Bernard's stores, and copiously was that wine poured out at the Monarch's festive table. The rich spiced claret was excellent, and delighted the King. He quaffed enough, and more than enough; and his brightening countenance shewed it.—Merry were the King's words, and merry was his heart; every vein in his head throbbled with good liquor. 944-945
Bernard the Dane—
his machi-
nations
for setting
Louis and
Hugh-le-
Grand at
variance.

The effect of the potations had been attentively watched by the Norman guests:—though they kept their wits, they partook of the mazer-cup quite as freely,—and when the King was thoroughly mellow, Bernard, motioning away the others, slid up, and sat next to him on the high dais at the head of the table.

The persuasions with which Bernard plied the King, for the purpose of exciting him against Hugh-le-Grand, were offered and repeated at various opportune seasons. His argumentations were supported by the Norman nobles, with many variations in the passages of their discourses, but always consistently adhering to the theme. These clever machinators all agreed in seeking to anger the King against his own conduct, holding up a mirror before him which reflected his countenance in the character which they sought he should ascribe to himself,—a witless prodigal. The
Banquet.—
The
Normans
lead the
King to
distrust
his own
judgment.

Most inexpedient—as Bernard urged—was the treaty which Louis had concluded with Hugh, admitting that insatiate rival as a partner in the Terra Normannorum, encreasing the strong man's strength, and imparting additional powers of mischief to his most potent enemy.—Hugh, so full of hatred and envy, cruel and proud.—Hugh seeking the King's destruction, aye, and for

942-954 ever.—Hugh Duke of all the Gauls.—Hugh peerlessly potent,
 whose shadow overspread the realm.

944-945 How full of warning, continued Bernard, was the testimony borne by common speech to Hugh's transcendency!—The epithet which the universal consent of Christendom had hitherto exclusively appropriated to the great Emperor, was now no longer the prerogative distinction of his memory. *Charles-le-Magne*¹ was matched by *Hugh-le-Magne*—he shared the distinction with a competitor—would not the son of King Robert be placed by posterity in the same rank of worthies as the son of Pepin—the Founder of the Dynasty? "*Carolus Magnus*" and "*Hugo Magnus*" included in the same category; and truly did the Lord of Paris, ruling half the realm, deserve this honour.

The taunts were grievous to Louis. But there was another important element in the transaction, which, when descanted upon by Bernard, darted through him with a consciousness not less painful, of the mischief he had occasioned to himself by his rashness and his ignorance. Louis had entirely neglected to calculate the value of the subsidy promised to his inveterate enemy. Austrasia contained the chief demesne towns and cities, and almost all the palaces of the Carlovingian Sovereigns. The west and far west of the Seine had rarely been visited by them: even at Rouen they were almost strangers. It is more than doubtful whether Louis had ever extended his progresses beyond the Evrecin and the Roumois,—the Pagus including the Capital,—or crossed the bounding Risle. No accurate knowledge of the country could be acquired otherwise than by sojourn and experience; and though Louis was familiar with the Haute Normandie, he was totally unacquainted with the wide-spread territories he had granted away to his consuming competitor.

Extent and
value of
the Basse
Nor-
mandie
impru-
dently
ceded by
Louis to
Hugh-le-
Grand.

Bernard, a consummate adept in the art of ingeniously tormenting, rang the changes upon the details evidencing the importance of the ceded provinces, proving the delusion under which Louis had laboured when he struck his blind bargain. Louis had shut his eyes when he opened his hand. Bernard overwhelmed the King with disagreeable information concerning the countries he was annexing to Hugh-le-Grand's duchy.—A ready tongue, a keen sight, and a pregnant wit, were amongst the many gifts of Bernard; and the clever old crafty blade spoke out with all the fluency arising from a thorough knowledge of his subject, warmed by the energy of a deeply-interested partisan, enjoying at the same time the dear delight—so exquisite

even when profitless—of teasing. He reckoned the countries and named the towns ; pointed at the hills, and called attention to the waters ; travelling with Louis, in imagination, over the splendid dominions he was sacrificing,—the whole breadth of the Evrecin, and thence unto Séez—Lisieux, and the Lieuvin ; the Hiesmois and the Cinglais, Bayeux and the Bessin ; Coutances, and the Cotentin ; the secluded Valley of Mortaigne, graced by the only natural cascade which antient France—France by herself France—contains ; and then down to Domfront ; and then up to Avranches, from whence you look forward and onwards to the Archangel's Mount, and the sands, and the bay, and the rolling waves ;—Normandie-outre-Seine, fertilized by the intersecting streams, where the ports are most apt for commerce, and fit for defence ;—Normandy beyond the Seine, peopled by the most prudent and powerful chieftains, and the most valiant race, so pre-eminent for their endowments of body and mind.—Had such a thing been ever heard of, that any Prince, not being demented, should do as he, King Louis, had done—sport away ten thousand fighting men, and place them at the disposal of his direst enemy ; and when the Normans chimed into the concerto they mocked Louis with the same taunting melodies, summing up the results by the employment of colloquial expressions, belonging to that emphatic class of terms, not rendered substantially less truthy by exaggeration,—Louis had not retained one-seventh part of the Terra Normannorum ; he had not left for himself threepenny-worth a year.

942-954
944-945

Bernard
and the
Normans
taunt
Louis
with his
imprudence.

The Norman nobles having thus engaged in the discussion, the arguments expanded, for they presented themselves as complainants, who, by the sacrifice of their interests, had been deeply aggrieved. If Louis thought fit to despoil himself of the dominion, that was his own concern ; but Normandy belonged to the Normans, and it behoved them that they should take due care of themselves.

It was the fundamental principle, that the Norman State was one and indivisible. Whoever might be Normandy's Ruler, the integrity of Normandy must be preserved. A partition of the Terra Normannorum would ruin the whole. The strength of the Haute Normandie was found in the Basse Normandie, which Louis had so wastefully abandoned. Rouen was provisioned from and through three of the ceded districts—one inland, two maritime—the Hiesmois, the Cotentin, and the Bessin ; and, if the supplies which they afforded were cut off, the deprivation

The
Norman
nobles
oppose the
partition
of the
Duchy.

942-954 would be a death-blow to Rouen's prosperity. The remonstrance
 944-945 was wound up by an unexpected menace. Should Louis persevere in his intention of making the cession, the Normans would act for themselves. They would put out to sea, reach Denmark, rally the Danskermen,—return,—establish a Frankish Danelagh ;—and, fairly rid of Louis and of Hugh, be their own masters in their own land.

In the main, all these political and statistical views and statements were accurate ; yet no deception more insidious than truth told fraudulently. Bernard and his Chorus were not enlightening Louis with the intent of enabling him to guard against the consequences resulting from his imprudence, but in order that, perplexed in judgment, his conduct might bring on a rupture between him and his formidable ally.

Hugh had declared to Bernard, that if Louis broke faith with him he would sever himself from the deceiver ; and it could not be doubted but that he would be as good as his word.

Louis,
upon the
instigation
of the
Normans,
revokes
the grant
he had
made to
Hugh.

They succeeded, for the worried Sovereign, unable to extricate himself, solicited the counsel of his betrayers. Pursuant to the scheme concocted at Senlis, an immediate recall of the concession so unadvisably made, was suggested by Bernard the Dane, as the only practicable remedy. Louis was thus placed between the horns of a dilemma. If he followed this advice, he might greatly fear that the disappointed Hugh would openly become a desperate enemy. Even to rescind a parchment grant would, under any circumstances, have been a very hazardous proceeding ; but Hugh was now actively employed in reducing the grant into possession, and it was a desperate venture to snatch the morsel from the jaws of the devourer. If Louis did not make the venture, he could not conceal to himself that Hugh, as much an enemy as ever, would, sooner or later meet him with vastly augmented resources. The King's choice was, however, supported by the courage of despair, and he elected the plan of revocation. If he refused, the Normans would assuredly turn against him, and therefore he made the plunge. Two Knights, in due form of law, bore the message to the Vassal, preparing themselves to be enabled to "bear record," should he prove contumacious ; and Hugh-le-Grand was strictly enjoined, not only to raise the siege of Bayeux within the term of three days, but also to evacuate the whole Oultre-Seine territory.

Silenced by surprise, Hugh broke that silence, exclaiming, "It is the crafty *two* who have worked upon the King."—Fierce

anger ensued. Loudly inveighing against the King's treachery, he unquestionably bethought himself of revenge. But the name of the King possessed a magical power. Hugh-le-Grand, at the head of his troops, Duke of France and of Burgundy, and of all the Gauls, dared not contravene the royal command. The retreat was sounded, and he forthwith marched back to Paris, his good city.

942-954
944-945

Negotiations however recommenced speedily. Louis, almost startled at his own audacity, excused himself to Hugh, upon the ground that he could not resist the inflexible will of the Normans.—All plans of dismemberment must be renounced—the Normans would submit only to one Sovereign.

Bernard, the Count of Senlis, next presented himself to Hugh at Paris—the old man making the journey with his habitual fiery speed.—He earnestly urged the Duke to support the young Richard's cause; Hugh-le-Grand however, hesitated, probably wishing to consider how he might render the support of Richard profitable to himself; and, for the present, the general tranquillity remained undisturbed.

§ 26. Louis, established in the Norman capital, as much his home as Compiègne or Laon, had now attained the culminating point of his power; he luxuriated in the successes he had gained.—Hitherto, it was merely the prestige of royalty which had enabled the crowned son of Charles-le-Simple to resist the uncrowned son of King Robert; but the territorial acquisitions which rewarded his exertions, were turning the balance of power. Could Hugh-le-Grand's Paris, pent up on the narrow island in the shallows of the Seine, really compete with the commanding Rouen, strong in her ramparts, and watered by the tidal stream?

Normandy
apparently
thoroughly
subjugated
by Louis.

The scanty remnant of territory which Louis had hitherto ruled, scarcely extending beyond the horizon seen from the tower of Laon, now expanded to the furthest maritime borders of the northern Gauls?—Louis might boast that he had healed the wound which the Kingdom had received. He had crushed the Pirates. Had he, instead of being a Conqueror, governed the Normans and ruled over Normandy, by the unqualified right of ancestral inheritance, the People and the Country could not have been more thoroughly his own.

Their dutiful obedience bordered upon servility. "Not a Prince, or a Baron," as the Trouveur tells, "who did not bow before him,—all subjected to Charlemagne's Heir." None could contradict the King of France,—none oppose him.—Nay, they

942-954 dared not gainsay even the meanest Frenchman who had followed the King.—The omen of his keeping his seat on the curvetting steed seemed to have been completely fulfilled.

944-945

Collapse
of Louis
d'Outre-
mer's
prosperity.

§ 27. But this could not last. His luck had turned.—When the Master is about to lay on the last feather—then ought the Horse to kick, but not till then. If the Horse misses the moment, you break his back, and he is done for ; but if his nostril smells your approach, then, dear Good Master, look to his ears, and lighten the burthen, or you are flung.—The “mass-book,” “rownd in the lug” of Jeannie Geddes¹ the loose limmer, followed by the stool hurled at the Chaplain's head, capsized the Scottish Prelacy.—The sight of the Seven English Bishops² boating to the Tower drove out the Stuart Dynasty.

Increasing gloom succeeded to the factitious cordiality which prevailed when Louis entered upon the government. Possibly, no prominent act of oppression could be quoted, but Louis never pretended to sympathise with his new subjects. He never could forget the shame they made him sustain. Drenched with ignominy by the Rebels, he was possessed with the Spirit of hatred against the People over whom he had won the sovereign power.

Absolute
power of
Louis
in Nor-
mandy.

As Duke of Normandy, that power was uncontrolled. The law of Normandy was breast-law. To this, the primary element of autocracy, he added the rights of conquest, and Louis dealt according to his discretion in the administration of the country, altering and changing as pleased him best. The easy task of exercising uncontrolled self-will required no adviser : nevertheless, it was an urgent necessity that he should obtain the aid of some trustworthy Minister for the management of the public revenues and the Ducal domains.—Count Herlouin must have known Rouen thoroughly ; but it should seem that he was employed in military service. Bernard the Dane was too powerful to be trusted in the royal Cabinet. Gerberga could in every way assist her husband, but he had left her in command at Laon : besides which, at this time, it would have been attended with great personal inconvenience, and perhaps danger to the nation, had she attempted so long a journey. Louis therefore made a choice, which, at first view, appears dictated by prudence, and justified by expediency. He selected that experienced Statesman, with whose name we have become very familiar, though as yet we have not heard anything concerning his idiosyncrasies : and Raoul Torta, albeit the antient colleague of Oslac and of Bernard the Dane, was now most willing to accept office under the Carlovingian

Raoul
Torta,
the king's
prime
minister.

Monarch, who appointed this new favourite, Treasurer and 942-954
Seneschal of Rouen.

Hitherto, however frequently the name of Raoul has appeared in our history, no facts or circumstances are recorded concerning him whereby we are enabled to estimate his character: but, when enjoying the confidence of Louis, he is exhibited to us as a stern, able, and merciless financier, whose local influence supported him in the exercise of his delegated power. The laws and customs of Normandy are enveloped in dim obscurity, until the light is reflected upon them from England. Antecedently to the accession of William the Bastard, we do not possess any information, beyond the smallest crumbs and mites, whether concerning the territorial economy of the Duchy which sent us the Conqueror, or the privileges, rights, duties, or burdens of the various classes of society. We must therefore guide ourselves mainly by the indications collected from subsequent events. These lead us to suppose, that, at the period when Louis occupied Normandy, the fisherman could cast his net, and the rustic sportsman spread his snare, more freely than in the next generation, when great inroads were made, or at least attempted, upon the rights of the villainage. Probably also, the common enjoyment of the extensive unappropriated lands was not jealously restricted. The administration of justice was rigid, and the Sovereign's prerogative uncontrolled; though it does not appear that the Peasantry, if guiltless of actual trespass, were often brought into contact with the Ducal officers. Our knowledge relating to the material resources of the country is equally scanty, yet the general tenor of history implies a flourishing condition amongst the agricultural population,—the thankful praises bestowed upon the national prosperity, and the complaints of the transient evils by which that prosperity was injuriously affected, conjointly leading us to this conclusion.

944-945

Absence
of infor-
mation
concerning
the early
laws and
customs
of Nor-
mandy.

But Raoul Torta's administration was marked by vexatious novelties. A heavy direct tax imposed upon the land, crippled the Lord and the Vassal;—and the new Minister also exacted various corvées unknown before. Towards Louis, Raoul did his duty faithfully. The Royal coffers were replenished, and the military expenditure which Louis was now able to encounter, affords us in some degree the means of estimating Raoul's talents for raising the supplies. His services were most valuable to the Sovereign at the same time that he became the object of universal detestation. Though the father of a Bishop, Raoul was singularly

Heavy
taxes
imposed
by Raoul
Torta.

942-954

944-945

Ecclesi-
astical
buildings
demolished
by Raoul
Torta.Jumièges—
how
partially
redeemed.

disinclined towards the clergy, conducting himself as though churches, and, consequently, churchmen, were superfluities. The people cried out shame, Raoul was worse than any Saracen, but Raoul troubled himself not by any popular cry. The fortifications of Rouen were dilapidated; Raoul quarried for their restoration at small cost. Most of the Monasteries and consecrated edifices on the borders of the Seine had been injured or ruined during the Danish incursions. Sound or damaged, Raoul swept them away, employing the materials in the repairs. The blow fell heavily upon Jumièges. Guillaume Longue-épée's meagre kindness to Jumièges had excited more liberal contributors:—the claustral buildings had been extended and the Church completed. These structures were forthwith demolished, and Raoul's workmen who had reached the topmost summits were wielding pickaxe and crowbar when the "wise clerk Clement" opened his purse and redeemed the two noble Towers by paying their value—and, thanks to Clement's liberality, we now behold them, together with some fragments of the Basilica as rebuilt by Lanfranc, standing firm, though pitifully degraded as Hand-book show-ruins, adorning a trim flower-garden.—Would that the desecration had been rendered less nauseous by employing the relics of the choir as a pig-stye,—for *that* would be reality, thought we,—when reading the poesies and ejaculations scrawled upon the fool's album, the walls.

Discontent
occasioned
amongst
the
Normans
by the
insolence
of the
French
soldiery.

§ 28. Nations will draw and drag heavy loads with marvellous patience, provided they be not fretted by the harness. The fiscal exactions of the intrusive government were very grievous, yet insignificant when compared to the constant irritation arising from the shameless impudence of the French roisterers who swarmed in the City. The vilest French varlet domineered over the Norman. A foreign usurpation, galling even under the most mitigated form, was exacerbated to the highest degree by the rapacity and insolence of the victorious party. The worst passions of human nature, excited by the subjugation of an enemy equally detested and despised, had been left ungratified. Normandy in general, and Rouen in particular, abounded with every object which we are tempted to covet from our neighbour. According to the usages of war, most or all these stimulants of sinful appetite might have been appropriated by the French as their legitimate prize-booty. They therefore felt universally provoked by the persuasion, that they sustained gross injustice, so long as they were kept out of anything which the Normans

enjoyed—their lands and their houses, their cattle and kine, 942-954
their daughters and wives.

To the French army, the subjugation of Normandy had 944-945
hitherto proved an unsatisfactory and tantalizing triumph : they
had not even reaped the baleful harvest of pillage and plunder.
The successes crowning their Sovereign's enterprise, were wholly
profitless to those through whose exertions he had obtained them,
—and they assailed him loudly with mutinous complaints that
he had treated them most scurvily. Nothing except their meat
and drink had they got from the King, and they insisted upon
their due reward.

The
soldiery
complain
that the
King has
not given
them
their due
reward.

We may easily reproduce the arguments by which the growling
soldiery convinced themselves that the claims they preferred
were grounded upon policy—nay, upon justice. Normandy,
according to their construction, had been re-transferred to the
French by conquest : the ancestors of the Normans had rendered
the Neustrian lands their own by the sword ; and the descendants
of the conquerors lost their lands because their swords had failed
to defend the usurpation. On the recent approach of the invading
army the Normans had made an unconditional surrender. In
the same manner, therefore, as the Arch-pirate Rollo had divided
the lands of the evicted Franks amongst his Pirate gang, so was
it the duty of Louis, by a like partition, to reward his faithful
lieges out of the robbers' spoil. The Danes had no legal title.—
They and their descendants, from generation to generation, were
aliens,—and Louis, confirming his dominion by ejecting his natural
enemies, would, at the same time, effect a righteous retribution.

Louis could not condemn such reasonings of his followers, even had he sought to do so. On his lips and in his heart, his
and their views were identical. Entertaining the same opinions,
he had declared them. Who could forget the enthusiasm of
vengeance which had animated him during the debauch, when
he rattled the chains he destined for the Normans, and swung
the scorpions with which he would scourge them ? No good
whatever would have been gained if the Normans, seeking a
remission of the hard sentence passed upon them, had appealed
from Louis drunk to Louis sober. Bacchus had done his duty.
The wine had brought out the truth. Louis had opened his
mind with cruel sincerity. His indignation was not feigned,
nor his desire of avenging his disgrace either. He had manifested
that dire intent which he would effectuate as far as practicable,
and whenever he could dare.

Louis
unable
to refute
the claims
of his
soldiery.

942-954

944-945

It would not have been prudent, nor indeed was it needful, that Louis should give any direct sanction to the scheme of appropriation. The French proceeded upon the general understanding which prevails, when, in the merciless conflict waged between Race and Race, the stronger extrudes the weaker beyond the pale of "civilization."—In its present sense, that fatal word dates only from yesterday, but the doctrine which it now connotes, is the running commentary of history. Had not Charlemagne acted upon this principle gloriously when rooting out Slavonian or Saxon; or Cromwell exterminating the Milesian? Kelt or Caffre, Colonist or Crusader, it is just the same.

Bernard
the Dane
the first
who was
"begged"
of the
King.

§ 29. It was reckoned in round numbers that a thousand French knights might be competently enfeoffed out of the Norman possessions. The French therefore commenced a survey of the country, riding the boundaries, inspecting the towns and vills, picking and choosing, and otherwise arranging the division of the Norman lands. Assuredly, there was no one Norman whose domains were eyed more earnestly than old Bernard's. The seizure of his estates would be the beginning of the end. Bernard overthrown, all Normandy would be paralyzed. Bernard treated like a traitor, whether *in posse* or *in esse*, what Norman could dare to resist? Employing therefore the vile expression so familiar during the Elizabethan era in the purlieus of corrupted Whitehall, it was quite according to the proper order of things that Bernard should be the first whom some greedy French Courtier-knight "begged" of the King.

Promises and concessions of the like nature, or hopes of obtaining them, now became rife; and the unease thereby occasioned was exceedingly enhanced, when general belief superadded the intelligence that the King had not only decreed to enrich the dominant race with the Norman wealth, but that he would abandon the Norman women to the conquerors.

Rumour
that the
King had
granted
to the
French the
Norman
women
as well
as the
Norman
lands.

Extravagant as such an anticipation may appear, it would be difficult to deny but that there may have been some authority for the rumour, some living germ, however minute, from which it spread so widely. Evil reports propagate themselves, like the blight-fungus, in geometrical progression; a single microscopic globule multiplying by division, until it poisons every root, and every stem, and every leaf in the field. The brilliant profligacy which we admire as characterizing the "Age of Chivalry" had not begun to dawn; yet it cannot be considered as a calumny on the French national spirit, nor otherwise than a due tribute to

the Norman fair ones, if we suppose that their charms had won them wooers,—aye, and successful wooers,—from amongst the flourishing garrison. We can readily imagine how the King's gallant knights discreetly exulted or merrily complained that they had been the tempted as well as the tempters. Nor can we reject an equally probable but more grievous supposition, that cases occurred in which the military licence of sentiment, as well as the rough courting of the French, degenerated into brutal violence.

942-954

944-945

The wretched annals of the "Holy wars" fully warrant this last supposition. Such acts may not have been directly authorized by Louis; but, if the ungracious Ruler, in whom all judicial power was concentrated, withheld redress, the outrages would have been legalized by impunity.

Lastly, it would have been consonant to the Law of Conquest, had many of the fair Daughters of the Norman nobles been enjoined to espouse the King's military followers; nay, many a Widow, smiling or tearful, well inherited or amply endowed, could scarcely forfeit the privilege or escape the danger of being embraced in the same category. The vague and general suspicion of the possibility that the victors should thus enforce their right, would have been sufficient to suggest a conspiracy against the wanton oppressors: but these distressing anticipations acquired a peculiar sting from their specific application to the most eminent individual amongst the Norman community. Greyheaded Bernard's young and beautiful wife was conspicuously attractive; and it was universally believed that she would become the enforced paramour of the impudent knight to whom Bernard's domains had been graciously granted.

Bernard's
wife parti-
cularly
marked
out.

The veritable existence of such an outrageous concession is scarcely possible; but that Bernard's Lady should become the subject of much indecorous talk, is a circumstance of which the high probability may be readily admitted; and if French flesh and blood actually resisted the temptation of desiring to appropriate the celebrated beauty, we may easily understand the bad jokes which circulated concerning her, as thrown away upon the Greybeard.—"Win her and wear her" may have been the King's ready reply, when, perchance, the successful petitioner for Bernard's estates facetiously inquired whether she should pass amongst the appurtenances of the lands.

These imminent apprehensions of spoliation and dishonour, excited universal dismay and terror. Bernard's wife,—as we are

942-954

944-945

told,—wrung her hands and tore her hair ; she would flee beyond the seas, or find protection in a Monastery. Under the same influences, we have reason to suppose, from the age which Espriota's wise and valiant son had attained when he first appears in history, that Guillaume Longue-épée's Relict, more collected and provident, adopted the course of seeking her second protector—steady Sperling, the rich miller.

The
Normans
prepare
to rise
against the
French.

A general insurrection would have immediately ensued had not the fermentation been checked by old Bernard.—“ *Le bon temps viendra.* ”—The good time for casting off the yoke was no longer coming. The good time had come. As is usually the case, not exactly such a good time as the expectants could have wished, yet sufficiently opportune for accomplishing the work of liberation, provided the resources possessed by the Normans could be brought to bear effectually upon the enemy. Bernard's influence tranquillized the Nobles, and they curbed the impatience of the villainage, preventing any premature explosion.

Bernard
the Dane
organizes
his plans
for bring-
ing Louis
in conflict
with the
Danes.

§ 30. The key of Bernard's operations, military and political, was Harold Blaataand's camp, wherever that Camp might be ; and a plot was now organized by the confederate accomplices for the purpose of entangling the King in a direct conflict with the Danes. In these machinations, Bernard the Dane, and the Normans generally,—Bernard de Senlis, and the Vermandois interest,—Thibaut-le-Tricheur and Liutgarda,—and Hugh-le-Grand, all concurred. Hugh-le-Grand entered heartily into the Norman cause, convinced that it would be best for him to renounce all pretensions to Normandy beyond the Seine, and to win the cordial alliance of the Normans, by supporting the House of Rollo. The Normans might have contented themselves with the complete extrusion of the French, accompanied by a solemn renunciation of all the onerous rights in and over Normandy which Louis had usurped or claimed ; but Hugh-le-Grand was peculiarly anxious to make a capture of the King's person. He was labouring for the attainment of a great object which he could not otherwise expect to accomplish, and the language he employed when the design was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, was such, as to shew that he felt himself under obligations to the Normans for the help they gave. And in truth he deserved it.

Sullen tranquillity prevailed. Louis however, well convinced that,—like Thormod the type of the nation,—the crouching Norman would make a spring upon him, should he ever be found off his guard, continued stationed at Rouen watching the state of

affairs so jealously, that when Gerberga for the tenth or twelfth time was again *en gésine* at Laon, he, paying a hasty visit to the bedside, returned to Rouen as soon as the poor feeble baby "Carloman" had been christened. Notwithstanding the briefness of the span of life allotted to the infant Prince, he was destined to be commemorated in an important passage of his father's history.

942-954
944-945

Inasmuch as the success of the whole scheme depended upon the *coup de main* to be accomplished by Harold Blaaland, it was needful, that whilst preparing for the invasion of Normandy, Louis should be furnished with occupation elsewhere, so that he might be compelled to divide his forces, and withdraw from the Norman Capital.—Hugh-le-Grand threw off all reserve. Joined by Bernard de Senlis, the assailants suddenly burst into the ever-harassed Diocese of Rheims. Montigny, that recent re-acquisition so much prized by Louis, was insufficiently guarded; Compiègne, tempting and pleasant, wholly undefended;—and these were the points against which the Confederates first directed their annoying hostilities.—The better day, the better deed.—On Easter Sunday, Montigny was occupied and burnt. They then dashed at Compiègne, breaking open the Treasure-chamber and clearing out the regalia. In a literal sense therefore, Louis was now sceptreless and crownless.—Severe was the loss, yet even more mortifying another insult which he experienced immediately afterwards. When Bernard enjoyed himself at Compiègne, he fancied the King's hounds, and the King's horses, and the King's sporting gear. So Compiègne had to mourn another raid, for Bernard emptied the King's mews, the King's kennels, and the King's stables.

Com-
piègne
twice
plundered.
6 April,
945.
Hugh-le-
Grand and
Bernard de
Senlis burn
Montigny.

This was insufferable.—Louis could not possibly sit quiet at Rouen; and having, as it appears, dismantled certain portions of the fortifications which would assist the Normans in making fight if they ventured to become rebellious during his absence, he collected his forces and entered the Vermandois, which he ravaged cruelly. Archbishop Hugh, whom,—through our long acquaintance with him since his boyhood,—we shall hardly be able to help calling the "Parvulus" to the end of his days, was in possession of Rheims, Artaldus being expelled from See and City. Louis again took up the old quarrel, and having summoned Count Arnoul and Herlouin, he laid siege to Rheims, pillaging Champagne, which, though Saint Remi's Patrimony, was not indulged with any immunity.

Louis
quits
Rouen,
and
marches
against
the confederates.

942-954

§ 31. Whilst Louis, thus enticed away, was compelled to

944-945

Harold
Blaataud
begins the
war of de-
liverance.
Advan-
tages
resulting
to him
from his
position
in the
Cotentin.

waste his strength in an unprofitable expedition, Harold Blaataud began the war of deliverance.—Had Guillaume Longue-épée granted the bold and massy peninsula of Cornouaille to Blaataud with the express intent that the Danish settlement should command all Normandy, he could not have selected a position better calculated to answer that object. The tradition assigning the foundation of “Cæsar’s Burgus” to the Roman Hero may be doubtful, but though the opinion that he there prepared for the conquest of Britain cannot be accepted as an historical fact; it evidences the popular appreciation of the importance possessed by a position, giving the mastery over all the adjoining coasts, whether by land or sea.

Harold
Blaataud’s
head-
quarters
at Cher-
bourg.

The
estuary of
the Dive
entered by
a Danish
squadron.

At Cherbourg, therefore, Harold fixed his head-quarters, whilst a squadron of the Danish fleet assembled at Barfleur, which, during the mediæval period, was one of the most frequented ports of Normandy. The vessels then sailed round to the estuary of the Dive, the stream which divides the Lieuvin from the Bessin, the latter being the district immediately adjoining the Bailliage of Caen.

Great
alterations
on the
coast.

The whole of this coast has sustained great alterations. To the west of the Dive, pirogues and semi-fossilized human bones have been excavated at a depth of more than twenty feet; and, above them, the ploughshare discloses the memorials of comparatively recent generations, coins of the Antonines¹, and other relics, dating from the Empire. It has been calculated that the alluvial soil deposited by the agency of the adjoining rivers, raises the surface of the coarse meadows under which these objects have been discovered, at the rate of about half a foot in each hundred years. The river Dive, now sluggish and narrow, and flowing to the east of the salt-marshes of Corbon,—the latter almost desiccated at present,—then fell into the open sea at Bavent, near Troarn, above Warville. It was up to Bavent that the Danish vessels sailed. The shore has advanced more than ten English miles beyond the points which marked the mouth of the river, so late as the twelfth century. These local details, not unimportant to the geologist, acquire considerable historical value as evidencing the accuracy of the narrative whence they are collected or deduced.

Position of
the Danish
army near
the salt-
marshes of
Corbon.

At Corbon, on the left or western bank of the Dive, in a situation protected by the saltings, but nigh to a convenient ford, the Danish Standard was raised. Bayeux had already received

Harold as a Commander, perhaps as a Sovereign. His advent had been hailed as a general jubilee.—No need to kindle the beacons or send round the summons. From every district and region beyond the Seine the Normans crowded in.—High and low, gentle and simple, peasant and burgess, rich and poor, clerk and clown.—Most profusely were provisions supplied for the welcome deliverers : bread and flesh meat, fish, salt and fresh, brought and carried by skiff and boat, pack-horse and wain.

942-954

944-945

General rising of the inhabitants of the Basse Norman against the French. They support and join the army of Harold.

How accurate were the statements made by Bernard when worrying the perplexed Louis by descanting upon the advantages he had so imprudently cast away ! From the whole of these territories did the inhabitancy rise and rally, from Mortaigne and the Passeis, from the Avranchin, and the wide forest-land of Cinglais, the cradle of so many noble families : but, excelling all the rest, the men of the Cotentin and the Bessin, arrayed in the brightest armour, girt with the sharpest steel. In after times the Normans boasted that amongst the ancestors of their Baronage, you would not have found three, who failed to aid the Danish Harold. Indeed the conflict was national. They were combating for their despoiled Monarch, their lands, their liberties, their honour. Thronging round Harold, they besought him to rescue them from degrading servitude. Their enthusiasm became contagious. Danes and Normans exulted in the expectation, not merely of regaining Normandy, but subjugating the adverse Realm.

§ 32. Thoroughly master of himself, deep in dissimulation, Bernard the Dane, during the whole of these transactions had not manifested any discontent or anger. A good subject to Louis had he been, and a good subject would he be, to the very last. He acted as though he were the only man in Normandy ignorant of the ignominy preparing for him. Feigning great alarm at Harold's approach whilst chuckling with joy, Bernard despatched messengers to Louis, earnestly exhorting him forthwith to furnish succour, or else Normandy would be lost.

Bernard the Dane works upon Louis.

Common fame had prevented the message. All France was shaken. The greatest panic was excited by the invasion of the Pagan army, reported to exceed twenty thousand men ; but the sudden burst of patriotism which contributed so potently to the success of the Battle of the Rescue, far from subsiding, had become an active sentiment. The French accepted the Danish challenge, and were enthusiastically seeking to engage in the war. Louis, the conqueror of Sithric and Thormod, again glowed with

Energy displayed by Louis and the French.

942-954

desire to wield his sword against the barbarian enemy. He exulted in the assured expectation of winning another triumph. He marvelled at their ignorant insolence. Better would it have been for Harold to have attempted to sue for terms when skulking behind the swamps of Hungary, than thus to beard the son of Charlemagne in his own land. No pardon for the Pirate should he be caught : rope and gallows would be ready for him, his fitting reward.

944-945

Powerful
army
assembled
by Louis.

The French fully participated in their Sovereign's ardour. Never had the summons for the *arrière-ban* been more cheerfully obeyed. In the lost Latin chronicle which the Trouveur carefully quotes, ten thousand knights were recorded as having been assembled. Count Herlouin and his brother Count Lambert were the chief commanding officers under the King. And if we assume the number of nobles whom the catastrophe left stiff and cold upon the field, as affording reasonable data for calculating the amount who, bright and hearty, joined the army, it should seem that the whole earldom of France obeyed their Sovereign's call.

Louis
encamps
near
Rouen.

§ 33. Louis went forth to the battle as to a festival. The campaign opened when the weather was of the finest. He marched to Rouen, but he made no stay, and, without entering the City, he advanced rapidly against the enemy, taking his position opposite the Corbon marshes.

Louis
marches
against
Harold.

So formidable was the front presented by the French, that, if the Normans began to doubt whether they might not perish through their own device, their transient timidity would have been excusable. Fair play and an open field, granted to the French, might be Harold's ruin, and there are circumstances slightly indicative of a desire, on his part, for a pause. Neither was Louis quite so bold as he seemed. And, whether seeking to make a shew of magnanimity, or perhaps weighing the consequences which might attend a conflict with the combined forces assembled under Harold, he would not have been quite unwilling to retard actual hostilities. The simple diplomacy of the Middle Ages does not offer the refinements, which, in modern times, characterize that great science of equivocation and tergiversation. But their negotiations were conducted on the same principles ; and we may harmonize the somewhat inconsistent and not always probable narratives, by adopting the conviction that either party was trying to over-reach the other. So far however as the affairs of Normandy were concerned, it is sufficient for us to ascertain that the plot concocted between Harold and

Hugh-le-Grand and the Normans had been most considerably planned and fully answered its end, the desired result being obtained, though not by the exact process which the Parties had proposed. 942-954
944-945

We will not therefore examine whether the proposition for a conference originated with Louis or with Harold. When accepted, each Sovereign maintained his station, and it was therefore agreed that the discussions should, according to the ancient and almost invariable custom, be conducted upon the borders of the stream. The French encampment might be seen spreading and stretching along the eastern bank of the Dive. In their rear, was that fine and fertile mixture of hill and plain extending to the pleasant vicinity wherein the abbey of Valricher was subsequently founded by the devotion of Archbishop Harcourt, old Bernard's descendant. Magnificent was the spectacle exhibited, the tents and pavilions, their stuff fresh from the loom, unfrayed by use, undimmed by rain, their bright colours unfaded by the rays of the Sun in whose light they were for the first time shining. Amidst these thousand tents, snow-white and azure and scarlet, the golden pavilion of Louis, emulating Oriental splendour, arose conspicuous, surmounted by the radiant eagle, the heir-loom of Charlemagne's Empire. An hundred heavy bezaunts counted out on the table would not have equalled the worth of that precious ensign. Never had there been seen a more unsparing display of noble armour, spirited horses, and a more brilliant and imposing army.

The
French
encamp-
ment on
the Dive.

The gorgeousness of the Court was conjoined to martial dignity. The Camp was furnished with all the appliances of luxury. Rich tapestry; silken hangings and chests filled with robes of estate; salvers and beakers, and drinking-horns mounted in gold and silver. The banquets were continued, as usual, until late in the night; and the French were exalted to the highest state of ominous enthusiasm by this last and fatal flash of the expiring Carlovingian glories.

Very different was the sober aspect of their opponents assembled on the opposite bank, around or nigh the salt-marshes of Corbon. No movements had taken place on the part of Harold. There were the mixed hosts of Pagan Danes and Norman Danes, and all the levies of the "Oultre-Seine." Their tranquillity might inspire greater dread than any cry of war.

12 July,
945.

Conference
between
the Danes
and the
French on
the banks
of the
Dive.

The French exulted loudly, yet it may be doubted if their hopes were really so sanguine as the anticipations entertained by the gravely taciturn Danes. Our trusty Trouveur terms the

942-954 conference a "Parliament"; and the Danes fully expected that
 944-945 this same Parliament, commencing with a debate, would terminate
 in a battle. Assuredly, the flowing river severed the antagonistic
 Hosts, and it had been agreed that each Monarch should abide
 on his own border; but we may be certain that the Danes who
 courted the conflict and knew the country well, had fully ascer-
 tained the points and positions where they might most easily
 cross over.

The transactions between the Powers were opened by the
 intervention of their respective representatives. Messages were
 transmitted and answers returned, but conveyed in language so
 intemperate, that the proceedings can hardly be termed negotia-
 tions. The Monarchs mutually exchanged volleys of vituperation.
 Harold upbraided Louis with all his treacheries; neither faith
 nor covenant had Louis kept, never had any King dared to commit
 so foul a wrong or perpetrate such an outrage as Louis, against
 his sworn and faithful liegeman, the murdered Guillaume Longue-
 épée. The proud French Monarch retorted by angry threats:
 Harold, even if he escaped from Normandy, would have reason
 to repent him of his audacity. However, after these silly scoldings
 it was agreed that the conference should be adjourned unto the
 following day, the Kings again to meet on the eastern side of the
 Dive; Harold apparently repairing to Louis as his superior.

Want of
 military
 precaution
 on the side
 of the
 French.

So confident, or rather foolhardy, were the French, that
 Louis, a General, renowned, and justly, for vigilance and strategic
 skill, though in the very presence of a wily and audacious enemy,
 had not thought of adopting any of the ordinary precautions
 which ought to be almost intuitive in a soldier: he had completely
 neglected the examination of the country. The French heeded
 not the vicinity of the rueful ford. No outposts were stationed,
 no scouts sent out, no sentinels set to make the rounds; but, as
 soon as the eve came on, the tables were spread, and the French
 prepared by their usual jollities for whatever the morrow—the
 feast of Saint Eugenius—might bring forth, whether for good,
 whether for evil. Such was not the bearing of their keen enemies.
 With them, "boot and saddle" had sounded ere the faint twilight
 had begun to peer in the verge of the clear and placid horizon.
 At the hour of tierce, whilst Louis and his merry men were still
 deadened by the potency of their wine, Harold and his forces
 had long since crossed the Dive.—Old Bernard also, awaiting the
 deliverers of the Land, had he not been watching to greet the
 bright dawning of the glorious summer-day?

Vigilance
 of the
 Danes.

Firmly and briskly were the Danes advancing, battalion following battalion. No check offered, no obstacle opposed, no challenge given, no alarm sounded. The dank margins, the rushy plashes and the dewy meadows, were silent before them. And Bernard's heart beat high with joy, when in the distance he first saw the armour of the Cotentin Vanguard, glistening and flashing with the marching men's tread, as they met the horizontal rays of the rising sun. The heedless French, overpowered by debauch—for otherwise such a sottish sluggishness is inexplicable—were totally unprepared. Not a soul was stirring. Louis was droning in his bed, and Bernard let him enjoy his slumber : but when the Danes were fast approaching, he roused the King with malicious pleasure.—Sleep on, Sir King, if you choose to sleep, but seven hundred bright helmets are drawing nigh to attend you at your levée.—A hasty gathering of the army ensued,—their royal Commander, sorely dispirited. How ill had he begun the day ! Sure he was that a battle would ensue, and he had a presentiment of impending calamity.

But the die was cast.—And Louis with fated imprudence advanced to the tryst, Harold on the spot near the ford, thoroughly prepared, eagerly expecting him. Great was the following on either part ; Louis, accompanied by Herlouin, Harold's choicest troops surrounding him. The men of the Cotentin stood closest to the Dannerkonge¹ as his body-guard, armed to the very teeth, their shields braced, their lances planted, hardly able to restrain their impatience for the quarrel, or for seizing any opportunity of making a quarrel with the enemy.

In nowise had the Monarchs abated their ire, not a word spoken of peaceful import, no semblance even of friendship : they faced each other as the fiercest foes. Harold re-iterated his accusations against Louis the assassin ; whilst Louis, on his part, expressed his determination that he never would quit Normandy until Richard should have surrendered all claim to the Duchy. Herlouin interfered, and most unseasonably. Amongst the men of the Cotentin there was a knight, who having served under Guillaume Longue-épée, was too well acquainted with the favourite. Embued with the popular enmity against the Count of Montreuil, he angrily reproached the ungrateful Herlouin as the cause of the calamity. Heavy as had been his offence against the dead, still greater was his trespass against the living ; was not he now co-operating against Guillaume's son ?

The words were heard. The slogan was raised. A furious

942-954

944-945

13 July,
945.The Danes
cross the
Dive.Slothful
negligence
of the
French.Herlouin's
impru-
dence
brings on
the catas-
trophe.

942-954 tumult gave the response. Danes and Danish Normans spurred
 up, surrounding the wretch so universally odious to every loyal
 944-945 heart.—The Dane who enjoyed the good fortune of being driven
 closest, grasped his good Poitevin sword, and stabbed the victim
 between the ribs. Herlouin's bowels gushed out, and, death-
 stricken, down he dropped to the ground. Count Lambert,
 infuriated, rushed upon the Danes with his men, slashing away.
 A scuffling butchery ensued. Lambert avenged his brother, but
 was overpowered by numbers. Harold attacked the French with
 his Danskermen. Then joined him the Norman forces. Fore-
 most, the warriors of the Cotentin, whose charge decided the battle.
 The French were dispersed in all directions, seeking safety by
 flight but finding none. Whether in close conflict or skirmish,
 equally were they worsted. Every Danish spear pierced. Every
 Danish arrow hit. Every Danish battle-axe struck home. No
 Frenchman could keep his saddle, the pride of Carlovingian
 France perished before the Dane.

Total
defeat
of the
French
army.

Louis
taken
prisoner
by Harold
Blaatand.

His army thoroughly routed, Louis at full gallop ran away. Harold had eyed him and spied him, and overtaking the fugitive, hugged him, grappled him, wrenched the sword out of his hands, tore the scabbard from his side, pulled off his helmet, and cut the reins of his horse; conquering him and mastering him by mere animal strength, not by prowess or martial skill. Harold then gave the King in charge to a detachment, and returned to the strife; roaring to Louis as he left him, that double the revenues of Normandy should hardly purchase his liberty. The rout became a massacre. Sixteen Counts were killed, and now the victors reaped the bloody harvest. It was for the Danes that the French had brought into camp and strife the steeds and the standards, the bravery and the finery; never again did the Eagle crown the Sovereign's pavilion, or was seen as his harbinger on the march, displayed aloft before him.

The field was scoured by the Danes. The spoil secured. The dead brought out. The foemen stripped. Their own, buried—but where was the King? Thoroughly had Harold triumphed. He had gained the proudest of victories. The Danskermen had beat the French, but Harold had beat Louis man to man—Harold, Harold Blaataand, by tug and grip had made himself the master. His business now must be to realize the prize, and demand the Dane-gelt for the King's ransom: but when he sought for Louis, no Louis was to be found. Louis was gone. Where were his guards? they had disappeared. What had become of the trusty

Escape
of Louis
by the
negligence
of his
guards.

men who had the captive in charge? Alas! they came forth with sorrow and with shame, for it was a sorry tale they told. When the booty-gathering was going on, they feared lest they should lose their share, and so they dropped off three at a time, and two at a time, till at last only one remained, and that one left to himself, and left alone, he abandoned his charge like the rest.

942-954
944-945

So vexed, so thwarted, so angry, so mortified was Harold by thus losing, as it seemed, the whole result of the victory—flower and fruit, trophy and gain, that he was almost crazed. Bernard was equally vexed or more, but he did not lose his wits, he preserved his presence of mind.

Upon the turf Bernard could not trace the horse's hoofs; but human intellectual astuteness helped him better than the sleuth-hound's instinctive sagacity. Careful enquiry soon furnished to Bernard indications, not cognizable by sight or scent, of the direction which the fugitive had pursued. Amongst the Danish army was a Rouen Knight, a man possessing large property near the Seine, a man of mark, owning a splendid mansion, a married man, the father of a family, familiar to Louis, his liegeman, nay, so of old, before Louis entered Normandy. Now, this Knight did not appear either dead or living, his corpse had not been discovered, neither was he rejoicing amongst the victors. Since the battle, he had not returned to his Manoir, and his wife and children were apparently deserted. Bernard felt that he had caught the loose end of the clue. Summoning all his most zealous and active friends and retainers, his troops, heavy and light, occupied both banks of the Seine, he and they incessantly traversing and examining the country all about and around, wood and plain. These searchers, however, were not successful. No trace of the fugitives could be discovered. Bernard's soldiery therefore ravaged the Knight's property, gutted and plundered his house, and then burnt it, and seizing his Lady and the children, they were cast into Bernard's prison at Rouen.

Bernard's
exertions
for the
recapture
of Louis.

Bernard's calculations of probabilities were scientifically correct. The Rouen Knight was really and truly the agent through whom the King had evaded. It should seem that when Louis was left alone he immediately attempted to escape, and jogging on heavily, moved away from the field of battle. But the Rouen Knight had recognized him, and, according to the narrative which, on the whole, we accept as the King's version of his unhappy adventure, galloped up to him, sword in hand, seized the bridle, and made him prisoner.—We may further

942-954

collect, that, in the first instance, the Knight, rejoicing in his capture, determined to make the most ample profit which could be extracted from such a prisoner. Louis appealed equally to the loyalty and the avarice of his liegeman, imploring his pity and promising profusely.

944-945

Made by
which
Louis had
escaped.

These entreaties and offers prevailed, and the Knight, well acquainted with the country, determined to aid the King in his escape, and escort and guide him to a place of safety. But the way was long, the enemy powerful, the soldiery had overspread the country, and therefore the Knight conducted the King to one of the well-wooded islands which adorn the Seine, an island near his mansion, secluded and yet constantly in sight, thicket and tree in full summer leaf furnishing a lair in which the King could lie, help close at hand, though thoroughly concealed from his pursuers.

The
Knight
surrenders
Louis to
Bernard,
by whom
he is cast
into prison
at Rouen.

But the Knight could not hold out any longer under the distress he sustained by the destruction of his property, and the sufferings inflicted upon his wife and children. The Knight surrendered, repaired to Bernard, and cast himself at Bernard's feet, confessing his connivance and imploring mercy. So incensed was Bernard, that the suppliant's life was endangered. The Knight's transgression was, however, effaced by the revulsion of joy with which Bernard was filled when he had recovered the King. The King, squalid, weary, and broken down by anxiety, was dragged out of the bush, treated as a felon, chained and fettered, and placed in custody at Rouen to await his destiny.

945-946
Captivity
of Louis
and its
results.

§ 34. There were three parties vitally interested in the results of the capture.—Harold Blaataand—Bernard and the Normans—and Hugh-le-Grand.—Considered with respect to the advantages which might be touched in money, Harold had unquestionably the strongest claim, whether according to the courtesy of the chase, or the laws of war, or the general principles of jurisprudence. He by his own strength had first bound the beast in his toils.

Conflicting
claims of
Bernard
the Dane,
Hugh-le-
Grand, and
Harold
Blaataand,
to the
custody
of Louis.

Nevertheless no question was ever entirely without a knot, or at least without the possibility of tying one. Louis was now bodily in Bernard's holding; and, had any analogous case been discussed amongst the noisy Sportsmen at their meet, or argued by the Civilians before the Earl Marshal sitting in the court of Chivalry, or mooted as an Exchequer plea to be decided by the Barons, the leading allegation—to wit—that the game, lost in the first instance through the culpable negligence of Harold's keepers, had been recovered by the means of Bernard's diligence and activity,—might have supplied a strong basis for his demand.

Lastly, Hugh-le-Grand could adduce very plausible grounds in supporting his pretensions. He had waged the war for the restoration of the young Richard ; and, chief in rank as well as possessing the most efficient means of safely guarding the prisoner, it was Hugh-le-Grand to whom the Prize appertained, in order that he might best work for the Common Weal.

942-954

945-946

Hugh-le-Grand
entitled
to claim
Louis
as his
captive.

The Norman Rulers assembled themselves in Council at Rouen, summoning Bernard de Senlis to co-operate as Richard's nearest friend. Under the first excitement of success, the idea of the profit to be derived by bargaining for the King's redemption, glanced athwart Harold Blaataud's mind. Du Guesclin would not have disdained the motive : Harold was justified in entertaining it. Moreover, his popularity, superadded to his military resources, would have enabled him to retain, not merely the Cotentin peninsula, but the whole Terra Normannorum.

Harold, trusty and true, withstood all such temptations ; every selfish feeling had passed away, and he simply devoted himself to the cause of Guillaume Longue-épée's son. Making the circuit of the country, Harold took legal possession on the young Richard's behalf. Had Blaataud been Richard's own father, he could not have conducted himself with more affection and energy. In the name of the Duke, he exacted the universal obedience of the Norman people.—Clergy and Laity, Knights, Citizens, and Peasantry, all were required to perform fealty to the absent Sovereign. The fortifications, dismantled or destroyed by the French for the purpose of ensuring the subjugation of the inhabitants, were repaired according to Harold's directions : the breaches built up and the palisades replanted, so as to be fully defensible in case the French should ever again insult the Norman land. He expelled the enemy in every shape ; for, when we are informed that Harold re-established the laws of Rollo, we easily translate the phrase into the fact, that all the agents of the intrusive government were removed. But dangers were impending in the North ; and therefore the wise and honourable Dane, having satisfied his conscience and thoroughly fulfilled his duty towards Normandy, returned home : ready to give help again, should Richard ever require it.

Harold
Blaataud's
magnani-
mity. He
restores
the
authority
of Richard
and
returns to
Denmark.Bernard
and the
Normans
determine
that Louis
shall never
be released
until he
has sur-
rendered
all his
rights
over Nor-
mandy.

§ 35. Harold's abandonment of all the personal advantages which he might have gained, left Bernard and the Normans in the undisturbed possession of the royal Prisoner, and they luxuriated in their vengeance.—Louis, who had assented to the spoliation of their property and the defilement of their wives

942-954

945-946

and daughters,—Louis, the perjured cheat, the tyrant who had betrayed them, baffled them, deceived them, was now in their grasp. Now was the full opportunity presented to them of recovering all that they had lost since the dark day of dishonour, when their Nobles smiled and bowed whilst the French King, triumphing in his paramount supremacy, was graciously granting the *Terra Normannorum* to the half-caste Mamzer. These recollections had assuredly acquired additional bitterness from the consciousness that the degradation was self-inflicted. Had they not in the very presence of their young and helpless Sovereign become the homagers of the intrusive Monarch? It was therefore their firm resolve, that, unless and until Louis consented to relinquish every injurious superiority which he might claim over Normandy, never again should he walk abroad beneath the sky.

The views entertained by Hugh-le-Grand were substantially identical with theirs, or rather comprehended therein. Whilst Hugh's ambition constantly acquired more ardency, he was nevertheless always able to restrain himself, always looking towards the summit, pace by pace, making each footstep sure; never desisting, never hastening, and the long desired goal appeared to be hard by. Few, very few in number were the surviving representatives of the Carlovingian race; and, deepening his designs, Hugh now planned to bring all the throne-capable members of that family into his actual power.

Hugh-le-Grand's plans for bringing the whole royal family into his power.

In the meanwhile, Gerberga, overwhelmed by sorrow though never unnerved, continued safe with her children in the Tower of Laon. Louis had habitually associated Gerberga to himself in the exercise of government, so that, in fact, she was Regent. But Hugh-le-Grand assumed that the authority of the King, instead of being transferred to the Queen, was annulled by the restraint of the dungeon, which cut him off from all intercourse with the outward world. The King's imprisonment was construed as equivalent to civil death. The Duke of all the Gauls therefore comported himself as the Protector of the Realm during the interregnum. He summoned various conventions of the Nobles, amongst whom the Vermandois Princes,—Eudes, and good Albert, and Herbert the handsome, and their connexions,—were pre-eminent. However, he dealt at the same time with the Normans as though they had been working with him and for him, so that when he repaired to Rouen, where he found the King in confinement, he thanked them publicly for their exertions on his behalf.

Gerberga was therefore compelled to sue for mercy, and she did so, not through the intervention of others, but by repairing to the Duke in person, acting therein with the approbation of the Prelates, always the chief Counsellors of the Realm.

942-954

945-946

Pursuant to the Queen's earnest solicitation, Hugh offered himself as a mediator between the Normans and the French, and a conference was held at Saint Clair-sur-Epte, when the negotiations were opened for the King's liberation. Bernard de Senlis came forward also as a peace-maker. But the Normans, prompted by the Duke, refused to entertain any proposition, unless all the King's surviving male children were surrendered as hostages for the performance of such conditions as should be imposed. Gerberga recoiled from this demand. What had been her mind towards the young Richard at Laon?—Interpreting the sentiments of the Enemy by her own, she might well anticipate that the same lethal incarceration which had been devised by herself for the Norman boy, was preparing for the extinction of her own lineage. Therefore, however anxious to obtain her husband's freedom, Gerberga would in nowise part with their elder child, the Crown Prince Lothaire; but she consented that they should take the recently born, the delicate Carloman.

Hugh-le-Grand offers himself as a mediator between the French and the Normans.

A hard trial this, but there was no other remedy. Gerberga's sagacity prevailed; the French Prelates and Nobles cordially agreed with her in resisting the Norman demand, fully estimating the danger of exposing the royal race to destruction. The Normans, (or rather Hugh-le-Grand), then professed that they would be content with the infant, provided some other personages of sufficient importance amongst the French should be substituted for Lothaire. Guido, the Bishop of Soissons, offered himself; Hildegarius, Bishop of Beauvais, also; and several knights and nobles were delivered into their hands.—When the hostages were received at Rouen, lo and behold, the Normans treated the agreement as null. It was not kept, indeed there had not been any intention of keeping it. Instead of liberating Louis, they merely shifted him from jail to jail. He was given over to Hugh-le-Grand, who had concocted the device, for the purpose which Gerberga and the French, guided by their well-grounded suspicions of his perfidy, had, in some degree, been enabled to countermine.

Gerberga having refused to surrender Lothaire, other hostages given in his stead.

Louis fraudulently detained by Hugh-le-Grand and the Normans.

§ 36. Heavy were Gerberga's trials. The power of France was utterly prostrated; neither help nor succour had she at home, yet Laon remained to her as a stronghold, and the lionhearted lady, her firm mind unshaken by calamity or misfortune, sought

Gerberga solicits the aid of Edmund the Magnificent.

942-954

945-946

No ex-
ertions made
by Ogiva
on the
behalf of
her son.

assistance from Anglo-Saxon England and Germany, truly her natural allies, their Kings the kinsmen of her unfortunate Consort and her own. It might have been expected that Ogiva, great Athelstane's sister, Edmund's sister, the sister equally of pious Editha the German Queen,—Ogiva, who had so boldly rescued the babe Louis at the danger of her life—Ogiva, who had so tenderly trained the boy in her paternal home—Ogiva, who had so wisely counselled her son during the first critical years of his reign,—would have co-operated earnestly on his behalf. But, whilst Gerberga's piteous letters are quoted emphatically, we hear nothing concerning the once active Ogiva. Possibly, the proverbial jealousies between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law severed them, even during this season of common affliction; or Ogiva, intent upon her own enjoyments, may have shrunk from any trouble tending to diminish the luxurious ease enjoyed by My Lady Abbess in her Royal Monastery. At all events, Gerberga was left alone in her labour of love, when a dawn of success revived her in her desolation.

Edmund the Magnificent seemed destined to effect a complete renovation of the Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth. Mercia, wholly subdued, the happy contingency of Olave's¹ death had not merely restored Northumbria, but given to the Basileus the whole of England: and, at the same time, the Scottish kings, having acknowledged the supremacy of the English Crown, Edmund's Imperial authority extended over the whole Island. The Anglo-Saxon navy had acquired great efficacy, and Edmund prepared for the rescue of his nephew and foster-brother, employing all the resources of his Realm.

Edmund
promises
help, but
offends
Hugh-le-
Grand by
the haugh-
tiness of
his tone.

An embassy therefore was despatched by Edmund to the Duke of all the Gauls, demanding the King's deliverance. Elated by success, Edmund's message was conveyed in an arrogant tone, injudicious under any circumstances, but gratuitously offensive when addressed to his father's friend and a member of the family. Hugh-le-Grand, on his part, was becoming vain and boastful; he retorted in the same spirit: he cared not for the threats of the Englishmen. If the proud English dared attempt the menaced invasion, they might one day have full cause at home to repent them of their audacity.

This is a memorable passage.—The relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the Gauls had hitherto never been otherwise than very amicable, and the first distinct expression of rivalry between the nations was thus elicited by the communications

exchanged between an English King and the father of the Capetian dynasty. But Edmund had no leisure to justify his words, for the steel of the malefactor was sharpening to shed his blood ; and the Sovereign who seemed destined to renovate the Anglo-Saxon Empire, perished in an ignoble scuffle with an outlaw¹.

942-954

945-946

The help of
Otho also
sought by
Gerberga.

§ 37. Equally encouraging, in the first instance, were Gerberga's dealings with Otho, her aspiring brother. He, so sagaciously combinative in his political views, could not, any more than Edmund, be an unconcerned spectator of the events which were occurring in the Gauls. The Danes who had so often invaded the German land were dangerous neighbours. Charlemagne and his successors had often to maintain, and always to expect, hard collisions with them on the Holstein border. Moreover, the advantages which the Norman vassals of Louis had usurped over their Sovereign might be the source of fresh political contagion ; the restless Slavonians, more encouraged to emulate the examples given by the Northmen, and the Magyars stimulated to fiercer enterprises. We may be amused at the uncouth display of geographical ignorance exhibited by Louis, when he figured to himself the Northmen taking refuge beyond the Hungarian marshes. But the error was grounded upon the clear perception of the truth, that a common feeling against Western Christendom subsisted amongst the Barbarian races, who were all substantially engaged in the widely-waged conflict.

Otho was willing to forget his feuds with Louis. Strange in blood to Charlemagne, yet Charlemagne's successor, Otho, assuming Imperial grandeur, enthroned at Aix-la-Chapelle, ruling all Germany, and advancing towards Italy, was now beginning to comport himself as the Protector of France. Possibly, the offer, hinted or made by Gerberga, that the restoration of Louis, if satisfactorily effected, might enable him to requite Otho's friendship by an irrevocable surrender of Lorraine, encreased his desire to assist his brother. But, for the present, Gerberga was disappointed. Much employment was given to Otho at this juncture by the unruly Bohemians ; grievous trouble fell upon him in consequence of the sainted Editha's death, and the expectations of succour were frustrated. Hugh-le-Grand was therefore fully enabled to avail himself of all the successes he had gained, whether for furthering the cause of the Normans or his own. Throughout these singularly complicated transactions, Hugh-le-Grand and the Normans were in partnership, conjointly interested for profit or loss, for fame or shame.

Otho
unable
to assist
Louis
at this
juncture.

942-954

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945-946

Death of
the babe
Carloman.Hugh-le-
Grand
encreases
the rigour
of the
King's
captivity.

In some degree however, Hugh's position was weakened, and by a cause which no human forethought could have averted. The nefarious schemes which Hugh-le-Grand had astutely formed for the extirpation of the Carolingian race, by possessing himself of all the King's children, had been partially frustrated by Gerberga's resoluteness. Lothaire had never come within the Tyrant's reach, and now the infant Carloman, wrested from the mother's embraces, died. Still, though this collateral assurance was lost, Hugh held the King entirely within his grasp ; and he evinced that consistent inconsistency which characterized all his transactions with his Sovereign. Hugh would not touch a hair of the King's head, but he locked the King's legs in bolts and fetters. Hugh would not secure the Crown for himself, but he despoiled the King of all the means whereby he could recover or assert his dignity.

Hugh's extortionate demands were conveyed in terms of affected conscientiousness and offended feelings. He upbraided the King with his errors, he accused him of want of gratitude. How had the King treated him ?—How great had been the King's imprudence in violating that constitutional compact which had been concluded, when, through Hugh's exertions, he was enabled to resume his ancestral power ? Had the son of Charles-le-Simple followed the counsel of his Protector and Guardian, would he not have escaped the misfortunes which had fallen upon him ?—"I have made thee King, what hast thou given me in return ?"—was the insulting interrogatory addressed by the Jailor to his Prisoner.—"I have given thee Burgundy, and my royal rights in all the Gauls," Louis might have replied :—but Hugh, counting these gifts as nothing, peremptorily demanded the City and Tower of Laon. Louis resisted with the obstinacy of despair. Laon was the sole refuge remaining to his wife and family ; he refused compliance, and, placed by Hugh-le-Grand under the charge of Thibaut-le-Tricheur, he continued steady in his determination during a whole weary year.

A sad and miserable season.—Sleeping or waking, the iron entered into his soul. His thoughts would be of the cell at Saint Médard, prepared to receive him, or he might dream of the dungeon at Peronne, where his father's life and captivity ended. So, at length, the apprehensions of death encreasing upon him, he consented to surrender Laon. Gerberga opened the gates and descended from the rock, and Hugh-le-Grand marched in. The command of the Fortress was entrusted to Thibaut, an

Laon sur-
rendered.
Command
of the
place
given to
Thibaut-le-
Tricheur.

appointment testifying the satisfactory manner in which the Trickster had performed his duty on the Duke's behalf. Additional fortifications were erected, and the Tower and City occupied by a formidable garrison.

942-954

945-946

§ 38. After this tremendous hurricane of desolation, Louis was re-united to Gerberga at Compiègne, a joyous and yet a doleful meeting, their little child dead, friends and nobles slaughtered, the royal honour tarnished, the nation humbled to the dust, Laon, the last stronghold, lost. All things adverse, but, comforted and supported by Gerberga, his spirit confident as ever.

Louis released, he having agreed to Hugh-le-Grand's demands.

It was by Hugh-le-Grand that Louis had been recalled from his exile beyond the sea to occupy the throne. It was through Hugh-le-Grand that the royal authority was bestowed. He had been the means of depriving the heir of Charlemagne of that throne; and he now restored the heir in such a manner as to proclaim, that by virtue of his concession, the Sovereign was to resume his reign: he, Hugh-le-Grand, the arbiter of the fate of King and Kingdom.

Pursuant therefore to the policy which guided him, and at the same time asserting the pretensions he had never concealed, Hugh-le-Grand, again standing forth as Protector, formally "renovated" the King's authority. He did so in the most explicit terms, treating the liberation of Louis from personal and physical restraint as a new accession. This accomplished, Hugh consented to descend into the rank of a subject, being the first to "commend" himself to the King, in which act he was followed by the rest of the Nobles. And thereupon ensued the definitive, and—according to the professed intention of the parties—the final settlement of the relations between the sole Sovereign of the Norman Duchy and the French Kingdom. The sting of all or any of the homages which the "Leader of the Pirates," or the "Son of the Breton Concubine," had performed, was to be taken out, and a perfect reciprocity established between France and the "Norman Monarchy." The Normans delighted in decorating themselves with this title and style, making the State bear testimony to the unity of the Sovereign power.

Hugh-le-Grand "renovates" the Royal authority.

Again, the Epte became the living witness of the compact; and, on her banks, the Potentates met and the Nobles assembled.—Young Richard, fresh, and bright, and fair, his aspect intelligent and acute, his presence royal. Louis, unarmed and in peaceful guise, and Hugh-le-Grand their common Patron.—Where Robert

942-954 Duke of France had stood, there stood his son, directing the solemn ceremony.

945-946
The re-
newal of
compact
between
Normandy
and
France.

Richard
declared
independ-
ent.

The Shrines, so often the accusing witnesses of perjury, were brought forth, and the oath which Louis had taken when trembling at Rouen, was renewed, and in more stringent terms.—That Dominion which Rollo the Grandsire had won by so many battles, Richard shall henceforward have and hold, owing service to none but God.—Should any enemy attempt to disturb the right of the Norman Sovereign, the King of France shall be his help and aid in all things.—No other service shall Normandy render unless the King should grant the Duke some Benefice within the Kingdom of France. Therefore, as it was explained in after-time, the Duke of Normandy doth no more than promise faith and homage to the King of France. In like manner doth the King of France render the same fealty to the Duke of Normandy; nor is there any other difference between them, save that the King of France doth not render homage to the Duke of Normandy like as the Duke of Normandy doth to the King.

The Con-
queror en-
courages
his troops
at the
battle of
Hastings,
by appeal-
ing to the
humilia-
tion of the
French
King.

In these transactions, not recorded on roll or parchment, or confirmed by seal or charter, the Normans gloried, and on the battle-field of Hastings they erected their trophy. For then did William exhort his Normans to emulate those ancestors who had kept the King of France in ward and bond, until he had restored the young Richard to his land, and submitting to the condition (imposed as a penance), that whenever the King and the Duke should meet in pacific conference on the Border, the Duke should stand forth girt with his sword, whilst the King should present himself wholly disarmed, not having even a scrape-trencher blade or whittle-dagger, hanging by his side.

The covenant was rendered national.—First swore the King. Prelates, Bishops, Counts, and Barons were called over, name by name, to give the like confirmation. Hugh-le-Grand followed the clergy, foremost amongst the secularity, and then, the nobles and the knighthood of the realm; but a clenching security was to be given, the same as had been given to Rollo. In the presence of King Louis and by his direction, Hugh-le-Grand and his Baronage, and also the Norman Nobles and the Breton chiefs, renewed to the Duke of Normandy their pledges of service and amity.—Richard was conducted with surpassing pomp to Rouen; and thus did they three separate,—Richard, a Ducal Monarch; Hugh, a King without a crown; and Louis, a King without a Kingdom.

§ 39. The well-spring most distant from the river's mouth does not invariably deserve the Pilgrim's visit, when he seeks to venerate the source of the stream. Though furthest up in the course according to map-measure, the rill may in fact be merely a feeder : such as would have disappeared in the soil, had it not been conducted as a contributor to the flowing current issuing from the real watershed on loftier ground. In the hierarchy of human glory the Founder of a State shines in the most exalted sphere ; yet it is not necessarily the Warrior whose right hand laid the first stone of the walls, or the Hero whose left foot first landed him upon the shore, by whom that transcendent honour should be claimed. Progress is ever a complex process ; growth, ever the result produced by continuous impulses ; mutually independent, yet inseparable, each partial, all indispensable. He who waters could have done nothing without him who plants, nor he who plants without him who waters.

942-954
945-946
Which is
the real
Founder of
the State?

But, whether in the supernal or the nether world, the world of spirit or the world of matter, the universal scheme of causation overwhelms our powers of conception : all moral and physical agents, the desires of the heart and the winds of heaven, being alike the instruments fulfilling the Lord's eternal will.

It is not however merely consonant to our natural inclinations, but most helpful for the co-ordination of the recollections, which, manwards, constitute history, that we should canonize some one individual as the Founder of the State. And, perhaps, if we consider the doctrine in its full breadth and depth, seeking to assign that pre-eminence to the Leader who, so far as we are enabled to distinguish, was pre-doomed to be the more special instrument in executing the Divine decree, we should say, Peter Michaeloff¹ rather than Ruric² ; Numa in preference to Romulus. —The Sage, or the Fortunate, or the Bold, who established and effected the political and moral conformation of the State, rather than him, who, numbered first in chronological sequence, appears at the head of the Fasti or the Dynasty. The stem of the Norman Dukes ascends from Rollo, but, it is Richard-sans-Peur whom we must accept as the first organizer of the Norman Duchy ; nay, through that Duchy, as the Parent of the British Empire. During Richard's long reign, and through his acts, the Normans became imbued with that peculiar energy, which distinguished them ever afterwards so long as they retained a national existence. By Richard's deeds and doings the Duchy was fashioned and framed.

Richard-
sans-Peur
to be con-
sidered as
the real
Founder of
the Duchy
of Nor-
mandy,
not Rollo.

942-954

This most successful and magnificent experiment had commenced with the renunciation or dissolution of all the antient engagements subsisting between Normandy and the Carolingians, in place whereof was substituted the recent illusive compact, whereby a mere honorary supremacy was reserved to the French Crown.

945-946

Formation
of the
national
character
of the
Normans
principally
due to
Richard-
sans-Peur.

After these transactions, succeeded, as we shall, ere long, have occasion to narrate, that new connexion with the House of Robert-le-Fort, which, in process of time, enabled the Norman Duke to write himself Premier Temporal Peer of France, highest amongst the Nobles of the Monarchy. His people rose with him. It was through the institutions introduced or devised by Richard, and which his personal influence vivified, that the rude agglomeration of Danes and of half-Danes, and men of the Romane tongue, acquired their distinct and homogeneous national character. Had it not been for Richard-sans-Peur, never could the son of Tancred de Hauteville¹ have engraved the vaunting epigraph upon his sword,—“*Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer*,”²—never could William the Bastard have won the field of Senlac.—It was Richard’s plastic talent which raised those Normans, whose vigour, infused into the fainting Anglo-Saxon race, has girdled them round the globe.

945

Richard’s
triumphal
entry into
Rouen
after his
liberation.

§ 40. Gloriously was the young Richard restored to his own country and his own people, he, rejoicing in their affection, they, exulting in his prosperity. A splendid array of Chieftains and Nobles, Normans, Bretons, and Frenchmen, escorted him from Saint Clair-sur-Epte.—But, when he approached his own City, and drew nigh the Porte Beauvoisine, that eloquently silent record of so many mutations and misfortunes, the stately cavalcade was absorbed by the thickening multitude—crowds heaping upon crowds, in the very denseness of suffocation:—clergy and laity compressed into one vast moving mass,—all notions of dignity or regular order lost in the tumult of thankfulness.

Richard was borne away by the living stream into the Cathedral: his Father and his Grandfather were lying there, and, in that Quire had he been acknowledged as their successor. And he knelt before the high altar, and he and his subjects prayed, that he might be enabled to govern the country justly and peaceably, as he should give account at the great Judgment-day. And then, proceeding to the Palace, he entered upon the exercise of that authority to which he had been almost miraculously restored.

So rich is our Norman history in events, so various and manifold the succession of incidents, that even to me myself,—*moy l'escri-vain*,—it seems a very long time since I have had to tell you about Richard's birth at Fécamp.—How old do you suppose Richard was when he re-entered Rouen?—Make him as old as we can, he cannot have been older than thirteen years of age—indeed hardly so old. But, called upon by necessity to perform the duties which had devolved upon him, the sharp, clever boy appears suddenly matured into full intellectual maturity.

942-954

945-946

Age of
Richard at
the time of
his resto-
ration to
authority.

“Years of discretion”: how vague is the import of that term!—Nature, in a manner, prescribes a period; yet, when defined by rule, the line of demarcation becomes evanescent or hypothetical. The thoughtless, beardless spendthrift may commence his debauch on the eve of his natal day, unable to perform any valid act concerning his estates; let him, however, awaiting the chime, grasp the dice-box in his hands, and he becomes fully competent to play them away, from the instant that the stroke of the midnight clock has sounded. We must not be startled at the uncontrolled assumption of authority by Richard, neither at the species of metamorphosis which the lad suddenly sustained. Our antient English Constitution ignores, theoretically, the possibility of a Sovereign's infancy. In the judgment of the law, the monarch is never a minor or under age, but born in full perfection. It is only pursuant to Parliamentary statutes, comparatively modern, that a King remains in a state of pupillage until eighteen; whilst the precocity of the female sex is acknowledged by investing the Queen with full possession of her regal functions two years earlier.—The ripening Heiress of the Crown wields the sceptre at the age when her meanest maiden cannot of her own free will contract the matrimonial vow.

Majority
and
minority.Theory
of the
majority
of Sovereigns.

Other examples of such a development accompanying the early acquisition of supreme power are noticed in history. This phenomenon may be reverently accepted as a special Providence; yet, when viewed by us, beheld only as working through the inevitable impress given to our fallen nature by circumstances over which we have no control. The talent exhibited by Richard, is simply a salient example of the process, whereby each child of Adam obtains the conception of moral personality, concurrently with the earliest dawn of reason. We receive our first objective knowledge of good and evil, and learn our relations to others and theirs to ourselves, not by intellect, but by instructive sympathy,—the hiccuping drunkard's reel, the blasphemer's clenched fist,

942-954

945-946

the low-murmured blessing, or the knee bent in prayer.—The infant Princess, pure as the morning May-dew, intuitively gracious, who has breathed the atmosphere of homage since the moment when she first gazed upon the light, who may not adventure for delicateness to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, presents her plump little hand to be kissed, from the perfumed lap of the silken-robed matron : whilst the beggar's hollow-eyed starveling brat, with pitiful eagerness, stretches out her long, stringy, scurfy arm, over her frowsy mother's ragged shoulder, clutching at your proffered half-penny,—that filthy copper, which no born lady would touch with a pair of tongs.

Historians used to be profuse in bestowing encomiums upon Sovereigns ; homages quite *de rigueur*, just as they were accustomed to flow from the pen of the florid Herald poetizing the preamble of the peerage patent, or his rival the droning Chaplain groaning the funeral sermon. We have generally abandoned these modes of dispensing laudation, or, at least, we do the needful to the living, with more tact and delicacy.

Richard's
personal
and mental
gifts, edu-
cation and
talents.

Richard, however, honestly deserved the popular praises he received :—a splendid specimen of his noble race, robust yet delicate, his complexion clear, his eyes beaming, and his handsome countenance decked by his golden hair. Many members of his family abused or neglected their intellectual gifts : yet, we can hardly name any amongst Rollo's flourishing progeny undistinguished by talent, excepting the few, who disappear so speedily or mysteriously as to deprive us of sufficient acquaintance with them. And those innate talents were always fostered and aided by considerate and careful rearing. This zeal for the promotion of mental cultivation became the most precious amongst the family traditions. No one father amongst the Dukes of Normandy is liable to the censure of having wilfully neglected the secular education of his offspring. We have seen how sagely Rollo had taken thought concerning Guillaume Longue-épée, and how Guillaume Longue-épée had been equally mindful of and for our Richard. However unforeseen the misfortunes and persecutions which fell upon the child, the scheme elaborated by parental affection, and the sufferings inflicted by an inveterate enemy, had each respectively co-operated in preparing Richard for the tasks he was destined to perform, and enabled him to blend the Norsk and the Romane elements into an harmonious unity.

Care
bestowed
by the
Norman
Dukes
upon the
education
of their
children.

Fortune helped, where prudential foresight might have failed.—Possibly, the predilection evidently manifested by Guillaume

Longue-épée on behalf of the Danish ethos, might, when trans- 942-954
mitted to his son, have become so exaggerated as to impede the
thorough incorporation of Normandy into the Romane common-
wealth, had not that heathen tendency been corrected by the 945-946
captivity which the young Richard sustained. Truly had the
words been fulfilled which Louis spake with false intent, when he
insisted upon the advantages which would result from the young
Richard's instruction amidst the courtesies of his palace : for, it
was at Laon that Richard became perfected in all those accomplish-
ments which he could not elsewhere have acquired.

All these external means of improvement were aided and
fructified by a good disposition, a kindly manner, a liberal
sentiment, supple activity, sturdy strength and practised
dexterity. Excelling, he delighted in the huntsman's sports and
in all gentle games, bones, or chess, or tables, and in every bodily
exercise, athletic or warlike, the foot-race or the gallop, single-
stick or thwack-stave, spear or sword.

§ 41. Richard's Court and household, from the nature of things, could not fail to become a rough, dissipated, and joyous assembly. Normandy yet abounded with the coarse-grained sturdy Danes, very diverse in character and bearing from Rollo's Romanized chieftains,—such as sagacious Botho,—who had formed themselves during the first settlement. But French civility was, however, unquestionably penetrating amongst the younger branches of the more opulent Norman families : whilst, at the same time, very many individuals belonging to the inferior classes, rose or forced themselves into influence and power.—As yet, there did not exist any hard-marked line of demarcation between the Noble and the Roturier. Low birth did not oppose any obstacle to Ducal patronage and favour. The full development of the aristocratic principle was retarded until the subsequent generation.

Richard's
Court and
household
—joviality
and extra-
vagance.

Guillaume Longue-épée, at the fair-weather commencement of his reign had a good word from everybody,—not so at its conclusion. But the young Richard, who also began by having a good word from everybody, retained the general affection during the whole of his long life. Bountiful in the extreme, all classes shared his comprehensive liberality, clerks and clergy, chevaliers and chivalry, every one having a chance of being the better for coming in Richard's way. Trains of young knights were harboured in the Ducal Court ; merrily also did the minstrels rejoice there, rote and rebeck sounding ;—and, to the poor and needy, what

Richard's
universal
bounty
towards
all classes.

942-954 store of food and victuals, distributed with the most unsparing
hand !

945-946

Richard's
favourites
and
friends.

Thus Richard-sans-Peur started ; but his exuberant dispenditure speedily received a check. Richard, when he began to rule, was steadily and sagaciously guided and directed by those, who, having so faithfully protected him during infancy and youth, had also reinstated him in his dominions ; Bernard de Senlis, and Bernard the Dane, Osmund de Centvilles, and Yvo de Belesme, all of whom enjoyed his friendship so long as they lived. And, when the old men passed away, Richard bestowed his highest confidence, and most deservedly, upon Raoul, Count of Ivri, his half-brother, his mother's son by Sperling the rich miller. Besides these, we may be certain that the great landholders were energetic in supporting the interests and courting the favour of the young and ductile Prince, whilst his coevals, of every degree, would most willingly muster under a master so germane to them.

Raoul
Torta—his
usurpation
of the
Ducal
revenue.

But there was one personage about the Court virtually above them all, detested by all, from the scullion upwards to the sovereign, and this was Raoul Torta.—“ Be it better, be it worse, be ruled by him who rules the purse,” is the expression of a social law, universal upon earth as the law of gravitation.—Possessed of the purse, and tying the purse-strings as tightly as tight could be, Raoul Torta kept every member of the State in subjection, for most eminently was the prepotent Seneschal supported by the all-commanding power of money. King Louis was expelled, but Raoul, through whom the French King had earned so much obloquy, remained at Rouen, firm as ever, in the position he had acquired during the foreign ascendancy. Since the death of Guillaume Longue-épée, Raoul had been Normandy's manager, nay, a species of independent governor ; and young Richard, to use the legal phrase, could not obtain livery of his inheritance, for Raoul retained the whole usufruct in his own hands.

Raoul
Torta
usurps
the Ducal
property.

Raoul
Torta's
economy.

Raoul was tenant in possession of the ducal domains, Raoul received the Duke's rents, Raoul reaped the Duke's corn, mowed the Duke's meadows, milked the Duke's cows, rode the Duke's horses, sheared the Duke's flocks, stuck the Duke's pigs, and slaughtered the Duke's beeves. Sparing might have been excused, but Raoul's stinting was intolerable. The prisoners, deprived of their accustomed doles, starved in the gaol ; the knights lost their pay ; and, rote and rebeck silenced, the mournful minstrels wandered disconsolate, lacking their usual guerdon. Thus was

the Court reduced to penury ; and, if we accept the expressions employed by historians literally, the sum allowed by the Minister of Finance to the young Duke Richard out of his Ducal Treasury, for the support and maintenance of himself and his whole household, was ultimately reduced to eighteen sous per diem, or, as some authorities assert, twelve. If, during the French usurpation, Raoul Torta had rendered himself hateful to the villainage, he now incurred the peril of becoming infinitely more odious to the higher classes. All ranks and parties coalesced for the purpose of effecting his expulsion. It has been surmised, and not without some appearance of probability, that in the main, Raoul Torta sought to be a faithful administrator. His conduct, according to this view, was honest and conscientious :—Raoul earnestly desired to husband the Ducal revenues, particularly since, as his partizans might plead, he laboured under the apprehension that the resources of the State would be exhausted through the extravagancies of the youthful Richard's boon associates, and that the offence he gave resulted simply from his adherence to principle.

942-954

945-946

Raoul
Torta
reduces
the ex-
penditure
of the
Court.Enmity
excited by
Raoul
Torta.

However, such was not the opinion entertained either by the monarch or the majority. Raoul Torta's fall was decreed. Normandy must cast off the incubus, yet not by violence, and proceedings were conducted in judicial form. Richard convened his Lieges, and made careful enquiry into the extent of his rights. The Treasurer, it was alleged, had juggled himself into the possession and exercise of all the property as well as the power which appertained to the Sovereign ; not merely destroying the Duke's influence, but bringing him to shame. Raoul was solemnly summoned to appear before the Duke, and answer for his misdeeds. Whether trusting in his own rectitude or struck by terror, Raoul endeavoured to gain time by delay, and humbly implored the Duke's mercy. Richard did not peremptorily reject the supplication. Raoul was the head of a formidable faction ; it suited Richard's purpose to temporize : and, for this reason, the defendant was peremptorily ordered to quit Rouen, repair to a hamlet about a league off, and there abide his judgment. Richard declared, that, should any show of resistance be manifested on the part of the fallen Minister or his adherents, he would invoke the aid of all his subjects and allies. Raoul Torta dared not stand his trial ; he fled from Normandy, and, taking refuge at Paris, placed himself under the protection of his father the Bishop, nor did he ever return to plague the Normans again.

Richard
impeaches
Raoul
Torta,
who is
banished
from the
Duchy.

942-954

§ 42. Amongst the untruths which insinuate themselves into

945-946

Popular
epithets
of Sove-
reigns,—
injurious
moral
effect
produced
by them.

the very marrow of history, few are more detrimental to truth than the epithets vulgated upon Sovereigns. Show the Tiger as the beast who alone would have supplied an appropriate emblem for *Richard Cœur-de-lion*. The real temperature of the love inspired by *Louis le bien aimé*¹ would have been marked somewhat below the freezing point; and, as for *Louis le désiré*², who more glad than the French to be rid of him.—With respect to the prostituted epithet of the *Great*, count on your fingers the names of the few Rulers who have earned this denomination honestly and righteously before God and man.—Will Prussia ever be enabled to expel the poison she has imbibed from “*Friedrich der Grosse*”³?—Nay, even “good Queen Anne”⁴ has no peculiar claim to that adscription of benignity, which possibly arose in the first instance, from a confused reminiscence of the Bohemian Queen⁵.

Richard—
why called
“Sans-
Peur.”

Richard enjoyed the reputation of being an ardent lover of adventure, constantly in search of the excitement which danger afforded,—a very dare-devil, like his grandson, the Conqueror’s father. It was believed he could see in the dark, and many a tale is related concerning him, full of grotesque horror.—How,—for example,—when watching during the dark hours in the way-side oratory, grim and ghastly rose the dead man from the bier, and how the Demon-possessed corpse, wrestling with the Duke, was thrown and stilled by his antagonist’s nerve and power. Hence the traditional appellation by which we have distinguished him throughout this history. Yet scarcely more than one single deed is definitely or distinctively recorded concerning Richard, fairly justifying the epithet “*Sans-Peur*”; nor are any examples of military prowess ascribed to Richard, exceeding the usual average of knightly hardihood.—If, therefore, we are to suppose that any particular exploit was so prominent as to confer upon him the designation of “Fearless,” we are driven to the necessity of electing between the combat with the Vampire and the undaunted resolution which enabled him to plan and perfect the sudden and final expulsion of an over-masterful Minister⁶.

Certainly, this bold and determined coup d’état exercised the most decided influence upon the popular mind, and it is specially commemorated by the family historian as having produced such effect,—“*videntes autem Seniores Normannice, quod tam prudenter exterminasset principem malitice, timuerunt eum valde.*”⁷—Henceforward, Richard’s terror was always upon the Norman nation;

no one dared to contest his authority; and, his absolute sovereignty being unchallenged, his power encreased, so to speak, day by day. 942-954

§ 43. Here, however, let us pause, and re-examine, more particularly, the social and political station of those three personages in whom, at this eventful crisis, we are most interested. 945-946
All alike, kings; all, wearing a king-like semblance, yet none completely so.—Young Richard, the King without the royal title; Hugh-le-Grand, the King without a crown; Louis, the King without a kingdom.

Richard—
his triumphant
position.
"The
Norman
mon-
archy."

First, as to our story's present Hero. The Duke had recovered his Duchy, and the Duchy her political station, whilst the most satisfactory reciprocity was restored between the Carolingian realm and the Norman "Monarchy." Nothing had been conceded by Richard beyond that honorary precedence which the crowned and anointed Sovereign had a right to demand. And, indeed, the Normans could reasonably maintain, that the abandonment made by the French of their pretensions, was only an act of justice. The condition of military service imposed upon the Danes, might be construed as the covenant of an ally. Rollo, whilst acknowledging, however contemptuously and ungraciously, the ceremonial distinction due to the successor of Charlemagne, held his land in perfect freedom;—that noble Terra Normannorum and all Armorica, from the stream-dividing eyot whereon he stood, even unto the furthest western shore.—The Neustrian territory had passed from King Charles to Rollo-Robert as his allodial March-Land; and then, Rollo-Robert, as a man, came back to the King.

The Norman diplomatists would further argue that the homages rendered and broken by Guillaume Longue-épée did not prejudice the independence of their State, even admitting the acts to have been in some degree binding upon the individual's honour. Guillaume Longue-épée's vacillating conscience induced him to seek the "renovation" of the dignity; but, when the young Richard, Rollo's heir in the second degree, was conducted before Louis, and received the humiliating re-grant of his father's dominion, the act was instigated by those who were liable to the condemnation of having abused the authority, which their Sovereign's helpless infancy gave them. Even if exonerated from the charge of corruption, they had, at all events, reprehensibly neglected Richard's interests and their own.

Construc-
tion of the
previous
homages
rendered
to Louis.

But the false step had been completely retraced. No earthly superior could now claim obedience from Richard: his, was the "Terra Normannorum"—a free and allodial Sovereignty; he, Normandy
a "Mon-
archy"—
Richard
governs as
a King.

942-954 Duke Richard, governing his monarchy as a King.—*Tenet, sicut Rex, monarchiam Northmannicæ regionis*¹.—This phraseology must
 945-946 not be slighted as the unmeaning effusion of an affected grandiloquence. The terms, so employed, were dictated by a consistent train of thought. Richard's nobles, his advisers, his people, rejoiced in proclaiming his quasi-royal title, insisting upon his regal rights; and, as they deemed, always in season.

Predilec-
tion of the
Normans
for the Mo-
narchical
principle.

The enhancement of monarchical authority amongst the Romane populations in the Gauls, has survived through all chances, changes, ages, and revolutions. It is a constant phenomenon. Licence may have been agreeable to the Normans, but, we shall be disappointed, if we expect to discover amongst the ancestry of the Conqueror's baronage, any strong affection for constitutional liberty, in the modern sense of the term. By exalting Richard, and rendering him by their worship the centre of the political system, they obeyed their guiding doctrines of state-unity and territorial indivisibility.—Possibly also, the employment of the term "Monarch," may have been connected with the imperial principle, so eagerly accepted throughout the mediæval States, that the Sovereign was, or ought to be, sole lord of the soil.

Obedience
rendered
to Richard
by Alain
Barbe-
torte
and the
Bretons.

Whilst the Terra Normannorum was thus condensing into the Duchy of Normandy, Richard rightly assumed the title of "*Comes Northmannorum et Britonum*."² Turbulent Armorica submitted to the young Duke's suzerainty without effort, or rather rejoiced when she could rest in subjection. Alain Barbe-torte, quieted, or perhaps tired out, by long-continued exertions, now began to lean upon his ponderous club instead of wielding it. Subsequently to the Danish invasion, Alain's matrimonial concerns, his unedifying conduct towards his wrinkled wife³, the Angevine Princess, his marriage with her successor Gerberga, Thibaut-le-Tricheur's daughter—but, worst of all, his amours with the Lady Judith,—are the only incidents recorded concerning him. Generally speaking, the Bretons who had so cordially joined in renewing their homages at Saint Clair-sur-Epte, yielded with equal gladness their implicit obedience to Richard; the younger folk being especially ambitious of his favour, and reckoning his protection as an honour. We shall not in anywise attempt to re-open that much vexed question concerning the tenure of Brittany, but, as an historical fact, it must be recollected that the supremacy of Normandy, though sometimes questioned, was never cast off.

§ 44. Turn we next to the proud crownless king, the prouder because he repudiated the diadem.—From Paris, Hugh-le-Grand's Capital, his authority overshadowed the Realm.—From Paris northward to the Somme, and beyond the Somme; from Paris southward to the Loire, and beyond the Loire, to that narrow Vigenne whilome choked with Danish corpses; from Paris eastward, climbing up the Jura ranges; and from Paris westward, till you reached the Norman and Breton boundaries and Marchlands,—the greater part of the antient *Francia Romana* sought Hugh-le-Grand as patron, dreaded his power, deprecated his anger, courted his favour, owned him as master.

942-954

945-946

Hugh-le-Grand—
extent of
his do-
minions.

We cannot distinctly delineate the continuous frontiers of all Hugh-le-Grand's dominions. Occasionally, they were enclavures or fragmentary. But, if we seek to describe them in more strict geographical terms, (these terms themselves being, nevertheless, for want of information, somewhat vague and indefinite,) we should say, following the most competent investigators, that they may be grouped as follows.—The Duchy of France, including the Counties or Duchies of Paris and of Orleans, the Vermandois, the Pays Chartrain, and Blois and Chartres.—Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and the Gatinois.—The Beauvoisis, and much of the Amiennois.—The Pays de Sologne—the threshold of the Midi,—and the whole of Burgundy,—Langres, Avalon, and Dijon, Burgundian Dukedoms three, and the County of Mâcon. Peculiarly distinguished, however, amongst all these wide possessions, was the acquisition which Hugh-le-Grand had so recently made, the Laonnais and the tall Tower of Laon, the latter, a fulcrum of power by its material strength, yet far more formidable as an organ of moral influence,—that huge trophy, rearing her crest so high in the sky, signalling how the son of Robert-le-Fort had triumphed over his masters.

Enumera-
tion of the
Countries,
&c. sub-
jected to
Hugh-le-
Grand.

Proprietor, Protector, Inheritor, or Usurper, Lord, Landholder, Abbot, Abbacomes, Count Abbot, Seigneur, or Suzerain, the strictly legal extent of Hugh-le-Grand's royalties might vary; but the recent concessions extorted from Louis, the charters by which Hugh-le-Grand was created Duke of all the Gauls, supported practically by the energy of the Ruler, in addition to any other sources or bases of title, levelled all conflicting rights or pretensions, and few were the attributes of sovereignty which Hugh-le-Grand had to desire.

§ 45. Last of all in the group stands Louis.—Humiliated, insulted, despoiled,—you might fancy the squalor of the prison

942-954

945-946

Louis—his
resolute
spirit.Hugh-le-
Grand—his
political
situation
much
affected
by the
restoration
of Nor-
mandy.Hugh-le-
Grand's
present
family.
Hugh
Capet and
Emma.

yet steaming from his garments. The drear story of his degradation and misery eaten into his flesh. His limbs indented by the blue bruises of the fetters. Not a single fortress whose walls could defend him; not a mansion where he could be sheltered, except melancholy, dilapidated, empty, silent, lifeless Compiègne. The treasure vault open, no yelp in the kennel, no lure in the mews, no litter in the stable. His reputation damaged by the disclosure of his faithlessness and cruelty, but far more by his failures. Yet, with the affectionate, active indomitable Gerberga by his side, not one whit of his aspirations had Louis abated; his hope as ardent as when he bounded on Boulogne's shore.

§ 46. The restoration of Normandy, this vigorous Commonwealth flourishing in the midst of the decaying realm, affected no one more intimately than Hugh-le-Grand. Normandy,—Britanny being always taken as appurtenant,—commanded all Hugh's Duchy of France. It was evident that King Robert, Hugh's father, originally contemplated obtaining support from Rollo, but Guillaume Longue-épée, Rollo's son, proved to be a dangerous rival. Had Hugh made good his footing in Normandy by virtue of his alliance with Louis, he would unquestionably have speedily subdued the whole Terra Normannorum on this side the river Seine; probably also the greater part of Normandy *Oultre-Seine*, and the Duchy of France would have been rendered round and sound. But that opportunity was entirely lost,—Normandy had manifested her strength, Hugh-le-Grand found he could not pursue the contest against her, and his most prudent policy would be to avail himself of such support as he could gain by connecting the Norman fortunes with his own.

Hugh's views and schemes, his heart and his soul, were all bent upon securing for his boy the Crown which he himself dreaded to wear. That burly boy still continued Hugh's only son,—and the son and the sire remained, as yet, the only male representatives of Robert-le-Fort, the lineage so often declining, but never dying. A daughter, however, had also been born unto Hugh. Whether older or younger than her brother we know not. We could not keep Emma's *fête* if we would, for when the little damsel came into the world, the event appeared so uninteresting, that no French Chronicler thought it worth his while to breathe a word concerning her. But Emma had now become a personage of importance. Such are the praises bestowed upon her beauty, that, allowing the utmost latitude for adulation, we must needs

suppose she was more of a girl than a cradle-baby. And Hugh's steadiness of purpose having dictated to him the expediency of abandoning, once and for ever, all plans tending to the direct appropriation of Normandy, his acute political perceptions also revealed to him, that, for ensuring the fortunes of the young Capet, far more advantageous would it be to command the Norman Duke's friendship, than rule over a whole nation of recalcitrant subjects, who could neither be coerced nor persuaded against their will.

No danger could be so threatening to Hugh as any contingency which, after his death, might place his young family within the French King's power. Many distressing anxieties clouded the prospect, but the general outline of the chances presented by the future was clear. The enormous dismemberment of France, created through Hugh's own domination, would ultimately necessitate a great political catastrophe. King Robert's reign must return. Either the Duchy of France must be re-united to the Crown of France, or the Crown of France must be re-united to the Duchy of France,—upon no other condition could the Monarchy stand.

942-954
945-946
Import-
ance of
Normandy
to Hugh-
le-Grand.

Perplexi-
ties of
Hugh-le-
Grand
as to the
future.

Other interests were, however, also to be considered. So far as consanguinity exercised any influence, Otho and Otho's children would, supposing the sentiments of family affection continued unaltered, be attracted equally to Louis and his children, and to Hugh and his children. But, it was impossible, that such a Mahomet's-coffin state of suspension could be permanent; and the conflict between the antagonistic forces—the sacred ancestral right of the antient line, assailed by the vigour of the new,—constitutes the last act in the sorrowful, yet majestic, drama of the Carlovingian history.

Under these circumstances, Normandy acquired great importance: Normandy might decide the contest between the rising and the declining dynasties. Normandy, with the appendant Brittany, were as buttresses supporting the Duchy of France. In the *Languedoc*, beyond the Loire, Richard's partizanship would possibly also avail, for though his brother-in-law, the Count of Poitou, Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe, had been compelled to acknowledge Hugh-le-Grand's superiority, still it was a recognition which grated against the grain. Robert-le-Fort, and the family of Robert-le-Fort, and the descendants of Robert-le-Fort, were odious throughout the southern Gauls; and Normandy could menace or persuade these flourishing regions.

Nor-
mandy's
encreasing
political
power.

942-954

Dangers
 nevertheless to
 which
 Richard
 was ex-
 posed from
 Arnoul and
 Thibaut,

945-946

If Hugh-le-Grand was perplexed for the future, neither could Richard nor Richard's friends avoid entertaining gloomy apprehensions. In the first place, Flanders menaced him incessantly. Bernard the Dane and Bernard de Senlis were equally conscious, that such protection as they, living, afforded to their young Prince, could not endure long. Arnoul, haunted by the bloody vision of Picquigny,—the bleeding corpse stretched on the swampy sward,—was incessantly bent upon preventing vengeance by vengeance. The Marquis of Flanders would assuredly persecute Richard to the end of his life; and he was so singularly vigorous, that it seemed as though he defied the ordinary chances of mortality.

Moreover, the old family feud was rankling. Thibaut-le-Tricheur was tormented by envy at Richard's good fortune. Liutgarda's spite against her step-son continued encreasing. Even if he had not been in her husband's way, she would have hated him for the very sake of hating.

and from
 France and
 Germany.

France and Germany were frowning.—Louis, and more than Louis, Gerberga, boldly and yet warily, watching the opportunity, should any arise, of damaging or ruining the son of the Breton Concubine, the Pirate's bastard.

Odium
 attached to
 Richard on
 account of
 his Danish
 ancestry.

Lastly in the hostile array, Otho, jealous as ever of the Normans, fearing and detesting them, albeit Christians, no less than he would have done when they were yet Black Danes. Richard never could be purified from the stain of his Danish blood. Though in the third generation, Richard had inherited Rollo's obloquy. The French reckoned backwards to his hideous grandsire, and sneered at his courtesy and his bravery. The Pirate was not admitted *ad eundem* in the Romane Commonwealth; for though as fluent a "*latiner*" as any Frank could be, yet, was not the Dansk to him as a mother tongue? Richard had obtained a grand position; but if the Norman Duke owed no subjection, neither could he command any aid. Whether socially or politically, Richard wanted a Wife and a Suzerain.

Amongst all the convulsions and disorders of the times, there existed throughout France an anxious yearning for the preservation of organic unity. Borrowing from our neighbours an incongruous expression, which, like many contradictions in terms, performs a duty refused by the rigid orthodoxy of linguistic accuracy,—the Civil Hierarchy was deficient in systematic regularity.—Titles of dignity were vaguely applied or assumed,

nor was there any settled scheme of graduated subjection : yet, 942-954
it was held as a normal principle, that no individual ought to live 945-946
at large amongst the People, but that he should be connected
upwards with the Head of the State, whether immediately or
through some link or links of dependance.

Under the influence of this prevailing opinion, allodial lands, that is to say, lands destitute of an Over-lord, were considered as blemishes in the Commonwealth. There was no absolute law compelling an allodial proprietor to "commend" himself to a Senior. No direct blame could be imputed to him, yet he was tilting against public opinion. Though not positively stigmatized as a disturber of the body politic, he nevertheless offended against its proprieties. For the effect which this usage had in perfecting the Feudal scheme, I must refer to that venerated Teacher who first pointed out distinctly the importance of the custom as a most influential element in mediæval policy. It is sufficient to observe that "commendation," did not, at this period, necessarily imply the formal surrender of the soil from the Allodialist to the Superior, but the demand was satisfied by the simple acceptance of a Lord as a Protector, under whom the Proprietor could range himself in the social community.

Dignified as was the station which Richard enjoyed, a Prince freed from obedience to any earthly being, he was unsettled for want of the stability resulting from subjection ; and how was the security to be found ? He had released himself from this relation towards Louis, nor could he again place himself anywise in the grasp of so untrustworthy a Ruler, one who had so constantly sought his life openly and covertly, and who, towards the Normans, was thoroughly engrained with treachery. If Richard now thought himself bound to seek a Superior, his Senior must be his real Patron, his real "avoué," supporter, and friend.

Yet further measures were needed for the purpose of engrafting Normandy upon the Carlovingian Commonwealth. Richard was the sole representative of Rollo : in him, the recently founded dynasty might become extinct ; ought he not to desire a fitting consort,—but whom, and where ?—It was morally, or if we may venture to sport the expression, immorally impossible that such a Prince as the lusty young Richard should continue insensible to the charms of the Norman damsels ;—the examples set to him by his Progenitors were more seductive than edifying.

The peculiar civil privileges attached to purity of blood had not yet acquired the stern acerbity which rendered that transcendent

Custom of
"Com-
menda-
tion." Its
influence
upon
feudal
tenure.
(Hallam's
"Middle
Ages," I.
114.)

Richard's
isolation—
need of
connecting
himself
with the
Carlovin-
gian
Common-
wealth.

942-954 pre-eminence so hateful, when the Pageant Monarchs, the Kings
 at Arms, ruling in their fully developed gorgeousness, had elevated
 945-946 blazonry into a fantastic science.—Nothing was known in Carlo-
 vingian times concerning “sixteen quarters,” the definition
 involving a principle, which, to the last, was disowned by the
 jurisprudence of France. Nobility came solely through the Sire.
 Glorious Athelstane, the son of the serving-maid, was as eligible to
 the throne as though his mother could have deduced her lineage
 from Cerdic. Nevertheless the institution of *Caste*, enforced by
 law, whatever harshness may ensue from its application, is so
 accordant with the most exalted as well as the vilest sentiments
 of human nature, that, if not positively enjoined, we are constantly
 striving to act upon the doctrine. During the mediæval period,
 a bonâ fide honest love-match, between the patrician and the
 proletarian classes, occurred as rarely as in our times. The
 romance of Griselda¹ testifies how marvellous it was, or would
 have been, for a Prince to seek the hand of a Peasant’s daughter.
 The distinction between the greater and the lesser nobility was
 now becoming decidedly marked. Reigning or sovereign houses
 were more anxious than erewhile to pair amongst themselves;
 and it was the judgment of the Norman Councillors, that, amongst
 his equals, Richard must seek for her who was to be his companion
 in the palace of Rouen.

Principle
 of “*mésal-
 liance*,”
 not
 acknow-
 ledged by
 the law,
 though
 gaining
 ground
 in public
 opinion.

§ 47. Arrange in parallel columns the statements of the
 troubles and difficulties under which Hugh and Richard re-
 spectively laboured,—compare the means on the French side with
 the wants on the Norman, and *vice versâ*,—and it will be seen, at
 the first glance, that the ways leading to a settlement, satisfactory
 for either of the parties, conjoined at the very point most desirable
 that both of them should attain. A secret conference ensued at
 Paris between the Duke of France and the two Bernards,—the
 two acute statesmen who had so cleverly outwitted Hugh-le-
 Grand in the earlier stage of these transactions,—but now, well
 contented to coalesce with him—Bernard, the Count of Senlis,
 head of Rollo’s family², and Bernard the Dane, their adviser and
 supporter in all contingencies and disasters. The Bernards had
 been summoned to Paris, and they obediently attended ac-
 cordingly. The course of proceedings intimates that, without
 having received any direct, or as we should say, any official
 communication, notifying the objects for which their presence was
 peremptorily required, they sufficiently anticipated the why and
 the wherefore they were called.

Political
 and matri-
 monial
 alliance
 between
 Richard
 and Hugh-
 le-Grand
 advan-
 tageous
 to both
 Houses.

Hugh-le-Grand whispered in confidence, that overtures had been made to him on the part of those enemies who were conspiring against Richard and against Normandy,—Louis determined to revenge his disgraces,—Arnoul possessed with implacable hatred against the son of the father whom he had murdered,—others scarcely less inveterate.—The peril of foreign invasion was again imminent. Hugh-le-Grand rejoiced in acknowledging the dignity which the Ruler of Normandy could claim,—*Richardus nec Regi nec Duci militat, nec ulli nisi Deo obsequi præstat*¹.—Yet, whilst magnifying young Richard's independence, his freedom from all earthly subjection, Hugh lamented the absence of any support enabling him to oppose his enemies. No one was there who would stand by Richard; save his few old connexions, none others who would circle round him.

942-954

945-946

The Count of Senlis and Bernard the Dane concurred in opinion, and besought the Duke's advice. Hugh then spake wisely and discreetly concerning the temptations to which Richard's youthful passions exposed him: a congruous marriage would secure his domestic comfort, and encrease his political power; and Hugh therefore very solemnly exhorted the Bernards to do their duty and exercise their wits, in devising how sufficient protection for their Prince against such dangers, could be obtained. Counsel proceeding from such a powerful adviser dictated a conformable reply; but it was the second point which elicited the first response. Seigneur, quoth the Count of Senlis, we know not whose daughter could be so fitting as thine own, that lovely bright-haired Emma, gem and flower of beauty, peerless throughout the world.

Hugh-le-Grand insinuates his wish that Richard should marry the little Emma.

Bernard takes the hint and answers accordingly.

Doncques respond Bernard de Saint-Liz :
De ce suis bien certains et fixe,
En nul lieu mieux en tout le monde
Qu'en vostre fille od la chevelure blonde².

Unhesitatingly did Hugh grant his assent, but, upon conditions, as he explained, equally redounding to his benefit and the benefit of Richard.—It is not the usage in France, spake Hugh, resuming his grave discourse, that any Prince or Duke, endowed with such possessions as the young Duke Richard, should continue all his days independent without submitting to some Suzerain, whether Duke, King, or Emperor, either through his own free will, or yielding to compulsion. For should, perchance, any such a Potentate, confiding in his own valour, or rejoicing in the extent of his possessions, obstinately persist in maintaining this affronting

Hugh-le-Grand assents, but upon condition that Richard should "commend" himself to his father-in-law.

942-954 repudiation of the rules imposed by national feeling, he is con-
stantly in danger of being engaged in quarrels and dissensions,
945-946 and becoming involved in great disasters.—And what was the
remedy?—If the young Richard, Bernard's nephew, would
condescend to serve under Hugh, he, the Duke would forthwith
concede his daughter in marriage, and, becoming Richard's
counsellor, ally, and father,—assist him in defending against all
men, that land which he lawfully held.

Et pour ceo, si agré lui vient
La terre que il a et tient,
Lui defendrai vers tout gent
S'il seul ma fille vout et prent.
Pere, conseil, et ajusement
Lui serrai vers tout gent¹.

Bernard de
Senlis, on
the behalf
of Richard
and the
Normans,
accepts
Hugh-le-
Grand's
proposi-
tion.

“Give him thy daughter. I elect and desire that he should
serve thee, and not the fraudulent King,”—was the Uncle's
prompt reply to Hugh-le-Grand, who had thus proffered every-
thing which Normandy could expect or desire. Bernard de Senlis
took upon himself the whole responsibility of the transaction :
he answered as if his nephew Duke Richard, and the Norman
people, had conjoined in appointing him their plenipotentiary,
and his assent to the Treaty was accepted as obligatory upon all.

Richard
and
Emma are
espoused
accord-
ingly.

Richard and Emma were solemnly betrothed. The little
bride's tender age dictated the postponement of the marriage, a
delicacy not always observed under similar circumstances. Hugh-
le-Grand confirmed his promise by oath, that the union should
be completed after the expiration of a specified period : and the
espousals, thus contracted, were scarcely less binding than though
the youth and the maiden had plighted their troth before the
altar. Richard was fully accepted as the son-in-law of his great
Suzerain. Upon such joyful occasions, expectations are exu-
berant,—it would be out of course if they were not,—and, in the
sturdy healthy Richard, and the radiant playful Emma, the
public already admired by anticipation, the fruitful parents
surrounded by a numerous and flourishing progeny.

Not merely were the Normans satisfied with the feudal
obligations which Richard had agreed to accept, but they were
anxious that the compact should be speedily completed, graced
by all the honours due to his birth and dignity. They considered,
and sagaciously, that in proportion as the young Duke could be
taught and brought to appreciate the respect rendered to his
station, the more would he improve in discretion, and become
formidable before the world at large.

§ 48. According to the pristine Teutonic usage, it was needed that the transition from youth to manhood should be marked by investing the Tyro with virile arms. In order therefore that Richard might possess the full complement of worship, he must be dubbed a Knight: and Hugh-le-Grand cordially seized the opportunity of conferring a distinction, which, binding him closer to the Norman Duke, redounded to his own superiority.

942-954

945-946

The
Normans
request
that
Richard
may be
knighted
by Duke
Hugh.

Hugh spared neither cost nor exertion whereby he could render the ceremonial worthy of both parties, displaying the wealth and munificence of the *Parrain*, and, at the same time, thoroughly conformable to the genius and buoyant spirit of the young Prince, his son by military adoption and by marriage. Twenty Donzels¹ of like age with Richard, the flower of Normandy and of Brittany, accompanied their Duke to Paris, and the remark that the youths were all born of noble lineage, must not be rejected as a statement merely inserted to complete a distich.—Clad in the mantles fashioned according to Hugh's peculiar taste, and of which the materials, precious silk and brilliant ermine, were supplied by his liberality, the Bachelors followed their young Sovereign.—Each in due order and assigned degree received from Hugh the trenchant sword. He duly bestowed the accolade, and the whole pageant was conducted with unprecedented splendour.

Hugh
assents—
splendour
of the cere-
monial.

“Unprecedented,”—at least in France,—We speak from the book when making this assertion. During the Carlovingian era, the creation of a Knight,—a transaction unquestionably of ordinary occurrence,—since it must have taken place, from time to time, in every family whose lands extended to the quota of *mansi* which cast upon the owner the obligation of full military service,—is mentioned only occasionally and rarely,—slurred over, when recorded, as a matter hardly deserving attention. The Chroniclers never notice the event emphatically. The imaginative Charlemagne delighted in the lays of the heroic age, but no festivities are commemorated as gracing Louis-le-Débonnaire's investiture at Ratisbon.—Louis-le-Débonnaire, in like manner, performing the same office towards Charles-le-Chauve, conducts himself austere, without any peculiar adornment of stately grandeur. Not so in Britain, where the youthful Aspirant's admission into the fellowship of war, was accepted as the fitting opportunity of enabling the Sovereign to manifest his courteous magnificence. Of this national feeling, Alfred, when we behold him knighting the young and already glorious Athelstane, affords a picturesque example, dropping the purple robe upon

942-954 his fair-haired grandson's shoulders, and belting the youth
 with the broad gemmed baldrick, to which was pendant the
 945-946 golden-sheathed Saxon sword.

Proba-
 bility that
 Hugh-le-
 Grand
 followed
 the ex-
 ample of
 Anglo-
 Saxon
 England.

We are approaching the shadowy borders connecting history and romance, but we dare not linger in sight of Fairy-land, nor indulge in discussing the mysterious transmission of British traditions to their Conquerors. Neither pause we dreaming whether that Saxon sword ought not to be admired as the keenest of blades, forged by the "cunning smith," the mythic Welland¹—he whom Celt and Teuton equally claim—the weapon, which, after many translations, travelled to the Treasure-vault of Winchester. But when we recollect how Hugh-le-Grand had been familiarized with the customs and usages prevailing in the Anglo-Saxon Court, it cannot be reprobated as an extravagant supposition, if we conjecture that the Duke of France was emulating the impressive ceremonials which he had witnessed in the Palaces of Imperial Albion.—England seems to have set the fashion in more ways than we are accustomed to suspect. The singularly remarkable adoption by the French, of the Anglo-Saxon coronation ritual, verbally and literally, affords an example, equally perplexing and irrefragable, of the influences shed forth from this Island.

Feudal
 depend-
 ence of
 Normandy
 upon
 France
 under
 the third
 Dynasty,
 the result
 of
 Richard's
 commen-
 dation
 to Hugh.

Henceforward, the title of "*Princeps Francorum, Burgundionum Britonum atque Nortmannorum*"² might be justly bestowed upon Hugh-le-Grand. The service of ten Knights, which the Norman Dukes rendered or refused to render, when the Kings of France took the field, may be imputed to the recognition whereby Richard placed himself under Hugh's suzerainty. Richard's homage to Louis may have endured during the life of the latter, but Richard ceased to be Louis's liegeman when Louis died. Upon the demise of Louis, Richard did not become the liegeman of Lothaire the son of Louis, nor did Richard recognize as his Lord, the last Louis of Charlemagne's line. But after Hugh-le-Grand's death, then Richard became the liegeman of Hugh Capet, to whom the Suzerainty descended, and the Duke of Normandy stood foremost as the Premier Lay-peer of the fleurdelised crown, by reason that he had come in with the Founder of the third Dynasty,—Hugh Capet,—who came in himself, not by inheritance, but by conquest.

Richard
 introduces
 Feudality
 into Nor-
 mandy.

§ 49. Hitherto, our information concerning the tenure of land in Normandy, does not extend beyond the general impression, that, although the title which Rollo's followers primarily obtained

through military occupancy, had been sanctioned by his assent, yet the constitutional engagement was incomplete, their obligations were not accurately defined, nor did their rights originate in any law, except that hold-fast law which is strongest of all. The Tenants, were therefore more or less exposed, to the power which the Sovereign might exercise, discreetly or indiscreetly :—hence the Riulph rebellion. Even in Scandinavia, the Odal¹ landholders were not always effectually secured against the aggressions of their Sovereigns. Taking these circumstances into consideration, we shall therefore not be entirely unprepared for the intelligence, that, when Richard returned from Paris, supported by Hugh-le-Grand's suzerainty, he should have exerted his own prerogative in a manner very grateful to those who profited by it, though affording a warning evidence of the Sovereign's autocracy. —Whether upon the suggestion of Hugh-le-Grand, or otherwise, Richard forthwith enforced a most extensive conversion of allodial lands into feudal tenure. The Nobles being assembled in Rollo's Hall, the submission which Duke Richard had rendered to Duke Hugh was exacted by Duke Richard from the greater number of his Vassals : and the Baronage, as we may now henceforth designate the upper stratum of Norman society, either accepted their Sovereign's bounty upon his own terms, or received a new investiture of their lands.

942-954

945-946

Richard
founds the
Norman
Baronage.

Very graciously was this great territorial settlement effected, although the process manifested most clearly to the Normans, that it depended entirely upon the young Prince's good will and pleasure, whether he should clench his fist or open his palm. Historical traditions have preserved the incipient paragraphs of the enfeofment Roll.—Osmond de Centvilles was called up first, and obtained that ample endowment, which, during many generations, continued to enrich his progeny.

The three
first
Barons of
Normandy
—Osmond
de Cent-
villes,
Bernard
the Dane,
and Yvo de
Belesme.

Next, Bernard the Dane,—Bernard, fully acknowledged as Premier Baron, yet, on this occasion, and for this time and turn, postponed by Richard's laudable, or at least, excusable, gratitude to the claims of Osmond, that vigilant, active, and affectionate friend, through whose exertions he was delivered from the gloomy captivity which had endangered, not merely his liberty, but his life.

Yvo de Belesme, third in order, received his endowment : and the assertion, that not one of those who had faithfully served under Guillaume Longue-épée was neglected, implies that the transaction should be viewed as being in the nature of a final

942-954 establishment of territorial duties and obligations throughout the
 "Terra Normannorum." After making all these concessions,
 945-946 dictated equally by liberality, fair dealing, and sound policy, very
 extensive domains still remained to Richard. These, however,
 Richard's extensive domains afterwards granted away to his children and connexions. being subsequently alienated by his bounteous profusion, became the Counties, the Seignories, and the Baronies of his children, his half-brother, and his other connexions. And, certain it is, that the Norman system of tenure became developed with greater coherence and regularity than in any other province of Capetian France.

Apprehensions excited in the Carlovingian States by the alliance between France and Normandy.

§ 50. The alliances, connubial and political, concluded between Richard and Hugh-le-Grand, created great sensation throughout the Carlovingian States on either side the Rhine. Much uneasiness was excited amongst all who were in anywise opposed to Richard. The new organization imparted to Normandy, glared portentously. No one could exactly predict how this re-formation of the Norman State would work; yet, it was a patent fact, that the materials composing the hitherto imperfectly aggregated "monarchy" were now recast into the shape of a robust and compact military power, available for all the designs which the ambitious lineage of Robert-le-Fort might form. Hugh-le-Grand could afford to observe his self-denying vow, in order that it might be broken by that sturdy boy now growing up to manhood, who would advance with Duke Richard by his side.

Louis and Otho,—their enduring enmity against Richard.

Normandy constituted a middle term between Pagan Danishry and Western Christianity: and, alarmed by the union of the interests of Normandy with Hugh-le-Grand's interests, the Carlovingian States were preparing to meet their enemies. Hugh-le-Grand's revelations of the dangers imminently threatening Normandy, and upon which he grounded his arguments as to the expediency of Richard's alliance with him, were incontrovertibly correct. Louis, unflinching in the determination of regaining his ancestral rights, steadily contemplated another invasion: whilst Otho, distant as the Normans might be from his own territories, had sufficient reason to be rendered uneasy by their aggrandisement. And both Louis and Otho were kept in a state of constant irritation by the incitements of Normandy's evil genius, the Flemish Count Arnoul.

Arnoul the evil genius of Normandy.

Seventy-six years of age, Arnoul the son of Baudouin-le-Chauve, demands to be honoured as a patriarch amongst all contemporary Chiefs, Princes, Rulers and Kings. From his earliest youth, had Arnoul been taught that his primary moral

duty was hatred towards the Danes. Baudouin-le-Chauve could tell him how Baudouin Bras-de-Fer, his grandfather, the Lord Marcher, had received fertile Flanders from old Charles-le-Chauve, the Emperor, upon condition of defending the Empire against the Pirates : and Arnoul was perseveringly consistent to the last. In Arnoul's own estimation, Guillaume Longue-épée's slaughter was always a righteous deed. The antipathy he entertained towards Richard amounted, as the Normans said, to absolute devilry. It should seem that senescence had somewhat enfeebled Arnoul's firm mind ; he was a brave man, a kind and sagacious ruler of his prosperous people, but he was unreasonably, nay, almost insanely, haunted by the terrific apprehensions of the vengeance he might sustain from Richard.—Richard would conquer Flanders, hang him, flay him, burn him alive.

942-954

945-946

Under these impressions, Richard's destruction was a matter of life or death to Arnoul. For the purpose of accomplishing this deliverance, he was now employed, astutely and diligently, in negotiating a warlike coalition between Louis and Otho, such as would enable them to crush the enemy.

Arnoul
excites
Louis and
Otho to
co-operate
for the
destruction
of
Richard.

It might be urged that there was a moral obstacle to this alliance. Louis had just sworn perpetual peace to Richard at Saint Clair-sur-Epte : but oaths and pledges and promises did not oppose the slightest hinderance. There was however a real difficulty,—Louis had not the means, and unless Otho assisted strenuously, the war could not be continued with any reasonable prospect of success.

§ 51. Would Otho exert himself ?—Gerberga, when she recently solicited Otho to help her persecuted husband, might have anticipated that he would make some active exertions on behalf of a brother Monarch : indeed, for his own sake Otho could not fail to sympathize, but no satisfactory result had ensued.

Otho
apparently
neglectful
of Louis.

This slackness can, however, be sufficiently explained. Heavy was the blow which had fallen upon Otho. The pious, the wise, the tender Editha, had been borne to her tomb in the Dom of Magdeburg, leaving an only son, Liudolph, then sixteen years of age. All the love which Otho entertained for the mother he transferred to her child. He forthwith, by a solemn instrument, designated Liudolph as his successor ; and the royal title was confirmed by the oaths of allegiance, which, in pursuance of Otho's command, all the Prelates and Nobles swore to their future Sovereign.—Why this uneasiness ? No fraternal rival existed who might compete with Liudolph and contest his rights ; but

Death of
Queen
Editha,
leaving an
only son,
Liudolph,
whom
Otho
appoints
his suc-
cessor.

942-954

946-947

Otho had painful reasons to recollect the unnatural conflict which raged erewhile between himself and his younger brother, Henry the Porphyrogenitus. Henry was a powerful Prince, in full vigour, and according to all human probability would be Otho's survivor.—Might not the Saxon King therefore reasonably fear, lest Henry the Duke of Bavaria, son of the crowned King and crowned Queen, would seize the kingdom of which he had been deprived : inasmuch as Otho, his elder though usurping brother, not having a lawful title himself, could transmit none to his heirs. Therefore these precautions were adopted by the anxious father for the purpose of affording every constitutional guarantee which might ensure the dear Liudolph's accession, when he, the parent, should be removed.

Grudgings
between
Otho and
Louis
concerning
Lorraine.

Another co-operating cause probably tended to enfeeble Otho's exertions on behalf of Louis,—the edginess subsisting between both parties by reason of the pretensions which they respectively asserted to Lorraine. All the accumulated traditions of discord, and bloodshed, and hatred concerning this debatable land, operated in fomenting their mutual ill-will. During the first flush of transient success, Louis had apparently made no inconsiderable progress in regaining the object of contention. He prided himself when he could declare in his royal Charters that he had commenced the " re-integration " of the realm.—The process of re-integration had now been arrested.—The process of disintegration was advancing with fearful rapidity.—Yet Louis clung to his claims, and though unable to maintain them, they stood in Otho's way. Shadows are solidified into substances, and substances attenuated into shadows, by the inconsequence and inconsistency of man's head and heart. Louis, whenever any opportunity arose, plainly manifested that he reckoned himself the lawful Sovereign of Lorraine, a province appertaining to his paternal inheritance. Otho, who could not demand Lorraine through his ancestors, was therefore the more sensitive of the influence which an adverse right, so grounded, might exercise. The anxiety evinced by all parties to have their contested titles " quieted," as lawyers say, may be remarked throughout the whole of this period, showing, any how, that the abstract principles of justice were not entirely forgotten.

Otho
anxious to
" quiet his
title " to
Lorraine.

Sagacious Arnoul therefore earnestly urged Louis to abandon the quarrel. He suggested doubts whether Lorraine could be any longer conscientiously the subject of litigation. Arnoul argued upon the cession made by Charles the father of Louis to Henry

the father of Otho, who would have been father-in-law to Louis had he lived :—bold King Henry. Even if Lorraine really belonged to Louis, would it not be much more beneficial for himself and his family were he to bestow the dominion upon his faithful consort's brother, thus subsidizing Otho by a comparatively costless sacrifice. Let Otho and Louis concentrate all their strength against the two usurpers, Hugh and Richard.—Paris taken, their march must be directed to Normandy. If Louis could be enabled to obtain the actual possession of Normandy in exchange for his hypothetical Lotharingian sovereignty, he would strike a most profitable bargain.—Normandy so rich and full of resources !—Then Arnoul alluded to Gerberga's primitive project, concerted when she kept Richard in her custody at Laon.—Normandy would furnish such a noble appanage for either of their sons.

942-954

946-947

Arnoul's
exertions
to effect
the
coalition.

Arnoul, who had out-lived his gout, or perhaps had no more occasion for it, was indefatigable. He passed and repassed from despoiled Compiègne to splendid Aix-la-Chapelle. His arguments and energy prevailed with Otho. Affection for his own sister Gerberga, and the feeling that, in many respects his own well-doing was identified with the prosperity of Louis, conjoined to the opportunity of settling a long-continued dispute upon an advantageous basis, induced him to agree that he would combine with Louis in the enterprise.

§ 52. Having held his general muster at Cambrai, it was in the midst of sultry summer that Otho commenced the campaign. Not willing to expose his precious Liudolph to the dangers of war, Otho was accompanied by a Prince of the Royal blood, an Edeling¹, a Nephew, a sister's son, who became a very prominent personage in the expedition. And yet we do not know anything concerning him beyond the incidental particulars recorded by the Norman historians ; and these are so desultory that they do not even mention the name of the Edeling.—He was a rash and boastful young man, much loved by his royal uncle, proud of his sword, proud of his harness, proud of his prowess, which, according to his own accounts of his achievements, he had manifested in the Sclavonian Marches against the barbarian Pagans.

946—July.

Otho
musters
his troops
at
Cambrai.

He is ac-
companied
by his
Nephew.

Obedient to Otho's summons, the wide regions acknowledging his sway, extending from the Carpathian Mountains to the Jura, a Realm beginning to deserve the appellation of an Empire, sent forth their due contingent and service. Amongst other vassals or dependants, we may remark that Otho was joined by Conrad,

Obedience
rendered
to the
summons
of Otho.

942-954

946-947

"King of Geneva," under which style we might have some difficulty in recognizing the King of Burgundy, yet the title is not undeserving of notice, as embodying the very few remaining recollections of a kingdom practically effaced from historical memory.

Numbers, discipline, arms and armour, equally contributed to render Otho's many-nationed Host very remarkable. The combined forces comprehended thirty-two "Legions." We are not furnished with any data enabling us to ascertain the numerical strength of the bodies so designated, but the expression suggests the idea of a regular military organization imposed by the great Commander.

Equip-
ment of
Otho's
army,—
"the cha-
peaux de
paille."

Their equipment, as we are told, exhibited one memorable feature. Save four individuals, all the troops appeared wearing hats of straw. Bovo, the famous Abbot of Corbey, and his three Knights who followed him to the war, were alone excepted. Their nonconformity to the regulations must have excited much remark, the fact being very specially commemorated by Widukind, or Wittekind, our primary authority during the Saxon reigns. *Et revera cum esset magnus valde exercitus, triginta scilicet duarum legionum, non est inventus qui fœnino non uteretur pileo, nisi Corbeius Abbas nomine Bovo, cum tribus sequacibus*¹.—The account of Otho's straw-hatted army constitutes a stock anecdote in his biography; and their rustic head-gear has given rise to much controversy amongst the German historians, perhaps rather more than the question is worth. The obstinate manuscripts refuse to contribute any various readings offering a different sense. The learned and indefatigable enquirers, who guide us in this portion of our narrative, have therefore, by various versions, attempted to remove the presumed absurdity of the literal statement, and divers critical emendations of the text have also been offered.

Disqui-
sitions con-
cerning
the straw
hats.

One conjectural commentary, not destitute of plausibility, may be quoted.—It is, that the soldiers were armed with metal helmets, shaped like the conical thatching of a barley-mow, such being the modern "*pickelhaube*" still commonly worn in the Prussian army; and that Otho, when boasting of his array, employed a sportive expression, which, accepted literally, gave rise to the notion that his warriors were thus simply provided. Had not so much erudition been expended on this historical problem, it might have been suspected that the convenience of a cool and light head-covering for the soldiery, about to commence a very long and fatiguing march during the Dog-days, afforded a sufficient reason for its adoption, possibly by Otho's prudent suggestions.—

And the more so, since Abbot Bovo, as the Chronicle of the House informs us, speedily conformed to the rule, and donned a summer-hat like the rest.—*Ivit Bovo noster cum Ottone Rege ejusque immenso exercitu, gestans pileum æstivalem contra Capetum*¹.

942-954

946-947

Otho began the war by emphatically announcing, as his main and primary object, the redressal of the wrongs which Louis had sustained. No reparation did Otho deign to ask from Hugh-le-Grand; no further challenge given: in defiance he hastened onwards as an avenger.

Unwise
arrogance
exhibited
equally
by Otho
and by
Hugh-le-
Grand.

Otho's audacity provoked Hugh-le-Grand exceedingly.—The quantum of the antient Frankish blood actually subsisting in the "Regnum Caroli," as France was sometimes denominated by the Germans, may have been more or less diluted: but the French still contemned the Saxons as an inferior race. Hugh-le-Grand, influenced by this pretension, spake insolently of the foe. He swore by the soul of his father King Robert, who had perished on the battle-field when vindicating his Royal dignity, that he, Duke Hugh, would bring more troops to surround the vain-glorious Saxons than Otho had ever seen. Such were his people compared with Otho's, that each Frankishman would swallow seven Saxon spears at one gulp, and be no worse for what he had taken in.—Otho indulged in corresponding bravadoes. Tale-bearers seem to have fetched and carried the stories to and fro, and, of course, they were envenomed by transmission. It was during this exchange of idle and arrogant objurgations, that Otho boasted how his straw-hatted soldiers would appal Duke Hugh by the mere spectacle of their numbers.

How
Hugh-le-
Grand
boasted of
his men.

Hugh's indignation, however, was not allowed by him to exhale in empty vapouring, nor did the Frenchman's rodomontade diminish the General's sagacity. Garrisons were placed in the principal fortresses of those districts through which it was apprehended that the enemy would march. Senlis received a large proportion of the Norman contingent, such as the antient city's importance deserved. At Laon, so recently wrenched from the dominion of Louis, additional outworks were erected, particularly calculated to strengthen the huge tower. As for Rheims, being then in the possession of the Vermandois Archbishop Hugh, it was expected that the pugnacious Prelate, aided by his numerous partizans, could sufficiently resist any forces likely to be brought against him. Paris was put into a full state of defence. And Hugh also adopted various well-planned devices, for the purpose of resisting the enemy's progress.

Hugh-le-
Grand's
prepara-
tions for
the defence
of his
dominions.

942-954

§ 53. Otho and Conrad having crossed the French border,

946-947

Meeting
of Otho,
Conrad,
and Louis.

Louis came forward and received his royal friends. The three Kings greeted each other cordially: and, confident in their military, as well as political strength, they determined to commence by attempting Laon. Louis, so well acquainted with the position, would scarcely have joined in the movement, had he not been encouraged by a reasonable prospect of success. The cavalry occupied the undulating valleys, that pleasant country into which Richard had made his escapade, and they cerned¹ the lofty fortress on all sides. Could Louis have recovered the antient royal residence, such a visible remitter to his pristine royal estate would have been very advantageous. He was, however, disappointed. Laon looked down upon her old master with a frowning brow: Hugh-le-Grand's additional fortifications answered effectually in keeping Louis at bay: but, even more detrimental to the King's cause was the circumstance, that amongst the Citizens, many were becoming well affected towards his rival; and the enterprise was abandoned.

Otho and
Louis
attempt
Laon, but
abandon
the enter-
prise.Siege of
Rheims—
Inhabit-
ants un-
favourable
to Louis.

Not disheartened by this mortifying repulse, the three Kings forthwith directed their march to Rheims. They encamped before the City. Gerberga joined her husband, and the allies energetically commenced the siege. Archbishop Hugh, as of yore, persisted in defying the royal authority, whilst he boldly asserted his pretensions against his ecclesiastical competitor. At Rheims also, Louis was losing ground. The Citizens, or their majority, generally held with their Archbishop, now the man of their choice:—so that in one sense their conduct might have been said to be loyal, and, in another, disloyal. The combined forces blockaded the City closely. Several of Archbishop Hugh's Vermandois relations or connexions, men of high estate, were serving in the hostile army. The Citizens defended the place valiantly. Frequent sallies ensued. During six days the walls and buildings were battered with the volleys of stones and missiles darted from the French and German artillery. The contest had become extremely bitter. Louis and Otho were infuriated, and loudly declared, that when they should regain possession of the antient Metropolis—an event upon which they confidently calculated—they would pluck out the Archbishop's eyes.

Examples of such brutal vengeance, exercised by the laity upon the priesthood, up to the Pope himself, were not very unfrequent. Archbishop Hugh, bold as he was, became anxious for his personal safety; and, consulting with his friends in the

Camp, he solicited them to give him their honest opinion, whether, supported as he was, he should take the chance of resisting to the utmost, or surrender. These friends assured him, that should the City be stormed, Otho and Louis would certainly realize their declaration :—they were speaking the truth,—it was not a threat, but a resolve.—The Parvulus now again counselled with his friends within and without the City, and with his retainers, and the result was, that he thought it more prudent to avoid incurring such a desperate risk. Archbishop Hugh and his knights evacuated Rheims, and the City surrendered. Artaldus, his rival being thus expelled, was restored to his See : but his enthronement assumed the unpleasant appearance of being a military triumph, rather than an ecclesiastical installation. Nor, could it have escaped observation, that Artaldus was re-introduced to his clergy, and replaced in the exercise of his functions, without any regular process : merely by the ministration of two foreign Lotharingian Prelates,—Frederick Archbishop of Mayence and Robert Archbishop of Treves, Otho's Arch-chancellor,—neither of whom could pretend to possess any canonical authority within that Province of the Gauls.

942-954

946-947

Rheims
surrenders
to the
Allies—
Arch-
bishop
Hugh re-
treats, and
Artaldus is
restored.

Gerberga having been left by her husband in command at Rheims, further operations ensued. Emboldened by their success, the Kings advanced, and renewed their warfare against Hugh-le-Grand in his own territories and domains. Laon, however, they dared not attempt again, so they stationed themselves before Senlis. Here however also they were thwarted. Large reinforcements of French and Normans had been thrown into the City,—the allies contented themselves with setting fire to the suburbs,—and then, having perpetrated other acts of violence, they marched straight onwards to Paris.

§ 54. Forewarned, forearmed,—Hugh-le-Grand cleared away almost all the large craft, twenty miles up and twenty miles down, except about ten or twelve, which, floating in the pool, were moored, as it should seem, on the Saint-Germain bank. Some small boats also remained. But the Duke made proclamation, forbidding the hiring of them out to strangers under a heavy penalty. These measures were obviously adopted for the purpose of impeding the allies in their movements ; whether they designed to cross the river or to use the water-way, by which they might convey either troops or stores towards Rouen.

Hugh-le-
Grand's
prepara-
tions for
defence.

Difficulties
attending
this
portion of
Norman
history.

This portion of our history is peculiarly hard to construe. The French and their Chroniclers were ashamed of the campaign's

942-954 result. Their fortunes are indicated in a single phrase ; and the
 { Germans entirely ignore, or rather were ignorant of the French
 946-947 proceedings, whilst the Norman authorities overwhelm us by
 rhetorical and poetical exuberance. It appears, however, from
 subsequent transactions, that Hugh-le-Grand despatched an effective
 body of troops to Normandy : and then, having quartered
 a strong garrison in Paris, he retired southward, probably to
 Dourdan on the Orge, an antient domanial palace appertaining
 to his family. But we have no other certain intelligence concerning
 the Duke previously to our meeting him again at Orleans, where he
 resided till the conclusion of the war. He abandoned his Duchy to the
 inroads of the enemy, but, at the same time, unquestionably relying
 that Paris would prevent any permanent conquest.—Great caution and
 wariness had succeeded to his bravadoes. No more talk of bolting
 seven Saxons at a gulp ;—and his ill-wishers perhaps began to boast,
 on their parts, that his courage failed him. Fully assured, however,
 may we be, that cowardice could not be the motive which induced
 Hugh-le-Grand thus to expose his country to disgrace and danger,
 but that he had calculated the cost. Therefore, we have reason to
 conjecture, that at this important crisis he considered the present
 protection of the young Richard the main object, and, for the future,
 trusted to the fortuities of war.—The allies might be defeated by
 the Normans, or some disagreement lead to the dissolution of the
 confederacy.

Hugh
 retreats to
 Orleans,
 awaiting
 the event
 of the
 campaign.

The
 German
 army
 comes up
 before
 Paris.

The German forces were reckoned at thirty thousand men when they came up before Paris. Such calculations can usually be accepted only as affording a very rough estimate of numbers. But Otho's military discipline was so perfect, and his troops so scientifically marshalled, that the enumeration was probably fairly correct. By this time the light straw hats had been exchanged for bright steel : the tall tough-grained ash-treen lances of the Germans were the most formidable weapons of the kind which the Normans had ever encountered, and the Germans—the warriors who shone in the steel helmets and brandished the tremendous lances—in the highest spirits, yearning for adventure. Otho was quite cast into the shade by the Edeling. We verily believe that he liked to be so. This magniloquent young Champion, who ought to have figured in an "*Helden-buch*,"¹—and may be, does, under some romantic name—was the very pink of the army, galloping about on his proud Castilian steed, flourishing his "*Flamberg*,"² and exhilarating his companions and

Chivalry
 of the
 Edeling.

followers by recounting the feats of arms he had performed against the outer barbarians. No one could delight in the Edeling's glory so much as his uncle. Otho loved the Edeling as a son.

942-954

946-947

Flemish
and
French
troops.

The Germans were supported by the Flemish battalions under Arnoul, stout men and heavy horses, the doughty combatants of Hainault and Hasbey, and Flanders, and Tournay, well provided with all needful equipments and useful appliances,—beasts of draught and beasts of burden, wains and waggons, ample teams and lengthened trains. Lastly came up Louis with the French forces, lithe and blithe, active and spirited. But the Eagle was lost. You must seek the Imperial bird perched upon Charlemagne's Pfaltz—now Otho's—at Aix-la-Chapelle.

No pontoons having been prepared by the allies, the precautions taken by Hugh stopped the progress of the invaders when they reached the Seine. Ten young French knights, however, concocted a scheme for effecting the transit. By the side of the river there was a famous Seigneurial corn-mill, which supplied the city with meal. It should seem that, disguised as pilgrims, the merry and active adventurers presented themselves to the dusty master of the concern, and who was also the manager of the Duke's fisheries, a boon companion, craving a lodging till the ensuing morning. They plied him with wine, offered money, and he, enchanted by their good looks and their liberality, unlocked a boat, and thus gave them the means of crossing the water.

Device by
which the
troops are
enabled to
cross the
Seine.

They accomplished their object, not much minding the sacrifice of a small boy, whom they drowned, lest he should betray them; and the old miller, the poor child's grandfather, had to swim for his life. Seventy-two barges or keels were seized by these adroit young warriors. They made nine successive trips to the opposite bank, and at each return brought over eight vessels; by which means, during that very same night, a large proportion of the German army landed on the left-hand shore.

The County of Paris, Hugh's peculiar possession, was thus wholly surrendered to the enemy, who, greedy and pitiless, committed frightful ravages. Hugh's abbey of St. Denis had been abandoned to the protection of the Patron saint. Otho entered the precinct, the Manse being in fact Hugh-le-Grand's Palace, and Louis joined him there. Very grateful was Louis to Otho for the punishment he had co-operated in inflicting upon his arch-enemy the Duke. The two Monarchs exulted in their successes. They had damaged Hugh to the extent, as they

County
of Paris
ravaged by
the enemy.

942-954 estimated, of ten thousand marks in mere plunder. Now would
 be the time to strike a decisive blow by seizing his Capital. And
 946-947 Otho, still provoked by the contumely he had received from his
 brother-in-law during their discreditable flyting, was the most
 desirous to inflict this chastisement upon him, so well earned by
 his bitter tongue.

Otho
excited by
Arnoul to
persevere
in the en-
terprise.

§ 55. Whether successful or unsuccessful, such a diversion would ill have suited Arnoul's schemes, who, working to the utmost of his might and main, continued egging Otho's ambition, with the intent of stimulating him to subvert the Norman power. He argued that to attempt the siege of Paris, would merely waste Otho's strength.—Paris did not care a whit for all that Otho could do or bring.—The lofty walls, the steady garrison, defied him; the needful reinforcements could not be easily obtained from distant Germany. But Rouen would be the easiest of conquests. The Normans were already self-subdued, scared out of their wits by the apprehension that their great City would be exposed to the horrors of an assault. Arnoul spake as one certified that no compulsion would be needed. In the imagination of the wealthy Rouennois, he declared to Otho, their fine houses were already flaming.—Days and days before the Norman capital could be approached, King Otho would be stayed by the supplicants, offering the big black keys of the Porte Beauvoisine, and humbly entreating mercy.

Otho
crosses the
Epte with
his troops.

Arnoul's arguments, enforced with rancorous energy, prevailed, and the conjoined troops moved forward to the northern border. Our notices concerning them are scanty. Otho and his Germans formed the van-guard; Arnoul the centre; the French, as it should seem, took the eastern bank of the Seine, covering the rear; and all the troops having concentrated themselves somewhat below Pontoise, they advanced to the well-known Epte. The narrow river, so renowned as severing the Duchy from the Kingdom, was forded by the invaders, and they encamped upon Norman land.

Eagerly expectant was the German King. He waited and waited, but in vain. No Normans appeared, presenting the symbols of submission or proffering seizin. Otho lost patience. He rudely bullied Arnoul, scolding and upbraiding as though the Count had rendered himself answerable for the success of the enterprise: Arnoul had promised the surrender of Rouen;—why was not the engagement performed?—Arnoul was possibly not less mortified than Otho. Considering his conduct throughout

the transaction, we are much inclined to suppose, either that he was acting in concert with some section or party amongst the Citizens,—may be Raoul Torta's friends,—or that he was misled by false revelations made for the purpose of enticing him to destruction. Arnoul was therefore driven to his shifts.—Excuses were furnished by the puzzled old man, the best that could be imagined. The distance was great, the roads were difficult, traversing through the dreary forests infested by outlaws: but let Otho go forward to the bright flowing Andelle, and encamp in the pleasant meads, where the way would open upon Rouen.

942-954

946-947

No op-
position
offered
by the
Normans.

Arnoul's advice was adopted. Indeed there was no choice between advancing and a discreditable retreat. The march recommenced onwards and onwards.—All quiet.—No hinderance. Otho's army, cavalry and infantry, covered the country. The Germans came up to the Andelle, and pitched their brilliant tents, gaily decked with orfray¹ and sendal², an injudicious though oft-practised display, calculated equally to affront and tempt an enemy. No result ensued. The tranquillity was mortifying. No Norman troops presented themselves to oppose the Germans; neither were they arrested by any deputation of robed citizens, dropping on their bended knees, appealing to Otho's clemency. Otho was rendered more uneasy by this neglect than he could have been by any demonstration of resistance. It would have been a relief to Otho's discomfort, had there been the slightest sound of active hostility.

Otho's
uneasiness
—Arnoul
again
excites
him to
advance.

Otho's perplexities thickened upon him. The repeated contradictions between present facts and Arnoul's predictions discouraged him: and he more than ever suspected that he might have been deceived by his hoary adviser. He held a Council in his Pavilion. Arnoul was summoned to explain the aspect of affairs. The "Saracen caitiff," as the Normans were wont to call him, reverted to his previous representations.—The Rouen citizens were so aghasted, that all idea of resistance was abandoned. The fear of an assault overwhelmed them. Arnoul was assured that the rich burghers, appalled by the impending danger, had no thought save concerning their wealth; some concealing their treasures, others packing up and scurrying away. Strike the blow speedily, and two hundred thousand marks would be the army's gain.—These arguments told upon the Germans. The Nobles urged that the Norman Duchy would supply a noble appanage to the King's valiant Nephew. If he, Otho, occupied Rouen, the City would virtually become a pledge for the true

942-954

946-947

performance by Louis of his engagements respecting Lorraine, and, however operating, such a signal advantage gained by Otho would accelerate the completion of the covenant.—Let the King, Arnoul now resumed, taking up the discourse, only encamp in the meadows before the Porte Beauvoisine, his very presence will command surrender.

Enthu-
siasm
of the
Edeling.

The proposition of continuing the march was carried by acclamation. The Edeling himself was worked up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm : how often had he combated against Goth and Dane, Alani¹ and Magyar, and would he not with his long Lotharingian blade now also hew filthy Normans down ?

Mutual
hatred
existing
between
the Danes
and the
Germans.

§ 56. These incitements prevailed. Otho, advancing towards the Terra Normannorum, prosecuted the enterprise with encreasing zest. Had any hesitation been previously manifested, it was not for the want of that good-will which hatred inspires. Bitterly hostile were the feelings spurring on the Danskerman against the Teutscher and the Teutscher against the Danskerman,—wounds poisoned by contempt on either side,—wounds, reiterated in subsequent ages,—which, even at the present day, are raw, and easily fretted to exasperation, as we have witnessed during the conflicts which have ensued in our own times, upon the very frontier where Otho's realm was most vulnerable.—“Call me a Caffre, call me a Bosjeman,” exclaimed a friend, born beyond the Eyder, but to whom in conversation an erroneous national origin was ascribed,—“but do not call me a German,”—his eyes, usually so kind, sparkling with rage.

Exemplifi-
cation of
this anti-
pathy
in the
murder of
Godfrey by
Charles-
le-Gras
and the
Arch-
bishop of
Cologne.
See vol. I.
pp. 328-330.

No contingency, since the day when Charlemagne saw the black sails on the verge of the horizon, had been more dreaded, than the establishment of any Danish power within Germany's antient borders. This feeling, combining primeval dispathies with recent injuries, had suggested the assassination of the Danish Godfrey by his own relative, and seduced even the Christian Prelate of Cologne to co-operate in the nefarious slaughter. Yet they, to themselves, excused the dreadful deed by the statesman's plea of hard necessity. However deeply we may condemn the sanguinary act, the end was answered. Had Godfrey lived, he probably would have founded a State, whether Duchy or Kingdom, a thorn in the side of Germany no less pungent than the Terra Normannorum had proved in the Gauls. Therefore, so far as Otho was concerned, he wholly surrendered himself to Arnoul's influence : or rather, since Arnoul's hatred subserved Otho's own inclinations, he waged the war with encreasing energy.

According to the first conception of the alliance, the assistance rendered to Louis was the main object sought. In the subsequent stage, the enterprise became inflamed into a silly, yet ferocious, wordspite quarrel between Otho and Hugh-le-Grand : but now, all other intentions had merged in Otho's desire of crushing the Normans,—that their ruin should be a done thing, and a thing done for ever. Over and above the general antipathy to which the Danes were obnoxious, there was a special cause of offence. Otho, magnanimous as he really was, could nevertheless bear malice ; nor does his general character compel us to discard the supposition, that the affront he received from Guillaume Longue-épée, when the Pirate jostled him out of the higher room at Attigny, though years ago, still rankled in his mind.—Richard was the filthy Pirate's son.—No sympathy was excited in Otho's breast by Richard's youth ; and the German King prepared to prosecute the invasion in a spirit of mortal enmity.

942-954

946-947

Otho's fear
and hatred
of the
Danes.

When Arnoul expatiated upon the terror which Otho's hostility had excited among the Normans, his representations had some foundation. Soon as the enemy had passed beyond Pontoise, the intelligence was borne to Rouen ; but the danger was vividly realized,—and the apprehensions of the Normans had instigated them to avert the menaced ruin by resistance, not by surrender. Cleverly and boldly had Richard and the Normans been employed whilst awaiting the besiegers,—arrow-heads forged and arbalests mounted,—missiles stored and fortifications strengthened,—and cunning heads and fearless hearts were devising the means of engaging in mortal conflict with their enemies, and yearning for the joyful hour. Nay, so sanguine were the anticipations which Richard entertained concerning the success of his plans, that he not merely provided for the defence of his City, but had also stationed the outposts and devised the ambushments whence his men were to pounce upon the enemy when they should be hunted away.

Prepara-
tions made
by the
Normans
for the
defence of
Rouen.

The allies went forward, retaining the same relative positions as erewhile. The Germans in the van,—Louis bringing up the rear,—and Arnoul and the Flemings interposed between the two other armies. Thus they encamped. The Normans adhered to their policy of entire quiescence, though the Germans were braving them immediately before their walls.

Order of
march of
the allied
armies.

No movement ensued on the Norman part : no cognizance of the enemy's presence taken by the besieged. But the ordnance was ready : stones and darts heaped and stacked behind the

942-954 battlements: troops assembled where they could harass the
 invaders when they should retreat, an event, not considered as
 946-947 hypothetical, but certain: the peasantry, instructed to rise
 throughout the country, whilst, all around, whether at a distance
 or near the City, scouts were placed, cleverly concealed;—this
 one on the hill, and that one amidst the long grass; and a third
 in the thicket; and a fourth, may be, mounted on a tree. And
 the walls were constantly guarded by the sentinels tramping the
 covert-way during the dark and during the light; and a very
 special watch stationed on the tower of the Porte Beauvoisine,
 commanding the main-road, whereby, of necessity, the combined
 armies must march.

Situation
and
defences
of Rouen.

On the north-east of Rouen, the City was very strongly
 defended with walls and ramparts. On the south-west, flowed
 the wide river, crossed by that long bridge, which, when carried
 away by the impetuosity of the stream, was renewed by Queen
 Maude, whose structure existed till recent times. Through this
 bridge, Rouen easily communicated with all the adjacent country.
 Thus had Hugh-le-Grand been able to throw in his contingent—
 a host of well-armed knights—to aid in receiving his brothers-in-
 law, both or either, on the keen cusps of their lances. And Rouen
 was so amply supplied with provisions, that the Citizens were in
 no danger of being starved into submission.

Otho's
bitter-
ness—
sentiments
excited
amongst
the
Normans,
as ex-
pressed by
Dudo de St
Quentin.

Otho therefore now found himself entirely at fault: but there
 was no retreating, and the difficulties, instead of causing him to
 lose courage, spurred him on more eagerly against the enemy.
 He now pursued the enterprise with aggravated bitterness, and
 the opinions which the gratuitous injustice of his conduct inspired,
 are so forcibly expressed by the poetical historian, that, however
 obscure and turgid his verses may be, they are in the highest
 degree interesting, as genuine exponents of the coeval Norman
 feeling.

Dudo's
expostula-
tion with
Otho.

Otho rex magnus recolendus atque,
 Cur Richardum percelebrem sacrumque,
 Nobilem, justumque, probum, modestum,
 Marchionem patriciumque sanctum.
 Et ducem nunc, magnanimumque fortem
 Ambis infesto laniare cœtu
 Et maligno contaminare nisu,
 Et honorem tollere principatus,
 Quin potenti sistere cogitatu
 Nutui regis superique summi?
 Posse nullus nam supero resistet,
 Velle nec jam sidereum reflectet.

Hic comes, dux, patriciusque summus,
 Marchio, sanctus, celebris, modestus,
 Legibus plebem moderabit almis.
 Torquet astutus laceros reosque,
 Atque justis præmia digna dedet.
 Moribus sanctis meritisque fulgens
 Sic poli splendentia scandet astra.
 Tu potens rex atque vigens valensque,
 Contereris numine sempiterno,
 Incubabis ridiculæque sannæ;
 Sicque Northmannis reprobatus ibis
 Ad tuæ sedis verecundus aulam¹.

942-954

946-947

Otho resolved that he would provoke the Normans to come forth from their fastness and give him battle, and the Edeling gladly besought or asserted the privilege of offering the challenge. Therefore, when the German troops, early, very early in the morning, were nighing the City, they marched in full chivalrous state,—and the Edeling, mounted on his Castilian steed, his shield braced, and his banderolle displayed, appeared at the head of the foremost battalion. But the scouts, on their parts, were enjoying the sport, and, whilst the Germans were progressing, their connected lines of signals conveyed the intelligence to the Warders on the Porte Beauvoisine Tower.

Accurately had the Normans calculated and anticipated the course which Otho would pursue. Seven hundred full-armed knights were marshalled within; and, amongst them, the young Richard, burning with desire to perform his first feat of arms.—The draw-bridge dropped, the iron doors opened, the Norman cavalry rushed out,—shouting (as we are told) *Dex aie*², their slogan,—and a chance-medley yet infuriate mutual onslaught ensued. Wherever the Edeling galloped, there was the fiercest fray. Wherever he wielded his gleaming blade, there, the brunt of the battle.—The long spears of the Germans, sharp-pointed and infrangible, did sanguinary execution amongst their enemies; and, during one collision, which might have been thought decisive, the Norman troopers appeared retreating through the Porte Beauvoisine, seeking shelter in the City.

Sally of
the Nor-
mans—
they are
attacked
by the
Germans
headed
by the
Edeling.

The Edeling gave chase to the fugitives.—The confusion encreased. He was seen prominent on the very draw-bridge, combating with marvellous prowess, cutting down Bretons and Normans. He was seen assailed by a tall Baiocassin Knight, and receiving the foeman's charge on his golden shield. He was seen engaged in single combat with the young Duke Richard.—He

Exploits
and death
of the
Edeling.

942-954 was never distinctly seen again alive, but was found lying dead
 on his back, his face turned towards heaven.—The death of the
 946-947 Edeling maddened both parties to wilder efforts, and the comparisons employed by the Chroniclers, whether in prose or rhyme, to convey an adequate idea of the struggle about the corpse, and for the corpse, and round the corpse, prove how deeply the events were impressed upon the national memory. As usual, they sought their standards of virtue in Holy Writ or the histories of the antient Empires.—Neither Cæsar nor Alexander ever shared in a more furious turmoil.—Since the old days when the mighty men of Israel fought the good fight for the Land of Promise, never a sterner strife, never a more desperate conflict.

Account of
the battle
from the
narrative
of an eye-
witness.

The basis of the narrative is said to have been derived from the testimony of an eye-witness; but portions are almost necessarily contradictory. Accurate observation becomes impossible during such scenes of turmoil; and though we may doubt whether it was the young Richard who actually gave the mortal wound to the German champion; yet it is extremely probable that the report originated at the very time when the air was dimmed with the reek and dust of the battle. The slightest suggesting incident would suffice to propagate amongst the Normans the belief that the young Duke with his own good sword was working their deliverance.

Complete
defeat
of the
Germans.

We may regret the loss of the Latin history which preserved the ampler details; but we possess their substance in Benoit's version; and it would be the very prudery of criticism to reject the positive assurance, that the particulars were recorded by an actual observer. The main facts are incontestable. The Germans were completely discomfited; yet they continued defending themselves, and the Normans were busied equally in ridding themselves of their enemies, and gathering up the plunder. The number of prisoners was extraordinary. Fifteen of the most noble, and therefore the richest captives, the primest fruit of the harvest, were reserved by Richard for his own share; and, heavy were the chains and fetters with which they were loaded when they were let down into the deep damp dungeon-pit. The booty was enormous. Save and except the Battle of Hastings, never did the Normans gain so glorious a victory.

Rejoicings
in Rouen—
Richard's
dignified
discretion.

§ 57. Within the walls, thankfulness and gladness.—How the Normans admired their young Sovereign's aspect and bearing. His helmet battered,—hauberk dinted,—sword notched and jagged, but the edge not turned,—that sword which he had

received for the defence of his people.—Their Supreme Magistrate in the curule chair, Richard was also their Commander in the field ; and his exertions during this day of days, complemented his inauguration. Unhurt, unharmed, but displaying every token of the risks he had run, he speedily exchanged the soiled acketon¹ and cumbrous armour for the miniver robe. His first care was to visit and comfort the hurt and the wounded: and, after holding a Council, the brilliant banquet ensued. Three hundred Knights were seated at the board in the Hall, merry, yet soberly and discreetly celebrating the great success; not a word of pride or folly: and, when they rose, the Council was resumed, and the young Richard, having made the rounds, saw the last watch set, ere he retired.

Without the walls, deep the grief and drear the mourning.— That fearful scene of desperation had ended by the recovery of the Edeling's corpse. So much of their good discipline did the Germans maintain, that, though dispersed, they did not forget their duty. Whilst retreating, or rather fleeing to the Camp, they rallied, and, employing the broken weapons as a soldier's bier, they bore the corpse before the King. Until then, Otho had not known the full extent of the calamity. He fainted at the sight and dropped. When he revived, all the mortification occasioned by the defeat was absorbed in the sorrow he sustained. But now Louis came up as a comforter. Hard would it be to decide whether anger or dismay predominated in their minds. Their lamentations and complaints occupied their time. But they found relief amidst their cares. In any case of trouble, we resort instinctively to our first Parents' anodyne of blaming others.—And both the Kings soothed their sufferings by venting their indignation against the individual, whom they abominated as the primary cause of their misfortunes.

Whence came the evil, according to the judgment which the Monarchs formed unhesitatingly ?—Not from Hugh-le-Grand, nor Hugh's fraudulent ambition ; not from the young Richard, the Pirate's brazen-faced bastard ; not from Bernard the Dane nor his astuteness. Still less would they have condemned themselves, as having merited the chastisement, by acknowledging in their present humiliation, the well-deserved reward earned by Otho's gibes, or the meed due to the bad faith of Louis.—No,—no fault of theirs,—all came from that old villain Arnoul, who had seduced them into this hopeless enterprise : he must be visited by condign punishment. Yet present duties must be first performed. They must regain their honour, deliver their captives, avenge the slain.

942-954
946-947
The corpse of the Edeling brought before Otho.

Louis joins him.

The Germans resolve upon renewing the attack.

942-954

946-947

The allies
march up
to Rouen.

§ 58. However diminished in numbers, the Germans continued in great force; the French were invigorated, and Otho determined to renew the attack of Rouen.—A desperate venture, but the high-spirited warrior would try. The combined forces marched against antient Rothomagus and Rollo's towers: the Germans in the vanguard; the Flemings in the centre; the French forming the reserve or rear. They advanced rapidly, their horses' hoofs trampling on the yet unburied dead as they drew nigh. The ground where the conflict had chiefly raged was trodden into bloody clay.

They
insult the
Normans
by the
approach.

Ill-fated as the Edeling's scheme had proved, they tried the same device again. It was again their object to allure the Normans out from their stronghold, by placing them under the pressure of an affront calling for satisfaction. No longer had they the bold champion to tease and torment the besieged by gesture and voice, but they supplied his defiance by another insulting mode of approach. Deafening was the discordant din of aurochs-horn¹ and sachs-horn, and cornet and trumpet, braying, blairing, pealing. As they came nearer, their artillery and missiles did good service, and, despite the parapets, many a tall Norman was hit or shot upon the terreplein of the walls. The Porte Beauvoisine nevertheless continued shut, and the assailants began to fear that they might be disappointed in their expectation of coming to close quarters with the enemy.

The
Normans
sally.

Not so.—The Normans were incensed by the annoyance they received, and more by their enemy's systematic insolence. They could endure it no longer. A postern gate opened, Richard taking the command, the Normans, as we are told, raising their war-cry, "Dex aie!" and their standard-bearer, Roger de Toeny's antecessor, waving the scarlet Standard. A terrible carnage ensued in the fosses and in the meadows, Richard exciting the fury: his own men, and Alain Barbe-torte's men, and Hugh-le-Grand's Duchy men, all vying with Normandy. The butchery was outrageous, and heaps of corpses added to the heaps which were already festering on the ground. This sortie decided the fate of the day. The assailants fled, as angry as they were dispirited, and sought cover in the camp where Otho abided.

The as-
sailants
retreat.Proceed-
ings in the
German
camp.

They were fairly secure there, for the French reserve now came into play, five hundred knights having been left stationed on the field, where they might watch the proceedings of the Normans. The position was selected by Louis, who spared this cohort, the élite of his army, without however neglecting the

protection of his allies. On the whole, the Germans were in better plight than could have been anticipated. The camp was amply provisioned. The invaders had found good means of helping themselves. Fires were lighted, and burnt cheerfully, caldrons and kettles set and slung, and the soldiers enjoyed their ample meal, whilst Otho employed himself upon the preparations needful for rendering the last tokens of respect to the departed hero. Bishops and Barons being assembled, the corpse was deposited in the royal pavilion. Amongst the stores which testified King Otho's opulence amidst the perils of war, sufficient silk had been found to furnish a rich and ample funereal pall. The liche-wake¹ was held;—tapers gleamed in the pendent "corona," and the suffrages were offered for the dead man's soul till the stars disappeared in the dawning.

942-954

946-947

Funeral
services
performed
for the
Edeling
in Otho's
pavilion.

Otho had not slept, and could not sleep; but the solemn duties which banished slumber, had tranquillized his mind. The day broke; the morning sky shone translucent; and the rising sun was simultaneously serenaded by man and by the fowls of heaven. All along Rouen walls, and all upon the platforms of Rouen towers, the Minstrels were sending forth their jocund notes and cheerful music; the tones of flute and flageolet accompaning chorus and roundelay, and, as our Trouveur delights in describing, the birds vied with the musicians, greeting the glad light; and the air was filled with their sweet jargoning, the jugging and the piping, and the whistling and the twittering, and the cooing and the cawing, and the chattering and the calling of merle and mavis, finch and chaffinch, swallow and sparrow, ring-dove and turtledove, pye or jay. And Otho's spirit was now thoroughly refreshed, his judgment became clear, and he determined to persist in wrestling against his ill-fortunes.

Otho
recovers
his spirits,
and
surveys
the
vicinities
of the
City.

Unarmed, Otho hastily mounted his horse, rode the Rouen fortifications round and around; reconnoitering and surveying the whole site and City. Well acquainted was Otho already with the strength of Rouen walls and the massy height of the Rouen towers; but his attention was now particularly directed to the river, the chief source of Rouen's prosperity; yet nevertheless counterbalanced by some disadvantages. Otho noticed that the bridge was already thronged by passengers, and also by carts and wains, mostly laden with victual, which the Norman capital's population required. As long as the bridge remained open, there was no chance of reducing Rouen by famine. All this in favour of the City. But Otho also observed that the bridge was not

942-954 sufficiently protected, the antient tête-de-pont, the bridge-head,
 Ermondeville, now the extensive fauxbourg of Saint Sever, being
 946-947 then only a small village, through which an entry could be effected
 without danger.

Otho
proposes a
blockade.

The
German
captains
do not
agree to
the
scheme.

Otho adequately appreciated the various obstacles which would attend any attempt to take the City by storm ; but the estimate did not discourage him, for the allied troops were still very powerful, notwithstanding their losses. The French army, not having taken any share in the recent engagements, continued in full strength ; the Germans, unbroken, numerous and well-armed ; and therefore, estimating the heartiness of others by his own, it appeared to him, that, could the besiegers establish a strict blockade on both sides of the river, north-east and south-west, the City would be compelled to surrender. Were this scheme of operations adopted, he made sure of certain success. A Council of War was convened—the high Princes of Allemain and the choicest of his circle. But whilst the courage of the great Commander had risen, the spirit of his Captains had sunk ; they were startled by this proposition, which they deemed a desperate impracticability. They expatiated upon their difficulties. No vessels had they ; by no ford could the deep tidal river be crossed, even when at the lowest. The rushing flood was as dangerous as the sea. Too strong were the Normans—too clever—too mighty in arms.

But there were subtle perils more threatening than adverse elements, hostility more to be feared than the sword. The succession of calamities which the Germans had sustained, encreased their natural impatience to exonerate themselves from blame. Not venturing to accuse their own Commander of incompetency, they cautiously and gravely reiterated their surmises that they had been the victims of treachery. But, though their suspicions had assumed a definite shape, they hesitated to incur the odium of naming the betrayer. They only continued pleading that Otho must yield to insurmountable necessity. Let not Otho grieve himself by self-condemnation : his error had consisted in giving credence to a deceiver.

Otho
solicits
a truce
under the
plea of
paying his
devotions
at St
Ouen.

§ 59. Under this stress, Otho, he who had brought thirty thousand men into the field, was compelled to sue for a truce ;—a supplication decently veiled under the disguise of a request, that he and his Nobles might be permitted to visit Saint Ouen's shrine. There did Otho desire to watch and pray,—and the Abbey would supply a decorous and honourable place of interment for his noble kinsman.

Courteously did Richard accede to the solicitation and grant the safe-conduct, the locality being peculiarly well calculated for the convenience and interest of either party. Saint Ouen was situated beyond the City walls, and Otho would be under the observation of the Normans, and, at the same time, protected against any surprise by the veneration which the consecrated precinct inspired. Thither Otho repaired, attended by his Princes and Captains and men of mark, an ample and important assembly, which the Norman Trouveur designates as the "*Parlement*," a term so comprehensive in the antient vernacular idiom and so familiar in our own. Full as the Meeting was, it might however be remarked, that a most influential member was absent, a member who had not been summoned, the hitherto animating spirit of the war—the Flemish Arnoul.

942-954
946-947

The "*Parlement*" of
St Ouen.

Otho never belied his reputation for liberality. A munificent gift to the Community, seven ingots of gold laid upon the altar, probably assisted the monks in preserving the tradition of these transactions, and the three rich scarlet carpets which covered the estrade, also remained as further memorials in the Abbey.

Otho, unsupported by his vassals, now cast the whole responsibility upon them. Would they adhere to the opinion that Rouen was impregnable? He had been deluded by the plausible representations which a false traitor had made; and there was no help for it. They had only a choice of evils; and let them reconsider and finally decide which course would be the more prudent, to prosecute or to abandon the enterprise? Otho received the answer he had suggested, and somewhat more. Hitherto, all who believed that Arnoul was untrue, had spoken under their breath. None had dared expressly to charge so powerful a Potentate with treason. But they now opened their minds, declaring him to be the culprit; nor, was there any disgrace in confessing, that Otho's cause had been sacrificed by fraud.—Faithfully had Otho performed his covenant with Louis. Discouraged and troubled, the French, scarcely able to defend themselves, would be unwilling or incompetent to afford any farther aid. The Edeling had perished; the power of Normandy rendered the contest desperate; and Otho must retire.

The
German
nobles
name
Arnoul
as the
Traitor.

Otho had now obtained what he sought—the impeachment of the Lord Marcher. But this success did not satisfy him: he wanted more, a complete and final deliverance from the Traitor. He therefore proposed that Arnoul should be given over into the power of Richard, who would deal, as became a son, with his

Otho
proposes
that
Arnoul
should
be sur-
rendered to
Richard;

942-954

Father's treacherous murderer.—Let Arnoul be seized, bound in chains, and surrendered to the avenger. The honest Germans had,

946-947

but the
German
nobles
refuse, and
insist upon
Otho's
retreat.

however, a more acute sense of honour than their Sovereign, and protested against thus rendering evil for evil. Their opinion, however, was unaltered. The more speedy the retreat, the better; the longer they tarried, the more irremediable the danger; the City was impregnable; no proposals would be made by the Normans; and further delay would involve them in destruction.

Otho
abandons
Rouen.

The decision given, the members dispersed; but ere Otho departed, he reverently re-entered the Sanctuary, and once more knelt before the altar, and he then went forth right royally and solemnly. The Citizens flocked out to salute the King. Otho gave his last look at Rouen;—the day was a day of peace—no bow was bent, no weapon unsheathed; he repaired to his Pavilion: and though the anecdote be homely, it marks the tranquillity which had been restored to Otho by the determination he unwillingly adopted,—a determination related by the historian without any circumlocution,—how the King ordered his noontide meal to be made ready.

Arnoul's
uneasi-
ness.

§ 60. Arnoul's cheek must have burnt whilst the "Parliament" was sitting in the Abbey of Saint Ouen. Otho's objurgations during the halt at the Epte, when he declared to Arnoul that he held him responsible for the result of the campaign, seem to have pressed grievously upon the old man's mind. It was upon his responsibility that Otho had undertaken the enterprise. Each successive disappointment which Otho sustained could not have failed to render him more ungracious: and the exclusion of Arnoul from the Council,—Arnoul, hitherto the constant satellite of the German Sovereign during the campaign,—an insult humiliating him before all the world,—was also an indication that a sterner vengeance than mere disgrace was intended.

Arnoul,
alarmed
for his
own
safety,
determines
to retreat.

No secrecy of debate could silence the reporters. The King's proposition oozed out, but the reply of the Council was not known, and it was universally bruited that condign punishment was to be inflicted upon Arnoul. Otho, according to the universal rumour, had determined to surrender the assassin of Guillaume Longue-épée to Richard, and Richard would pronounce sentence that the criminal should be torn asunder by wild horses. Arnoul was exceedingly terrified by this intelligence; and, without a moment's hesitation, he determined to flee from the dreaded retribution.

Rumour had revealed more and less than the truth,—an exaggerated account of the peril, but not the refusal of the Germans to concur in the vengeance. Though Arnoul's apprehensions may have been aggravated by morbid terror, yet his judgment was in nowise enfeebled when called into practical action. He had the whole day before him for the purpose of completing his preparations, and he instantly determined to decamp after nightfall, man and horse, bag and baggage, and, escaping the snare, leave Otho to his fate. A Netherlander, Arnoul did not compromise the steady and cautious character of his nation by making more haste than good speed. The rich tents were carefully taken down and neatly folded, and the valuables trussed in bales, and loaded on the steady sumpter horses. As cleverly, expeditiously, speedily, and quietly did the Flemings proceed, as thieves packing up their booty, and stealing out of a dwelling-house. This effected, Arnoul and his troops equipped themselves considerably, donned helmet and hauberk, and girt their swords, and directing their faces towards distant Flanders, moved off from the field.

942-954

946-947

Arnoul
and the
Flemings
move
away.

Very opportunely for the Flemings there was no moon ; but though unobserved they were not unheard.—Silently had they commenced the march, but silence could be no longer maintained. The clumsy wheels creaked. The stout Netherlandish waggons rumbled. The beasts trod heavily ; and the dull tumultuous sound of the moving multitude, transmitted through earth and air, reached equally the Germans and the French, inspiring dire alarm. The belief spread simultaneously amongst both the encampments, that the Normans had made a sally. A contagious panic ensued, absurd, nay, almost insane. The night was pitch-dark, and, taken by surprise, when they were enjoying themselves at their ease, the allies absolutely lost their wits by terror. They cut the cords of the tents, they cast down the pavilions, they scattered their furniture, they sounded their trumpets, they stumbled about as though they were blind. The sky was so black you could not see your hand before you. The panic demented them. Disarmed, half-armed, unarmed, neither vanguard nor rear-guard, flank nor battalion ; the piéton helmetless ; the cavalier spur-less,—no idea of defence, no notion of order. No soldier sought his Captain, no Commander kept to his men.—And now succeeded the crowning confusion,—a fire blazed out in the camp.—Huts, bivouacs, and forage, all flaming ; —no one could tell what he was seeking, save and except the

Panic
amongst
the
Germans
and the
French—
Com-
mence-
ment of
the "Rout
of Rouen."Confused
flight
of the
Germans.The con-
flagration
in the
German
camp.

942-954 rapscallions who had prepared for the plunder. Well they knew
 946-947 what they wanted and where to find it: the rich armour, damasked with gold, and all the precious articles which decked Otho's pavilion, they grabbed and got; nay, even the royal ornaments he brought with him were purloined. Suabian and Saxon, French and Lotharingian, Bavarian and Burgundian, all scared alike,—no thought but of safety, unknowing what roads they were taking,—all scurried away.

Alarm
amongst
the
Normans.

Whilst Arnoul was fleeing from his own shadow, and the French and Germans tearing after the Flemish fugitives who preceded them, the indwellers of Rouen were in a state of feverish excitement. Throughout the City the inhabitants could distinctly hear the continuous rolling and murmuring of the retreating enemies, indicating operations which they imagined were directed against themselves. Watching and waking, and expecting some terrible onslaught, the conflagration increased their perplexity. No creature could rest. The garrison turned out; but all alarm was dispelled by the dawning. The sentinels stationed on the summits of the tall towers distinctly understood the movement, and, with great joy, announced that the assailants had wholly abandoned their positions and raised the siege.

Rejoicings
of the
people of
Rouen.

A general jubilee ensued, and the strangely uncouth numbers of the Laureate—for Dudo fully deserves the title quite as truly as that of Historian—may be read as recording the sentiments, and re-echoing the screeching voices of the exulting crowd,—how they hooted, and how they shouted, and how they scoffed at Otho's cowardice; how they scorned him, how they derided him, how they threatened him with shame upon shame.

Otho surge velocius, et fuge nunc citus,
 Natalem pete glebam!
 Vindex nam Superus tua terreat agmina.
 Surgens nunc cito cede!
 Ductor subdolan evanuit tuus; en fuga
 Te nunc erue præpes!
 Contra velle Dei quid adhuc recubas? Fuge!
 Nunc i, nunc fuge, nunc, nunc!
 Cum Northmannica præpedient tibi et agmina
 Heheu! turpius ibis.
 Gressum nunc pete, nunc fuge, nunc iter arripe,
 Fidol cedere coge!
 Rex nunc, ne pereas, fuge, cede, liquesceque
 Septus labere cœtu!¹

Certainly, Richard's first impression was to head the Normans, and complete the dispersion of the allies; but his Counsellors

suggested caution :—the apparent retreat might be a stratagem. 942-954
 However, when it was fully ascertained that the besiegers had 946-947
 really fled in right earnest, it was determined he should continue
 at Rouen for the protection of the City, whilst all the disposable
 forces were despatched against the enemy.

Arnoul and the Flemings having gained the start, they kept Flemings
and
French
retreat in
safety.
 it, and were clear off, many hours before the Normans had put
 themselves in motion. They knew their business well ; and so
 far as we can judge from the significant silence of all historical
 records, as well as from subsequent transactions, effected their
 retreat to rich Flanders without a cut from the Norman sword.

The French also departed in good order, and continued to
 elude or avoid the Normans. We scarcely hear anything more
 concerning them, either for good or for harm, except that they
 returned safely ; and therefore the Transrhenane or German army
 alone sustained the chastisement which Norman courage and
 alertness inflicted upon the unprovoked invaders.

§ 61. The Germans behaved so incautiously that it seemed
 as if they courted disaster.—Without guidance or enquiry, they
 plunged into the forest, totally ignorant of the ways, whilst
 every track and every road, every path and every defile, every
 hill and every hollow, every thicket and every dell, was and were
 thoroughly known to the eye and mind of the country's defenders.
 The Norman troops were consequently able to spread themselves
 over the ground much more speedily than the enemy ; and the
 first encounter is said to have ensued at Bihorel, where a single Skirmish
at Bihorel.
 farmhouse preserves, as we are informed, the name of the now
 extirpated groves. But the news had spread like wild-fire
 amongst the peasants throughout the country ; they sharpened
 their scythes and mounted their pitch-forks ; they hewed their
 truncheons and ground their hatchets ; they hafted their pick-
 axes, and weighted their clubs ; diligently fashioning every
 flesh-gashing and split-skull weapon which rustic ingenuity could
 devise for the butchery of the enemy.

Whilst the Germans were blindly plunging into the thick of
 the forest, the self-organized levies had assembled themselves to
 the number of ten thousand and upwards, in a position whose The am-
buscade
of Mar-
omme.
 name bespeaks its character,—the “Bad-pass,” “Mal-pas,”
 “Maupertuis,” “Malum foramen,” or “Maromme.”—An awful
 carnage ensued ; many of the peasantry were cut down, but a
 detachment of the regular Norman troops came up and took their
 share in the conflict.

942-954

946-947

Shameful
defeat
of the
Germans.

The Germans suffered exceedingly, but worse was preparing for them. Two of Richard's regiments,—we can hardly find a better name,—had stationed themselves further on, behind a crossing of the forest roads. The bushes were here dense and tangled, and the exuberant growth of hawthorn, which adorned the romantic valley, afforded peculiar facilities for concealment. When the enemies had fairly entangled themselves in the mazy intricacies of the forest, out burst the Normans from their ambuscade. Never was greater clatter of brands heard than during this sylvan affray, or harder blows hit, or brighter showers of sparks struck out from the shining helms. The conflict ended by the complete discomfiture of the Germans. Five hundred men perished, but far more stinging to Otho than the loss, was the shame. The Germans were so completely bewildered, that the greater number fell into the power of the peasantry, probably compelled to surrender by starvation. Unlucky was the churl who was not able to lead a leash or two of captives, with their hands tied behind them, to receive their lodging in the prison of Rouen.

Flight
of the
Germans—
exposed
to the
incessant
warfare
of the
Normans.

The German army was now entirely broken up; no halt, no resistance;—"sauve qui peut"—was the universal sentiment, if not the outcry. The Normans continued hanging on their rear, constant skirmishing and some hard fighting. In Normandy and through Normandy and beyond Normandy, the trail of the Germans could be tracked by their corpses; nor did the "Rout of Rouen" terminate until the last encounter ensued not far from Amiens, on the Beauvoisine road. So great was the massacre in this final scuffling fight, that, according to tradition, the "Rougemare" received the designation, which, commemorating the bloodshed, is retained by the locality at the present day.

Thus ended the "Rout of Rouen,"—when the Norman troops returned triumphant from the most, perhaps the only, justifiable warfare which a Christian nation can wage. Richard came forward to meet Normandy's defenders,—two thousand citizens following in his train. Strange were the events and vicissitudes chronicled by that Porte Beauvoisine—few so satisfactory as the present, which ensured a long period of internal tranquillity. As for Arnoul, he returned safely to his own country, resumed his government with wisdom and energy, and improved the opportunity of displaying his activity by recovering Herlouin's long-contested County of Ponthieu.

§ 62. History may be resolved into a series of interwoven or perhaps cyclical epics. The poets obeyed the teaching manifested by the Almighty's dealings in the world,—human destiny, aided and guided, by Divine wisdom and power, to a definite end ; our attention being always directed to the one man, through whom each several concatenation of events is to be completed. The first lines of the *Æneid* point out the course into which, whether we will or no, all history falls.

The main action of our tale now reverts to Louis and his antagonist Hugh-le-Grand. Hugh, his strength vastly encreased by his Norman alliance, Louis determined to assert his ancestral rights, his spirit wholly unconquered. The transactions through which he had lost his liberty, and still more the extortions to which he submitted, and the concessions he made for the purpose of regaining it, seemed to proclaim the nullity of the royal power. Normandy, that Normandy which the Battle of the Rescue had re-conquered for the Crown of France, was now, not merely an independent State, but a rival. He had been shamed equally by his subjects and by his enemies. His reputation, whether as a general or a statesman, tarnished. No roof over his head, except a stranger's. His body constantly oppressed by the indwelling disease, and that now encreasing ; and the Normans rejoicing in the belief, that the vexation he had sustained by the failures before Rouen, and the fatigue of the retreat, had exacerbated the infirmity. And yet thus troubled, thus desolate, thus borne down, he was girding himself for the fight. If the much abused, nay, mischievous epithet of "Hero" ever truly appertained to a Sovereign, surely, unfortunate as he may have been, none could more justly claim the honour than Louis d'Outremer.

Scarcely less conspicuous, however, in the annals of France than Louis, was the Saxon Otho, ere long to be denominated "the Great." Editha had left him only one male heir, the young Liudolph, a youth apparently of excellent disposition, and upon him, the Porphyrogenitus*, all the father's affections were concentrated. Otho's attention had been much directed towards Italy, where the contests between the Kings and Princes of Lombardy, and the miserable calamities of the Apostolic See, invited the intervention of more efficient authority. But, as yet, Otho had never crossed the Alpine ranges. Full employment had he found in restraining the Slavonians, and, great as were the attractions of Italy, the Imperial Eagle on the summit of his

942-954

946-947

Strenuous-
ness of
Louis—his
bearing up
against his
misfor-
tunes.

Otho's
encreasing
power—his
influence
over
France.

* Porphyrogenitus was a slip of the pen, see p. 352.

942-954

947-948

palace looking to the West, never allowed him to forget his claims. Otho was tacitly seeking to vindicate the supremacy which Charlemagne had enjoyed; Lorraine was yielding to Otho's influence; and, in France, the prestige of his authority, notwithstanding all occasional retrocessions, had been gaining ground ever since the homage performed by Hugh-le-Grand and the Nobles at Attigny; a transaction equally important and obscure.

Although the conduct pursued by Otho manifested his desire of exercising an influence approaching to superiority over France, Louis did not manifest any jealousy. The pretensions might be warranted by Otho's near connexion with the family; and Louis, ceasing to regard his brother-in-law as a rival, might view in him a guardian of the young Lothaire.—Valiantly as Louis continued the struggle, it was scarcely possible that he could be unconscious that his decaying health would probably occasion his early demise.

Louis
needs the
support
of Otho
against
Hugh-le-
Grand.

But more instant was the need of support against the great antagonist. Whatever semblances of amity between Hugh-le-Grand and Louis accompanied the King's restoration, they must be included in the copious category of the conventional deceptions required by society's decencies, analogous to the perplexing cases which constitute the delights of casuistry. Many a *Ductor dubitantium*¹ might be tempted to decide that, humanly speaking, it was hardly right that Louis should be righteous. Louis, a man of the world, living in the world and for the world, could not decently condonate the injuries he had received, and still less than the injuries, the insults he had endured. Would Louis have been fit for a King, had he been gifted with the grace and forbearance enabling him to forgive such an enemy?

Historical
import-
ance of
the contest
between
the rival
Arch-
bishops.

§ 63. The exemplary diligence of French historians might be well employed upon a monograph devoted to the running contest between the rival Archbishops of Rheims, which has accompanied us since the days of Charles-le-Simple, so worrying, so wearying:—commencing by murder, and, exhibiting in succession, samples of every abuse arising through the usurpations of the State and the heated passions of unscrupulous and unconscientious competitors.

At this juncture, Saint Remi's patrimony afforded the only refuge remaining to Louis throughout his dominions. Therefore it was of the greatest importance to him, that Artaldus should be protected in his See, both materially and morally, whilst the two Hughs,—Duke Hugh and Hugh the Parvulus,—were equally impatient to avail themselves of the King's political depression, in order that they might now effect the Carlovingian Prelate's

final expulsion. Thibaut-le-Tricheur most willingly combined with them, and they all alaciously renewed the quarrel. The pettiness of the numerous squabbles forbids many details. We may only notice, that, after insulting Arnoul's territory, Hugh-le-Grand and the Parvulus besieged Rheims, and failed. Louis on his part was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to gain possession of Mouzon,—the important border fortress of Champagne,—which held out firmly for the pretending Prelate. These operations were interrupted by a tremendous tempest, which ravaged Rheims, accompanied—as it is said—by an earthquake. Louis, however, partly carried on the war for the purpose of masking his proceedings, for he had, considerably, commenced negotiations with Otho, in order that the Archiepiscopal disputes might be settled by proceedings more conformable to the character and importance of the points at issue,—a course which would also result to his own advantage.

942-954

947-948

Military
opera-
tions.Louis
negotiates
with Otho.

§ 64. The Parvulus had incurred the censure of the ecclesiastical law, equally by his contempt of the Papal brief and his acts of violence, and, at the same time, Duke Hugh, despoiler of the Church, had in like manner exhibited himself as a delinquent. Moreover, the private claims of the competitors involved matters which concerned all the Churches of Germany and the Gauls.

Five successive Councils were therefore held, for the purpose of ventilating this great ecclesiastical cause. Inasmuch as the Church was, under some aspects, the State, and the State the Church, it is not always practicable to distinguish between a Synod and a Secular Assembly. Yet, there is one test,—never did any truly ecclesiastical Synod or Council allow the Laity to discuss faith or doctrine. On the present occasion a mixed convention of Prelates and Nobles, for such unquestionably is the import of the term “Placitum,” was held in the Royal encampment hard by the river Cher.

Councils
held for
the pur-
pose of
discussing
the claims.Aug.—947
—Mixed
Council or
“Placi-
tum” held
near the
banks of
the Cher.

The two Kings presided; they treated each other as equals. Yet Otho always preceded Louis when they entered the place of meeting, whilst Louis did not always sit by Otho's side. Hugh-le-Grand was summoned; he approached the vicinity, but he did not come close, and jealously watched the result. He declined appearing before the Convention in person. Being, however, desirous at this juncture to avoid any semblance of contumacy, he despatched, as his Proctor, a household Chaplain or Clerk, sly Sigibaldus. But the main object which Sigibaldus sought to effect, was not so much the exoneration of Hugh-le-Grand, as the

942-954 protection of the Parvulus ; and with this intent he tendered an instrument purporting to be signed by Artaldus himself, whereby he resigned all his pretensions to the See, which said instrument Sigibaldus alleged he had brought from Rome. The members of the "Parliament," for thus the meeting is incidentally denominated, were strangely perplexed by such an unexpected plea in bar. There was the document,—but they could not believe in it,—and, evading the difficulty, they adopted the prudent resolution that the matter should be referred to a purely ecclesiastical Synod, appointed to be held at Verdun.

948—13th
Jan.—
Synod of
Verdun—
remark-
able
circum-
stances
attending
it.

Fully and solemnly was this Synod attended, assembled in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Ruprecht or Robert, Archbishop of Treves, presided, and the Primate of Germany thus assumed the right of sitting in judgment upon the primacy of the Gauls, a token, slight, yet indisputable, denoting the encreasing ascendancy which "Eastern France" was gaining, or striving to gain, over the other members of the Carlovingian empire. Amongst those who assisted, Israel Scotigena from Ireland, the representative of the Celtic Church, the greatest Greek scholar of his age, he who had educated Bruno, King Otho's youngest brother, might attract the public curiosity : and here also was Bruno himself, the future Archbishop of "Kœlln am Rhein," already distinguished by his talent and energy. Hugo Parvulus was also cited, due respect being rendered to the rank he claimed, although that rank might be contested, inasmuch as Adalbero and Goceline, the Prelates of Metz and Tulle, were despatched to accompany and conduct him. But the stout Parvulus would not come : therefore in his absence, an interlocutory decree was passed, empowering Artaldus to take possession of the See, and the Synod adjourned to Mouzon.

Jan. 948—
Synod of
Mouzon.

Sigibaldus
propounds
a forged
Bull on
behalf
of the
Parvulus.

§ 65. When the time arrived, the Parvulus made a feint of appearing ; he entered Saint Peter's portal, the Church where the Synod was sitting ; but when he had proceeded thus far, he stopped, turned round, and marched back again ; and Sigibaldus, now acting as his Proctor, presented another writing, a most suspicious bull, issued in the name of good Pope Agapet¹, purporting to enjoin the restoration of Hugh as Archbishop. Forgery flourished during the mediæval period. The fabrication of papal bulls was an established manufacture. When our venerable old London Bridge was demolished, a pair of forceps, of the same fashion as those which are used abroad to "*plomber*" your baggage, was found in the bed of the river, being the machine by which some ingenious artist in the old time had been accustomed

to supply dispensations or pardons. Possibly some clever apparitor who may have lodged in one of the houses projecting from the bridge had accidentally dropped his tool out of the window. 942-954
948-949

Antient manuscripts contain rules for detecting the cheat, such as counting the dots which compose the borders of the reverse and obverse impressed upon the leaden seal ; but in most cases the document is so clumsily penned, that the falsity is self-detected ; and such was the case with the instrument propounded by Sigibaldus. Had this alleged bull been genuine, it was so informal that it would have been destitute of legal validity, therefore the Prothonotary turned down the face of the parchment when he laid it on the table. And the Fathers of the Synod having consulted the famous canons of the Council of Carthage¹, they decreed that Artaldus should retain possession of the See, whilst Hugh, comporting himself as Archbishop, having been contumacious, had incurred the penalties of excommunication, and so should continue excommunicate, unless he cleared himself of the default in a general Council of the Gauls, to be held at Engleheim on the Rhine.

§ 66. So deliberate and consistent was the system which Hugh-le-Grand, aided by the Normans, was pursuing against Louis, so dogged the enmity of the King's opponents, that he had no reason to expect they would ever cease from concerting his destruction. But this prospect of perils only excited him the more to exert his inventive activity. Louis confided in the sanctity of the royal character. Well did Louis know, and thoroughly did he appreciate, the veneration commanded by the crowned and anointed Sovereign. He cheered himself by the dawn of the support which he expected to obtain from the Aquitanian Princes. If their loyalty was tepid, the hatred they entertained towards Hugh-le-Grand was intense. The Abbot of Saint Martin was threatening the southern banks of the Loire. Other proud and prosperous rulers bordering on the Midi were expected by Louis to be amicable. Much he relied upon the friendship of the Count of Mâcon, Lethaldus². But, most of all, were the hopes of Louis grounded upon the confidence he placed, and justly, in Otho. All jealousies between him and his brother-in-law had vanished. Whatever vast designs the German King was forming, they were perfectly consistent with the prosperity and stability of the French monarchy under his protectorate. Never did a Sovereign reign in whom prudence, courage, and

Moral
vigour of
Louis.

Support
which
Louis
expected
from
various
French
Princes
and
Nobles.

942-954 ambition, wisdom and moderation, were more efficiently conjoined,
 than in him who was destined to terminate the abeyance of the
 948-949 Imperial authority.

§ 67. But Louis would not trust solely to the sword. The moral existence of the State could be sought only in the Church, and the Clergy were the only functionaries competent to guide the popular opinion, or by whom any sentiments of good order could be diffused. It was, therefore, through the medium which the organization which Latin Christendom afforded, that Louis determined to invoke the sympathy and rouse the conscience of his subjects.

948-7th
 June.—
 Council of
 Engleheim
 under the
 presidency
 of
 Marinus,
 the Papal
 Legate.

In this distressing era of papal history, we are relieved by the happy obscurity which attends the pontificate of the second Agapet, concerning whom scarcely anything is known except his piety and his charity. At the solicitation of Otho and Louis, the Pontiff despatched his Legate Marinus to the Gauls, for the purpose of presiding over the Council convened in Charlemagne's antient palace of Engleheim. None of the Prelates under Hugh-le-Grand's influence attended; and the great majority came from Lorraine and Otho's dominion. Nevertheless it was accepted as representing the Churches of Germany and the Gauls. Strictly speaking, this Council was anomalous, neither national nor provincial; but all irregularities were ignored, and the Synod, without compromising its ecclesiastical functions, also partially assumed the character of an Imperial Diet. When Otho and Louis were introduced, they took their rooms next the Legate. The business was opened by the Archbishop of Treves, who briefly stated the objects for which the Fathers were called together,—the restoration of lawful authority, and the tranquillization of the Commonwealth, in the first place:—and, in the next, the settlement of the claims between the rival Archbishops, by which the State had been so perniciously distracted.

Otho and
 Louis are
 introduced
 into the
 Council.

Marinus replied on the part of the Holy See.—The re-establishment of the royal authority was a necessary preliminary to the settlement of the affairs of the Church; and therefore, would it please the Council to hear and determine, in the first instance, the cause of the most serene King? "Let him be heard," was the acclaim.—Louis prepared to rise, but the Prelates requested him to continue seated; and he began his address,—a piteously impassioned summary of the misfortunes he had sustained since his birth,—even such as in this our history we have told them.—How Hugh's father had usurped the royal authority:—how his

Louis
 narrates
 the series
 of the
 injuries
 he had
 sustained.

own infant life had been saved by Ogiva's device, when she concealed him in the bundle of hay :—how Ogiva was compelled to seek refuge for him, far away in the dark north :—how Raoul, after King Robert's death, had continued the usurpation :—how Louis had been recalled to the royal authority, though his possessions had been withheld :—all the frauds and violences perpetrated by Hugh, of which he had been the victim :—the shameful treason which Hugh had concerted with the Norman Pirates :—lastly, the most painful extortion to which he submitted as the only means of escaping a miserable death,—the cession of the rock of Laon.—Could Hugh deny the deeds ? And as for himself, had he misgoverned ? Had he abused his royal authority ? Could any living creature prefer any just cause of complaint against him ?—If so, let the accusers come forward. Let Hugh take up the challenge, and Louis would submit to the judgment of the Holy Synod and King Otho, or clear himself by the battle trial.

942-954
948-949

Louis
challenges
his
accusers.

Archbishop Artaldus then recited, with much detail, the acts of violence committed by Duke Hugh, and the vexation and persecution he had suffered from that arch-tyrant. The impeachment preferred against Duke Hugh,—for to such the proceedings virtually amounted,—therefore contained two Articles, distinct, yet closely connected with each other—Hugh's offences against the Crown, and his violation of the rights of the Church—treason and sacrilege. Hugh-le-Grand acted as though he were entirely indifferent to the result. No one answered for him ; no reply was made on his behalf. His Proctor Sigibaldus, however, whether employed by the Duke or employing himself, came forward, asserting the rights of the Parvulus, and boldly reproduced the rejected instrument. This impudent act excited the greatest indignation amongst the Gallican Prelates. Archbishop and Bishops rose up against him, crying out against the shameful imposition. The Proctor, therefore, now found himself placed at the bar in the character of a culprit : sentence of degradation was passed against him, and he was banished the country.

Impeachment
preferred
against
Hugh,
who does
not
appear.

Sigibaldus
presents
himself,
asserting
the rights
of the
Parvulus.

On the following day, business was resumed, the text-books were opened, and the various chapters of the canon law bearing upon the various charges made against the Duke were read. And, pursuant to the canons, and particularly the seventy-fifth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo¹, and the opinions and decrees of the Holy Fathers, Pope Sixtus², Pope Alexander, Pope Innocent, Pope Zosimus, Pope Boniface, Pope Celestine, Pope Leo, Pope

942-954

948-949

Hugh-le-Grand censured and summoned to obey the decree of the Synod.

Session of the Council at Laon and at Treves.

Hugh-le-Grand continuing contumacious, he is provisionally excommunicated.

Hugh defies the authority of the Council.

Symmachus, and all the other Doctors and Fathers of Holy Church who had spoken and written in that behalf, he, Duke Hugh, the usurper of the royal rights, the persecutor of the See of Rheims, was warned that he would incur excommunication unless he should repent and make amends for his misdeeds.—Thirty days of grace were allowed to him for the purpose of declaring his submission to the decree ; and the Synod was adjourned to another session, to be held, at the end of the said respite, in the Basilica of Saint Vincent the Martyr, at Laon.

§ 68. The session was accordingly held, but no Hugh presented himself ; he had derided all the Clergy's threats and monitions ; he took no heed of the proceedings. Yet one further attempt was made to enforce, perhaps we should rather say persuade, this haughty delinquent to render a decent obedience to the ecclesiastical authority ; and, after a further adjournment, the Synod re-assembled at Treves. The session was short. Hugh-le-Grand continued contumacious. On the third day, he had failed to appear either in person or by any one in his behalf. Marinus proceeded in due canonical form. Upon the motion of King Otho's Procurator, Liudolph, the sentence of excommunication was fulminated against Hugh ; but still only provisionally, and until he should appear before the Legate and offer competent satisfaction. If he still neglected to do so in due time, then the power of absolution was reserved to the Holy See,—he must repair to the Pope at Rome.

But Hugh was not to be won over by the tenderness with which he had been handled. He would not bend before Bishop, Legate, or Pope ; and, if we may be permitted to construe his actions into words, we might have heard him exclaim with a sneer, that he cared no more for the whole succession, living or departed, who had been evoked against him,—Pope Sixtus, Pope Innocent, Pope Alexander, Pope Zosimus, Pope Boniface, Pope Celestine, Pope Leo, Pope Symmachus, or any other Pontiffs, Doctors, or Fathers of Holy Church—than he did for their mosaic portraits, exhibited in gaunt procession, on the walls of the Basilica. To him their opinions or warnings were as chaff and straw when they stood in his way. He was the man who would defend his rights and his wrongs, without apprehension of bell, book, or candle. Consistently, therefore, with these views, Hugh-le-Grand had never desisted from presenting a hostile front, and he prosecuted the war vigorously, whilst Synods and Councils were debating. What they were doing was naught to him. He renewed active

operations; brought together kith and kin, and vassal and retainer, and more than all, his allies; and ravages and outrages were renewed in the same manner as before.

942-954

948-949

§ 69. We possess very ample details concerning these transactions, secular, ecclesiastical, and military. Artaldus himself, in the first instance, renders us the good service of amply and accurately reporting all the Synodical proceedings.—Next, Frodoardus, the Archbishop's Chaplain, much and often in the camp, yet as often accompanying his Principal, furnishes a consecutive narrative.—Lastly, Louis numbered amongst his suite an individual, who, though not a writer himself, has nevertheless transmitted to us most valuable information, which otherwise would have been lost. This was Raoul, an officer of noble birth, much in the King's confidence, from whose recollections we derive a large proportion of the materials which enable us to pursue the Carlovingian history until its close.

Ample sources of information for this portion of French history.

Raoul was the father of Richerius the Monk, a Chronicler, for our purposes, invaluable, inasmuch as his work, embodying the paternal traditions, enables the enquirer to bridge over the hitherto hopeless chasm concerning the events which established the Capetian dynasty. A sturdy man-at-arms was the clever and astute Raoul, who shared in many of the enterprises related by his son, and a contemporary of the circumstances to which he bears record. His details may oftentimes be reckoned trifling, yet let it be always kept in mind that even these minims constitute integral portions of European history.—Each skirmish, each foray, each device, each success, each mischance, each retreat, was a trial of strength between the rising and the expiring dynasties.

Raoul, the father of Richerius the Chronicler.

§ 70. It might have been supposed, that after his appearance before the Council of Engleheim, Louis would almost have been prepared to resign. He had narrated, and truly, the succession of misfortunes he had sustained.—To confess before the world that you are unlucky, is nearly equivalent to a proclamation that you are ruined. But he presented himself as a man renovated in body and in spirit, casting off his griefs, and resuming his operations with innate alacrity. On the other hand, Hugh's influence was somewhat diminished. Though he defied the ban of the Church, his adherents were not so sceptical. Many of his knights and soldiers, dreading the excommunication, had deserted his cause, particularly the knights who held military benefices in the patrimony of Saint Remi. They were serving in Hugh's ranks on behalf of Hugh the Parvulus, but Artaldus had possession of

The alacrity of Louis increases, whilst Hugh's popularity diminishes.

942-954 their lands, and the expectation that by submission to the
 canonical Prelate they would be reinstated in their possessions,
 948-949 may have aided the conscientious scruples they were said to have
 entertained.

Import-
 ance of the
 support
 given by
 Normandy
 to Hugh-
 le-Grand.

The importance of Normandy also becomes signally appreci-
 able. So nearly were the parties now matched, that, had not
 Hugh-le-Grand been supported by Richard's troops, he would
 hardly have been able to make head against the King. But the
 red shields were foremost in his ranks, and the keen Norman
 arbalisters always ready to garrison his towers. Guido, the
 Bishop of Soissons, had returned to his allegiance and his duty.
 Hugh, supported by the Normans, attacked the antient and much
 venerated Merovingian capital¹. By his missiles, he fired the
 Episcopal buildings and a large portion of the City, and then,
 spreading his troops widely over the Rhemois, committed terrible
 ravages.—Champagne wine must have become scarce during these
 wars.

Successes
 of Louis—
 Mouzon
 taken.

§ 71. In the meanwhile, Duke Conrad had been raising levies
 in Lotharingia for the King's service,—“three Cohorts,” as they
 are termed. The Parvulus, now deprived of Hugh-le-Grand's
 support, had taken refuge in Mouzon, on the Lotharingian border
 of Saint Remi's patrimony. A great moral effect would be
 produced in favour of Louis, could the pertinacious ecclesiastical
 offender be caught. French and Lotharingians joined and at-
 tacked the place. The scanty garrison surrendered, the pseudo-
 Archbishop escaped, but his soldiers were taken prisoners, and
 triumphantly conducted before the King.

Montaigue
 taken by
 Louis—he
 invests
 Laon.

Louis went on cheerily. Next to Hugh-le-Grand, Thibaut-
 le-Tricheur had been the King's greatest tormentor. Louis,
 determining to punish the Count's insolence, stormed Thibaut's
 castle of Montaigue. Encouraged by this success, Louis bethought
 himself whether it might not be possible to recover the last lost
 jewel of his crown. Accordingly, he forthwith marched to Laon.
 He reconnoitred the fortress, and commenced a partial investment
 or irregular siege; his forces not being adequate for more decided
 operations. Frequent skirmishes were fought between the assail-
 ants and the garrison, the latter making manifold sallies. They
 fought on the slope of the rock and below the rock, and in the
 plains far and near. Nine close conflicts, hand to hand, are
 commemorated as having occurred; but this display of valour
 proved unprofitable; the royal troops were unprovided with
 artillery, winter was drawing on, and Louis, by the advice of

He returns
 to his
 winter
 quarters
 at Rheims.

Raoul, returned to his lowly but comfortable quarters at Rheims, where King and Confidant discussed the operations of the future campaign. During this season of quiet retirement, however, an event occurred, not a novelty, yet always gratifying—Gerberga was happily brought to bed again, presenting her husband with another male child, who replaced the lost Carloman. Archbishop Artaldus was the sponsor, the baby being named Louis, after the father. Great joy must this accession to the family have occasioned, for notwithstanding the numerous children which Gerberga's fertility had produced, none but Lothaire was now surviving, their spans of life probably shortened by some congenital infirmity.

942-954
949-950

A child
born to
Louis.

§ 72. Spring was advancing, the flower buds bursting, all parties in movement, Gerberga the busiest, and inasmuch as Louis could not quit the scene of military action, the nobly indefatigable matron repaired to her Royal brother at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of hastening his promised aid. Otho had delayed in rendering assistance, being employed in the Slavonian marches. The Germans continued their bitter persecutions of this race, whom they crushed with inexorable barbarity, overwhelming them with contempt, and by that contempt justifying their tyranny.

April-949
Gerberga
visits
Otho.

Splendidly characteristic of the present and future was the Paschal feast which Otho celebrated in Charlemagne's Eagle-crowned Pfaltz, where Gerberga received an affectionate greeting from her Royal brother.—He appeared invested with all the dignity of antient days. Stately was the presence, the nobles of the Belgic Gauls, as well as their Tudesque compeers, here reverently encircling the antient Imperial throne. Here also were the Representatives of the Nations and Powers seeking Otho's friendship or protection.

22 April,
949—
Otho's
Paschal
feast at
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

Edred¹, ruling the four-fold empire of Britain, testified his respect for Editha's widowed husband, cultivating the connexion as an additional honour decking glorious Athelstane's family.

Otho's
court
attended
by am-
bassadors
from
England,
Italy, and
the
Eastern
Empire.

Lothaire of Provence², the husband of the lovely Adelaide, and Berenger³, Marquis of Friuli and of Ivrea, were now the rival kings of distracted Lombardy, and yet conjointly reigning. They despatched their Legates—they might need Otho's assistance against the bloody Magyars, who were tormenting Italy from the valley of the Arno to the very heel of the peninsula, or possibly they sought to collect some information concerning his plans and designs.—Otho courteously cultivated his social and political

942-954

relations with the Greek Empire, not as a rival of the Eastern Cæsars, but as though he were their equal. Perhaps, even now, Otho in his heart acknowledged none but an Emperor as being his compeer. Constantine Porphyrogenitus¹ reciprocated in these courtesies. Rich were the gifts proffered by Constantine's splendid Ambassadors, their chief the beardless Protovestiarus², Count Solomon, whose aspect, declaring him duly qualified to have the care of an Ottoman Harem, might amuse the jeering Germans as a fitting representative of the luxurious and effeminate Byzantium. Gerberga, heartily welcomed by her brother, received assurances that sufficient succour should be given, and she cheerfully returned to her husband. Otho was sincere, yet some time elapsed before the Lorraine troops could be mustered, whilst Louis, hopeful as though he had never sustained misfortune, was impatient to take the field against the rebel Duke; and he earnestly desired not only the advantage but the honour of striking an effective and single-handed blow, before the German reinforcements should arrive.

949—Laon
captured
by a
stratagem
suggested
by Raoul.

§ 73. Raoul devised a plan for the surprise and re-capture of Laon,—he was thoroughly acquainted with the City of the Rock and all its ways, the ascents and the descents, the nooks and the crannies, the streets and the gates, and, above all, the sentiments of the garrison and the citizens. A surprise was impossible; Hugh's powerful forces were supported by a large proportion of the inhabitants who had espoused the Usurper's cause. Hugh-le-Grand had, without doubt, spent much money there, and the fortifications which Louis had erected for the citadel's better defence, were now bristling to oppose their Founder.

On either part the desultory warfare was conducted doggedly, and yet slackly. Laon being ill supplied with provisions, the garrison were accustomed to send out stable-folk, upwards of sixty or more, for the purpose of gathering and collecting horse-meat, green or dry. This troop sallied forth daily. Now, according to Raoul's ingenious suggestion, an equal number of the King's men clad themselves exactly like the Laon men, wearing also the same fashioned cap, by which, when the tall truss of forage was loaded before the Rider, his visage was almost entirely concealed. The Guisers³, Raoul himself being one of the Party, carefully watched the proceedings of the authentic foragers. The Laon true-men idled in their business. The King's folk rode up to the City, the gate opened to receive them. As soon as they had passed the Portal,—down with the trusses, out with the

The
surprise
of Laon.

swords.—The Citizens, or at least a faction amongst them who demonstrated a desperate disloyalty, defended themselves valiantly in the narrow climbing streets: but the assailants, offering a compact front, were protected laterally by these defiles; and, threading their way between the city walls and the houses, they penetrated onwards, though with much peril. Possibly the Royal soldiery would have been beaten, had not reinforcements poured in. After much bloodshed, the Duke's men effected a retreat into the great Tower, but the City was gained.

942-954

949-950

§ 74. This was an encouraging success. Louis rallied his friends, and Otho energetically supported the Royal cause. Moreover, his most inconsistent son-in-law Duke Conrad, he who had espoused Otho's daughter, the lovely Liutgarda of the silver spindle, joined Louis with a large Army of Lorrainers; and a rapid succession of alternate gains and losses excited both the contending parties.

If Louis was thus aided, Hugh-le-Grand encreased his bat-talions from the ranks of the never-failing Normans; and he stationed a powerful garrison in the neighbouring Senlis. Here Louis was unpopular.—The inhabitants of this antient City, however embued with Carlovingian recollections, had become staunch adherents of Hugh. The showers of bolts darted from the Norman arbalests deterred the French, though they estab-lished their position before the walls; and Hugh was also enabled to victual the Tower of Laon. But, by concentrating the Ducal forces in and about Senlis and Laon, a large proportion of the modern Isle de France was left exposed. Louis promptly availed himself of this strategical error, and ravaged the undefended country as far as the Seine. There, however, he was compelled to halt: his troops could not cross the river; the boats had been cleared away; pontoons had not been thought of; and the King returned to Rheims.

949—
Louis
attacks
Senlis
unsuccess-
fully.

Hugh now tried to throw Louis off his guard. For this purpose he offered a settlement of their differences; but whilst the discussions were pending, he made an attempt to recover the City of Laon by a coup-de-main. The scheme did not answer: and though the Normans fought on his behalf, the attack failed. The endeavours for a pacification were renewed, the Bishops of Auxerre and Troyes concurred with Duke Conrad as mediators, and a lengthened truce was concluded, to endure until the Paschal festival of the following year.

Hugh
fails in
attempting
to recover
Laon.

§ 75. Notwithstanding the checks which Louis had received,

942-954

949-950

he was acquiring support from public opinion. His undaunted perseverance, his unity of purpose, and the justice of his cause, all pleaded potently in his favour. Hugh-le-Grand boldly spurned the ecclesiastical censures: yet the excommunication, which damaged him before the world, was weighing upon his mind, and this sentiment possibly motived his overtures for peace.

949—
Hugh-le-Grand
excommu-
nicated by
the Pope
in Council
unless he
shall
satisfy the
King.

Agapet, though the most quiet of Pontiffs, could no longer delay asserting his authority. He summoned a Council to be held at Rome in Saint Peter's Basilica. The Acts of the Council of Engleheim were produced and read, sentence was pronounced condemning Hugh, the Pope subscribed his name, and commanded the Italian Prelates—for none other were summoned—to do the like; and he then promulgated the Excommunication against Hugh, the great disturber, unless and until he should have given satisfaction to his King. This Decree being transmitted to the Prelates of the Gauls, they exerted themselves strenuously in labouring to promote the much-desired restoration of tranquillity, addressing themselves to Hugh-le-Grand's conscience, and warning him against the impending peril:—the Apostolic Anathema was a sword piercing through body and soul,—and, at last, he agreed to treat. In fact, all parties, including Louis, were tired out, and he entreated Otho to co-operate. Duke Conrad was sent forward to open the negotiations; and Hugh-le-Grand gladly entertained the proposals of accommodation.

950—
Pacifi-
cation
between
the King
and Hugh-
le-Grand:
the latter
performs
homage
and
restores
the Tower
of Laon.

An interview ensued on the shores of the Marne, the parties being, as usual, separated by the stream. Hugh-le-Noir, of whom we have so long lost sight, also attended as a common friend.—Neither King Louis nor Hugh-le-Grand had much inclination to face each other: their reciprocal propositions and answers were exchanged by Conrad and Hugh-le-Noir, and by the Bishops Adalbero and Fulbert, crossing and re-crossing the water. A peace was concluded, and all points which Louis could fairly demand were conceded. Hugh surrendered the object, so precious in his sight, the Tower of Laon, which was forthwith evacuated by his garrison. The proud Duke of all the Gauls became the King's Homager, performing the ceremony which testified the Vassal's subjection to his Suzerain, renewing the oath of fealty, and clenching his oath by earnest declarations of friendship. It appeared as if their present love was no less ardent than their previous enmity; and Hugh-le-Grand's actions were consistently

conformable to his words. He obeyed the King's behests, raising the forces which Louis required for the expedition he was contemplating. A complete and triumphant victory seemed to have been achieved by the King, and Louis entered Laon, now all his own.—Tower, City, Gates, Walls, once more in his possession, without dispute or challenge, and he was preparing for the full resumption of his power.—But the hand of God was upon him ; he became grievously ill, took to his bed, and his work was stayed.

§ 76. Louis laid by, fresh political troubles perplexed him. A harassing series of disturbances ensued, not exactly directed against the King, and yet as troublesome as if they were, being connected with the interminable dispute between Artaldus and the Parvulus. Compelled to be inactive, Louis improved his enforced leisure. After nearly a year of illness, convalescence and languor, his flesh a cumbrance and a burden, but his spirit unsubdued, recollecting his past sufferings and disgraces and humiliations only as incentives to vigorous action, he again rose up for the purpose of completing the great stroke of policy which he had so long contemplated, the restoration of the Royal authority in the Kingdom of Aquitaine.

But even success in this important enterprise would be unsatisfactory, unless Louis could ensure the Royal Succession to the line of Charlemagne.—What claimants might not arise when the Throne should become vacant by his own death, an event possibly near at hand ? Louis therefore, according to the antient usage of the Monarchy, caused the young Lothaire to be designated as King, but no evidence remains to shew that the act was followed by any solemn recognition.

The undelayed surrender made, erewhile, by the Aquitanian Princes of their charters to Louis, when, after his successes in Burgundy, he presented himself beyond the Loire, in order to obtain a legal renewal of their authority, afforded the most remarkable testimony of the respect commanded by that tower of strength, the King's name. Louis therefore determined to avail himself of their passive loyalty. Could the supremacy of the Crown be again unequivocally acknowledged and actively obeyed by these important and semi-regal Potentates, Louis would be King indeed. Louis accomplished the journey alone, leaving Gerberga in the management of affairs.—Had not Louis effected his compromise with Hugh-le-Grand, his entry into Aquitaine would have been impracticable, for whether he proceeded by the route of Paris or by the route of Burgundy, he

942-954
949-951

951—
Louis
afflicted
by severe
illness.

951—
Louis
causes
Lothaire
to be
designated
as King.

Respect
rendered
by the
Aqui-
tanians to
the Royal
authority.
See p. 215.

942-954 must traverse Hugh's dominions. He preferred the latter road, probably that he might confer with his trusty friend Lethaldus, the Count of Mâcon. It was in this country that Louis fixed his camp, being joined by Hugh's levies.—No force, no menaces were needed: wherever Louis appeared, he was joyously greeted and obeyed.

Progress
of Louis—
submis-
sion of the
Aqui-
tanian
Princes.

Many of the Princes of Aquitaine eagerly prevented Louis at Mâcon, repairing thither to renew their fealty. First and foremost, Charles Constantine, Count of Vienne, the grandson of renowned King Boso,—Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe,—Stephen, Bishop of Clermont,—and many more whose names are not recorded, also rendered due homage. In treating of French affairs it must always be recollected that the Aquitanian chronicles are few in number, very scanty and jejune; hence the history of half France is in a manner unknown.

Louis falls
ill again.

From Mâcon to Besançon, this city being also included in the dominions of Lethaldus, who forthwith performed homage and took the oaths of fealty, thus rendering himself the immediate subject of the King. Prosperity seemed to attend Louis: he was now preparing to march onwards beyond the Loire, and pursue his royal progress. But again, the warning was repeated,—again, his steps were stayed.—The leaves were falling—the season stormy and sickly. He fell ill—he was attacked by a bilious fever—no faithful Gerberga nigh to help him. However, her place was in some degree supplied, inasmuch as the sufferer was tenderly nursed by the affectionate Lethaldus. The army was disbanded, and as soon as Louis was able to move, Lethaldus being his caretaker and companion, the invalid returned home.

Troubles
in
Lorraine.

§ 77. To home,—but not to quiet. Whilst crossing the frontiers of Burgundy, Louis was encountered by unwelcome intelligence. Frederick, brother of Adalbero, Bishop of Metz, and soon to become son-in-law of Hugh-le-Grand, was advisedly seeking to gain a footing in Lorraine. There was a mean and obscure village called “Fanis,” near the source of the Ornain, adjoining a hill where the Romans had formed a camp commanding the surrounding country. We know how frequently and how advantageously these antique monuments of military science were utilized during the middle ages. Frederick sagaciously followed the lead taken by the old masters of the World, and he began to raise a strong castle within the entrenchment. This act gave great offence to Louis and Gerberga. Frederick had not cared to ask their permission, and when settled, he defied them, ravaging

the country, which seems to have been in obedience to Louis, all around.

942-954

Louis appealed to King Otho, despatching a special embassy to speak on his behalf. Hugh-le-Grand did the like, probably furthering Frederick's interests; and, to conciliate Otho, his ambassadors brought with them a magnificent gift, two live roaring lions. Notwithstanding this nuzeer, Otho decided in favour of France, and enjoined Frederick not to raise any fortifications otherwise than by the assent of the French King. Whether this assent was or was not obtained, cannot be ascertained, but the building of the Castle proceeded, and the very important Town of Bar-le-Duc arose under its protecting shadow.

951-952

951—
Bar-le-
Duc
founded
by Count
Frederick.

But, however anxious to remain at peace, Louis was compelled to involve himself in further dissensions. Many of the nobles of the Vermandois were excited to acts of plunder. Old Arnoul of Flanders, who continued flashing up in activity, had ejected Roger, the son of Herlouin of Montreuil, from his county. Hugh-le-Grand mixed himself up in the quarrel—Louis mediated, and a peace was concluded until the following December.

§ 78. Amidst these State troubles and national misfortunes, there arose a family annoyance of that class equally provoking to subjects and to kings. Ogiva, the English Adeliza, Ogiva, the dowager Queen, Ogiva, King Edward's daughter, Ogiva, Athelstane's sister, Ogiva, Charles-le-Simple's grieving relict, Ogiva, Louis d'Outremer's tender mother, Ogiva, successor of Holy Salaberga, allowed herself to be carried off in broad noon-day by the Vermandois Prince Herbert the Handsome, fourth son of Herbert the regicide, and subsequently Count of Troyes. Louis was exceedingly nettled. He confiscated all Ogiva's possessions. He seized the palace of Attigny, her residence—which he re-united to his domain—and, dealing with the Abbey of Saint Salaberga as vacant, he granted her preferment to his own faithful Gerberga, who became lay Abbess in the place of her mother-in-law. It may be remarked that the successors of Louis d'Outremer misapplied their prerogative rights over this unfortunate foundation to such an extent, that the inmates degenerated from bad to worse, until the suppression of the Convent in the fifteenth century. All said and done, the Secular Lords were chiefly to blame for these ecclesiastical irregularities, which were consequent upon the constant abuse of their patronage, whether usurped or lawful.—This position is emphatically exemplified by the sequel of the abduction. Herbert the Handsome, as yet possessing scarcely

951—
Abduction
of the
Queen
Ogiva by
Herbert
the Hand-
some.
(See vol. I.
p. 195.)Louis
greatly
angered
by the
marriage.

942-954 any estate beyond the expectations of a younger brother, was as
 953-954 needy as the heroes of his class usually are—he had little to give
 —and he therefore made a liberal provision for his mellow bride
 by granting her the Abbey of Saint Médard as a dowry.

Troubles
in
Lorraine,
&c.—the
great
Magyar
invasion
instigated
by Conrad.

§ 79. Many remarkable events now occurred in Italy and Germany, of which we shall hear more hereafter, inasmuch as they exercised very great influence upon the affairs of France. Bruno¹, elected to the Archbishopric of Cologne, was also created Duke of Lorraine, a promotion pregnant with important consequences. Duke Conrad, having joined in the unnatural conspiracy concerted against Otho by his brethren and his son, sought and subsidized the Magyars, who joyfully obeyed the call, and to the vast detriment of the land. The Ogre Hordes, led on by their horrid Hetumogors, Botund, and Zultu, and Lelu, commenced their invasion by swarming into the northern parts of France, ravaging the Vermandois, spreading over the Laonnais and Champagne, and the Chalonnais, until they reached Burgundy, whence they entered Italy. Wasting the country which they punished, they themselves wasted away. Many were slain, more perished by infectious diseases which probably had reached them from Asia. When they were cleared out of France, the pestilence which they had disseminated continued to desolate the country, and became, as is conjectured by nosologists, the European source of that dire visitation, which human science, during the youth of the generation now verging upon eld, having been permitted to moderate, nay, as we fondly fancied, almost eradicate, has been replaced by another sword, delivered by the Supreme into the power of the Destroying Angel for the chastisement of mankind. But the main body of these grimly terrific tribes directed their course to Germany, which country, as we shall afterwards have occasion to relate, they well nigh brought to destruction.

953—
Hugh-le-
Grand
revolts,
but
submits.

§ 80. Troubles again and again teeming :—a renewal of the miserable discord in the Vermandois :—Louis and Archbishop Artaldus again marching out to repress the Nobles who had usurped various strongholds.—Hugh-le-Grand cancelled his engagements with the King, joined the Revolters, and had the worst of it, and so sorely, that he was compelled to sue for peace, imploring the intervention of the burthened Gerberga, who repaired to him, ill-qualified as she then was for any journey. Yet she ventured, and mediated effectually. This transaction shews how rapidly the power of Louis must have been reviving ; the great Duke of all the Gauls compelled to present himself as

a supplicant. Gerberga returned safely to Rheims, and now, a great cause of joy!—We have seen how the Royal progeny had been smitten, so that Lothaire and the youngest boy, his father's namesake, had alone been spared to continue the lineage. But the anxiety was now much diminished, if not entirely removed, by Gerberga's fertility. Gerberga's fruitfulness relieved her Consort from the dread lest the august lineage should fail. She now was delivered of twins,—Charles, evidently so designated that the glorious name might be perpetuated, and Henry, after his illustrious grandfather;—but the stern avenging Nemesis was rapidly filling up the measure of misfortune. The newly-born babe Henry died very shortly after his baptism. Three, however, still lived, and the parents might comfort themselves with Lothaire, albeit not of a very promising constitution, and Louis, now five years of age. But, shortly afterwards, the little lad was carried off,—probably a victim to the prevailing contagion,—and the eldest and the youngest of the Royal progeny, Lothaire and Charles, alone remained. Charles, the descendant of Charlemagne, and of Egbert, and of Otho the Magnificent, survived. Better for him had he been removed from the evil to come.

942-954

953-954

953—
Twin sons
born to
him by
Gerberga,
—Charles
—and
Henry:
the latter
dies.

Yet the King, unquestionably supported by his heroic Queen, would not relax in his efforts: he quitted Laon, and fixed himself at Rheims, intending to exert himself in the defence and restoration of the Realm. It chanced that when riding near the river Aisne he suddenly turned his horse out of the straight road, and dashed across the fields; but, as far as can be collected, without any definite object in view, or any adequate reason to instigate the gallop. The ground was very rotten. The horse stumbled. Louis was taken up by his attendants grievously bruised. He told them that a wolf, or something like a wolf, or which he imagined was like a wolf, had crossed before him, and he had given chase to the phantom animal. He had received some severe internal injury by the fall, which occasioned great pain; and to this was superadded further affliction. After lying ill for a considerable period, a disease, unconnected with the bodily hurt, broke out—as the Leeches described the symptoms—into a horrible elephantiasis, his body covered with purulent tubercles. Consumed by this frightful malady, Louis died on the fourth of the Ides of September, in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his reign, so lengthened in the narrative by his unwearied energy and activity. He was buried in the Basilica of Saint Remi. The Tomb has been long since destroyed, but the

954—
Strange
accident or
delusion
befalls
Louis.

10 Sep. 954
—His
death and
burial.

942-954 Psalter of Queen Emma, his son Lothaire's Spouse, preserved in
 the Abbey library until the revolution, contains a copy of his
 954 epitaph, undoubtedly composed within a short time after his
 death. The uncouth and barbarous verses conclude with a boot-
 less prayer for the preservation of the Carlovingian dynasty.

Tomb and
Epitaph of
Louis.

Sanguine Cæsareo jacet hic excelsa propago,
 Francorum populo prodita de Carolo,
 Dum sibi ter-denos et tres floreret in annos
 Augustum nomen Rex Ludovicus erat.
 Remigius Regum sanxit consulta priorum :
 Huic dederat sceptrum : præstat hic et tumulum.
 Octavum-decimum regnando subegerat annum ;
 Quadris September Idibus exit iter.
 Lector, posce Deum, Francorum posce salutem,
 Hoc regale genus servet in orbe Deus¹.

CHAPTER IV.—PART II.

LOTHAIRE AND LOUIS—OTHO AND HIS SONS—RICHARD.
SANS-PEUR—ACCESSION OF THE CAPETS.

951—987.

§ 1. TENDIMUS IN LATIUM¹.—Various as are the constructions which these deeply significant words may receive, the Poet himself unconscious of the full import conveyed by his strain, yet they primarily may be accepted as predicting to all Mankind the direction taken by all history, even from the hour when the Servant of God² declared the avenging task entrusted, by the Eternal decree, to that dreadful Nation, fore-doomed to be brought from afar, from the very ends of the Earth.—That Nation, swift as the eagle flies, and devouring as the Eagle by which they were self-symbolized ; the noble bird emblazoned upon every shield and embroidered upon every banner, borne or unfurled by every Potentate,—Cæsar, Czar, or Keiser,—who has assumed an Emperor's name.—That Nation of fierce countenance, neither regarding the person of the old, nor shewing favour to the young ; —destined to found the great Fourth Monarchy, diverse from all Kingdoms which had previously prevailed amongst men, appointed to devour the whole Earth, and break her in pieces, and tread her down, and through whose transmitted authority, the Populations of the terraqueous globe are now ruled.—The reek of Civilization is oecumenical.—Even, already, in this our Generation, is there any portion of the human race, however barbarous or remote, which is not governed by the Civilized races, or affected either directly or indirectly by the influences comprehended under the idea of Civilization ?—so all-commanding, so undefinable, and of which we can only guess at the specific characteristics by pursuing the negative process of exhaustion. It is the boast of philosophical history, and a truth undeniable, that, from Rome, all modern Civilization is derived.

The Fourth Empire—its development into Civilization.

Fourth Monarchy—its subsistence in the civilized Commonwealth.

951-987

951-962

"Holy
Roman
Empire"
founded by
Otho, and
dissolved
by
Francis II.

At the era, however, which we have reached in this our narrative, the looking Rome-ward must be construed with reference to the great achievement reserved for Otho, namely, the actual revival, in the person of one individual, of the Imperial succession amongst the Latins, virtually in abeyance, since the fated Eight hundred Eighty and Eight, the mortal crisis of the Carlovingian Empire. Otho effected this restoration, and the goal he attained becomes the starting-point of modern history. The conformation given to Western Europe by the "Holy Roman Empire" which Otho founded, subsisted till the second phase of the great revolutionary crisis which now convulses civilized society.—Whatever aspect the European Commonwealth may assume, will be grounded upon the platform of Otho's Empire.

Intimate
connexion,
during
Otho's life,
of the
affairs of
Germany,
Italy, and
France.

Import-
ance of
Otho in
the history
of France
and Nor-
mandy.

§ 2. An author sins against good taste,—or is thought to do so,—if he preconizes the importance of his self-imposed labour, but he may be permitted to allude to its difficulties as a plea for indulgence, should he fail. Let me therefore sue for a lenient judgment upon the present passage of my work, indispensably needful if we seek to obtain a right understanding of the subjects I have chosen, and offering extreme perplexity. If we seek the complement of German history during Otho's reign, Italy and the affairs of Italy must be considered as holding a station scarcely secondary to those of his ancestral Realm. The converse of the proposition is equally undeniable. The history of Italy is utterly unsusceptible of a satisfactory development, otherwise than engrafted upon the history of Germany. Lastly, in the histories of France and of Normandy, Otho is a primary personage, whilst his family became deeply involved in the dissensions and the plots, the crimes and the misfortunes, which developed and consummated the Capetian revolution.

Indi-
viduality
of the
soul the
foundation
of History.

This is one of the periods when the interlacements of events baffle the endeavours and mock the skill of the synoptic historian. Never can his work assume a symmetrical form. The mass becomes amorphous. There are over-many centres of crystallization. But the task, impracticable to the historical narrator, is fully within the sphere of the historical biographer. Take your Man as the centre, and the perplexing cycles and epicycles will combine in harmonious unity.—The individuality of the Soul is the foundation of all history.

No delusions in ethical science are more fraught with danger than those nominal abstractions which conceal from us the reality, that all the judgments we pass upon the aggregates of human

society are only estimates of individual responsibility. It is only through those individuals whose acts become known to us, that our miserably imperfect conjectures respecting the secondary causes of human events can be sustained. Yet, never render worship to any Man as a Hero. View the most sinful, or the least, amongst those whom the World celebrates, but as rebels suffered, or servants chosen by the Almighty.—Leaders, only because they are permitted to guide—not Creators, but working out the will of the Creator.

951-987
951-962

Old words with new meanings originate new ideas. None perhaps in our days, more detrimental to the highest interests of mankind, or more fatal to our temporal or eternal welfare than the trivial term “masses”; seducing us not merely to forget, but to ignore, the tremendous truth which our imperfect faculties can only humbly confess, though incomprehensible, that, in His book were all our members written before the Worlds were made,—each single Child of Adam as distinctly known by the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, and as much the object of His anger or His love, as if that Child of Adam floated alone in the boundless infinity of space.—“Every one of all the Millions “that live, or have lived, is as wholly an independent Being in “himself as if there were no one else in the world but he.”—And therefore every Child of the Protoplast, who, since he was formed out of the ground, has returned or shall return to the dust from which he was taken, is, if we may dare to speak as though we could scan the Omnipotent Mind, more important before the Eternal than all the orbs or stars or planets in the Cosmical Universe.—They were made for time, but man for eternity.

§ 3. Otho’s life, as yet unwritten, would supply materials for a monograph no less interesting and instructive than the historical portrait of Charlemagne, to whose era the same observations respecting the difficulties arising from richness of subject and complexity of plot equally apply.—No Monarch perhaps ever more fitted to his task, more varied in talent, more attractive from his idiosyncrasies and from the opportunities which were offered for their display and exercise.

Chivalrous
tendency
of Otho’s
character.

To posterity, Otho presents himself almost as a Knight errant, flourishing anterior to the era when this brilliant character of the mediæval drama was potentially realized; and most particularly does he assume that aspect, whilst engaged in the memorable adventures which connected a persecuted Beauty’s deliverance with the acquisition of an Empire.

951-987

951-962

"Chivalry" said to have arisen under Henry the Fowler.

The famous "Turnier-buch."¹

German writers have not been unwilling to acknowledge this resemblance. Chivalry, even in Otho's father's time, is said to have been matured; and very curious antient memorials are extant, claiming an archaic date, testifying, how, under the auspices of Henry the Fowler, the first Tournament was celebrated with great solemnity and magnificence in the Maiden's borough, the mythological Magdeburg. There are books ambiguously dubious between truth and figment, which constitute essential portions of history. Turpin may be instanced, and our Geoffrey of Monmouth² also, and, in this category, we are fain to include the record which, in the early part of the sixteenth century, we identify as having been in the custody of Hans von Hueburg, "Erbruchsetz" or Hereditary Seneschal of the Archbishopric of Saltzburg. This precious tome, Hans lent or presented to Max Wirsung, a rich merchant of Augsburg, an active partner in the printing office established by Sigmund Grim, a Physician in that Imperial city; and the Merchant, undertaking the task of editorship, published the book at his own expense, and dedicated the volume to the noble functionary from whom he had received the same.

1518

Mysterious publication of the "Turnier-buch."¹

Some few years afterwards, Johann Kirchberger, Administrator, or "Vicarius," of Saint Maurice's Collegiate Church at Magdeburg, became possessed of another exemplar of the antient muniment, but much more ample in details. Emulating the liberality of the Truchsess, the Vicarius bestowed the valuable Codex upon the "well-known George Ruexner," who, causing the contents to be printed, tells us that the manuscript itself was burnt: but whether by accident or design does not clearly appear.

Such is the somewhat suspicious manner in which the famous "Turnier-buch" was first presented to the world. But, corroborative evidence has been adduced in an instrument, advancing considerable pretensions to authority. As far as the reputation of Goldastus³, the most distinguished amongst the juridical antiquaries who have illustrated the constitutional history of the Empire, can impart confidence, we ought to consider the "*Statuta et Privilegia Ludorum equestrium sive Hastiludiorum*"⁴ as authentic. On the face of these Ordinances and Grants, they fully confirm the Turnier-buch. No small proportion of the antient German nobility discover the names of their ancestors in these statutes, prescribing the regulations of the Lists and the Field, and purporting to be the enactments promulgated by King Henry

Statutes of Tournaments ascribed to Henry the Fowler.

in the presence of all his Peers summoned from Germany, from Gaul, and from the Slavonian lands. 951-987

In our more critical age, the Book of Tournaments and the corresponding Statutes have been discarded as apocryphal, yet the learned individuals who are now diligently compiling the "Year Books" of the Teutonic Empire, notice, that passages may be found in early and indisputably genuine chronicles affording support to the documents in question. Perhaps the most charitable mode of dealing with these problematic productions may be to consider them as somewhat similar in character to our Battle Abbey Roll—which we are willing to accept as an expanded rifaccimento of an authentic original, including many noble personages who would have had a right to appear there, had they taken a part in the proceedings. 951-962

Extent to which the Turnier-buch can be admitted.

The venerable science of Heraldry and the artificial institutions of Chivalry mutually assisted in imparting shape and form to each other. The armorials of Germany and the Germanized Slavc-Wendic States possess a very peculiar character.—Grim half-feshed skulls, Devil-like wiverns, thorny dorsal-finned serpents, fiery-tongued crested dragons, and very many other bearings are therein exhibited which Menestrier¹ or Ferne² or Guillin³ would abandon as nondescript and undescribable, and seeming to indicate a remote origin. These are found abundantly also in Italian blazonry, because it was mainly from Imperial concessions, or by reason of their Teutonic descent, that the Italian nobility received or displayed their *scudi gentilizii*⁴, of which the learned Bartholus expounded the law. German Heraldry—its peculiar character.

§ 4. If Henry really patronized any customs or martial exercises of the before-mentioned nature, Otho may in some degree have inherited his marked predilection for those combats, which, though more immediately dictated by Teutonic customs, have been frequently adopted as tests of truth amongst all antient races, imparting their animating spirit to chivalrous enterprise; when the appetite for "passages of arms"—not unseldom, however, approximating to conventional fanfaronades—became contagious.

Discouraged by the Church, as a temptation of Providence, the Battle Ordeal⁵ had been declining in estimation. Where the *Lex Romana* prevailed, it was indeed only partially admissible; but Otho, receding from the advance of enlightenment, gave inordinate encouragement to this rough process. Abstract principles were to be defined by animal strength. Such was the Battle ordeal discouraged by the Church.

951-987 case when Otho ordained that celebrated Duel which settled the
 } conflicting doctrines of lineal representation in the second degree,
 } and of proximity in the first ;—the one motivated by the natural
 951-962 feelings of affection, and the other grounded on the technical
 principles of law.

Duel
ordered
by Otho
for the
purpose of
deciding
the prin-
ciples of
hereditary
repre-
sentation.

The conflict, so prominent in the history of mediæval jurisprudence, ensued at "Steil," in Westphalia, and constituted a species of episode in a private war, which, raging between two great Saxon nobles, Everhard and Bruning, had disturbed the whole country. For the purpose of terminating the bloody feud, a great Convention of the People was held. The mission of the Folkmoot concerned the whole Community, but the parties in a private suit profited by the opportunity of bringing their case before the national tribunal.—A dispute had arisen with respect to a partible inheritance ; to wit, whether the sons of a son dying in the lifetime of his father and their grandfather, should or should not be excluded by their uncles, the grandfather's surviving sons. Pursuant to custom, the Assembly directed that the question should be submitted to "Scheiderichter,"—"Arbitrators" as we must call them in modern English, but, according to the original idea—lost in our own language, though emphatically retained in some of the Teutonic as well as Semitic dialects,— "Dividers."

Otho, however, would not hear of it. Never would he abide that men of noble birth, chiefs of the people, should be treated so disrespectfully. A combat between "Gladiators"—a singular term, and raising points for consideration—was,—as Otho declared, the only decent process for settling disputes compromising Estates of high degree. The sword of the grandchildren's sturdy advocate triumphed in the debate ; and judgment being given accordingly, the principle that the share of such a Feud should descend as a vested interest to the deceased Father's issue, became the established law.

Otho com-
pels his
daughter
Liutgarda,
wife of
Conrad of
Lorraine,
to clear
herself by
the battle
trial.

Otho was sternly consistent in his preference for the Battle trial. He risked the reputation of his only daughter, by compelling her to abide the result of this perilous and fallacious process. A villanously false accusation having been preferred against the royal lady, she earnestly entreated to be allowed to clear herself by canonical compurgation, and her imperial parent denied the request. The Accuser was disgracefully vanquished, but her husband, Duke Conrad, continued to withhold his love from his innocent consort. Liutgarda patiently endured her

tribulations until her death. She was interred in Saint Alban's Basilica at Mayence, and her silver spindle, perhaps a nuptial present, or the symbol by which she received seizin of her "Morgengabe,"¹ was suspended over her tomb. 951-987
951-962

Furthermore, to Otho's fostering we may also attribute the renewed development of a custom then almost forgotten in usage—the challenge given by a single Champion against a whole host of enemies. The Edeling's defiance of the Rouen Normans affords a memorable exemplification of this practice; and we shall have to describe another combat, nearly parallel in circumstances, which came off before the gates of Paris. Similar demonstrations of devoted courage or vapouring bravery, may be traced equally to the scriptural, the mythological, and the classical ages. Yet Otho's general encouragement of such appeals to the sword is not the less illustrative of the process whereby so many divers elements and modes of thought, ultimately combined in generating the splendid pageant, equally real and unreal, of Knighthood feasting in Saint George's Hall², or tilting in the field of the Cloth of Gold between Guisnes and Ardres.

§ 5. Although we may correctly assert that the Imperial dignity had fallen into abeyance, we must not suppose that the culminating honour of the Christian world could have passed out of sight, or been forgotten out of mind. When the Imperial succession had failed under Irene's female reign,—for who could acknowledge a woman to be Supreme Head of the Christian Commonwealth,—it was held that an interregnum had occurred. Rome therefore asserted her rights, and her Senate and her People, assuming to act as the virtual representatives of the Western Empire, concurred with Pope Leo in placing the Diadem on the brows of the Frankish Sovereign. In theory, the Imperial authority was an Ordinance grounded upon the most exalted Christian principles, but amalgamated with the policy of the world. If the sectaries of Mahomet were combined in defence of their false faith under their Caliph, was it not equally incumbent on the followers of the Cross to confederate under one Temporal head, whose mediation should prevent the shedding of Christian blood, and whose power should protect them against every infidel enemy? Accompanied by this solemn admonition was the sword delivered by the Pontiff to the successor of the Cæsars; and such the call which Charlemagne obeyed.

Theory of the Imperial dignity in connexion with the Catholic Church. (See "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," Part I. ch. xvii.)

The Emperor the Defender of Christianity.

A glorious hypothesis, but involving mutually destructive interferences and insuperable contradictions; irreconcilable to

951-987

951-962

Divine Faith, and irremovable by human ability. Yet piety and policy, the purest aspirations and the most selfish views, are all found at various periods to have encouraged this majestic vision ; and after the dethronement of Charles-le-Gras, the encreasing confusion of affairs in Italy in general, and in Rome in particular, where the most profligate of men had been promoted to Saint Peter's Chair by the violences of the ferocious and profligate nobles, called loudly for a remedy.

Emperors
in Italy
after the
dismem-
berment
of the
Carlo-
vingian
Empire.
(See vol. I.
pp. 345-
348.)

Encouraged by these openings, various Sovereigns had laboured to obtain the Imperial dignity. Such reverence was rendered to Charlemagne's renown, that, however imperfect the protection afforded by his memory to his descendants, when on the Throne, yet any remote or indirect link of kindred was factiously or fondly construed to impart an inchoate claim. Thus the "August Berenger"¹—grandson in the female line of Louis-le-Débonnaire, had been nominally invested with the Imperial dignity. From a paternal ancestor, the Lombard Eric, Berenger had inherited Friuli, a Marquisate or a Duchy,—the terms are nearly convertible, —a most powerful member of the Lombard realm : not conterminous with the narrowed limits of the Austrian province now so named, but extending from the neighbourhood of Verona far into the Tridentine², and comprehending all those Sub-alpine districts on the northern side of the mountains, or included in their ramifications, whose antient unity with Italy is still manifested by their employment of the Italian tongue.

Berenger
I. and his
com-
petitors.
888—924

Berenger possessed brilliant talents, nor were his competitors, Lambert, and Guido³, and the unfortunate Hugh of Provence⁴, destitute of merit or valour. Yet these abortive revivals were so fragmentary and unsequential, that, during their spasmodic existence, they only mocked the Majesty of the Western Commonwealth :—none of these Sovereigns or Pretenders, acknowledged as Cæsars in any Transalpine state,—none, obtaining any permanent Cisalpine authority as legitimate Emperors.

Henry the
Fowler,
"Advo-
catus
Roman-
orum,"
some-
times, but
errone-
ously,
reckoned
as an
Emperor.

Henry the Fowler, seated on Charlemagne's throne at Aix-la-Chapelle, wielding Charlemagne's sceptre, and wearing Charlemagne's Imperial diadem, is supposed to have contemplated the full acquisition of Charlemagne's power. The son of the Saxon Conrad rises before posterity invested with so much grandeur, and clothed with such dignity, that he has been not unfrequently quoted as an Emperor ; and though he never positively employed the Imperial title in his official acts, yet the style of "Advocatus Romanorum," which he assumed, approximates closely to the

assertion of such an authority, possessing at the same time a happy or unhappy ambiguity. 951-987

Otho, inheriting his father's dominions, spirit, and wisdom, entertained, from the beginning, designs even more ample. Since the homage of Attigny he had been steadily, though quietly gaining influence in France. A supremacy over the whole Carlovingian Territory throughout Germany, and throughout the Gauls, would open the road to the portals of the Capitol, and his dealings with the Oriental Cæsars testified his anxiety to be deemed an Emperor's Peer. But the fratricidal conflicts which attain such melancholy importance during the earlier periods of Otho's reign, the strenuous warfare he waged against the Sclavonians, and the need of resisting the Magyar devastations, had hitherto allowed him but small leisure for pursuing such an enterprise. Thus embarrassed, however ardently Otho may have encouraged the hope of emulating his father, and whatever devices or plans for awakening the Imperial authority from slumber may have flitted before his fancy or occupied his thoughts, it is very possible that he might have postponed the attempt indefinitely, had he not been stimulated by a combination of circumstances equally persuasive to the statesman, and inviting to the warrior, consonant with his exalted feelings, and attractive to his imaginative mind. 951-962
Otho seeks to obtain the supremacy over the whole Carlovingian Empire.

§ 6. The Italian Peninsula, in the age immediately succeeding the cessation of the Carlovingian imperial authority, may be viewed as including three leading political divisions. Political divisions of Italy.

Lombardy, often (and perhaps more diplomatically) styled the kingdom of Italy, threatened or commanded all the rest. That sweetest bidding of repose, "*felicissima notte*," whose harmony first rejoices the weary and benighted traveller at Airolo as he descends the Saint Gothard, is a living announcement that he has entered the frontier of the Lombard conquests, far more emphatic than the neighbouring ruined tower which failed to guard them. The boundaries of Lombardy girdled all the regions where the dialects which Dante would have acknowledged as appertaining to the "*Volgare eloquenzia*" are still spoken, from the North and Northward into and beyond the Alps, and the Saint Bernard and Mont Cenis passes; and Southward unto the Apennines; and beyond the Apennines unto the frontiers of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, and the Duchy of Rome. Kingdom of Lombardy.
Lombard Duchies, Marquisates, Counties, &c.

These lands had been partitioned by the Barbarian victors, Autharis¹ and Cleph, and their successors, amongst thirty-four

951-987
951-962

Lombard
Feudality.

Dukes ; and many Marquises, those of Friuli, Tuscany, and Spoleto being the most important. Moreover an hundred Counts were placed in the several Cities, whose numbers were encreased by divisions of their territories, as well as by farther creations under the Carlovingians. A vast array of "Gastaldi"¹ and "Capitanei," obtained their *sortes* or allotments, the various ranks constituting altogether a crowd of Nobles, all claiming Gothic or Teutonic origin.—No aristocracy in the West so truly realized the feudal idea, none so powerful against their Sovereign, or more intent upon controlling his authority. During three generations and four they retained their long beards and their laws. The latter, though gradually modified by the Roman jurisprudence, they never positively abandoned ; for even until the Revolution a text from the "*Leges Longobardorum*" might be occasionally quoted, at Florence or Milan, with reasonable pertinence, in forensic proceedings. Yet, in all other respects, subdued by the magic influence of Italian soil, and Italian sky, and above all of the Italian tongue, the Lombards became a thoroughly Italian population. Proud as they were of their descent, they wholly forgot their ancestral language, and exhibited, in their general character, all the talents and all the vices which adorn and pollute the Garden of the World.

Rome and
the Ex-
archate of
Ravenna.

The second group of Ausonian² dominations included Rome—Rome, disgraced and tyrannized by the ferocious and profligate Nobility and the debased citizens who composed the Republic,—and the Exarchate of Ravenna ; the latter territory having fully reverted to the Byzantine Empire.

Apulia,
Naples,
&c.

Lastly, Apulia and the adjoining regions, where the Lombard Dukes reigned with independent authority, each a Sovereign in his own Duchy or City. Naples however was still claimed by the Byzantine Emperor, though much annoyed by the Saracens.

Lothaire
and
Berenger
joint
Kings
of Lom-
bardy.

§ 7. Lombardy was at this juncture divided between Lothaire, son of Hugh, late King of Italy and Count of Provence, and the second Berenger, grandson of the first, and who, in addition to Friuli, held the Marquisate of Ivrea, a very important territory, inasmuch as it gave him the keys of the Saint Gothard and Mont Cenis passes.

Lothaire, a prince of promising virtue, had espoused the lovely daughter of Rodolph, King of Transjurane-Burgundy. Adelaide's youthful charms were of small import in estimating her worth, when compared with her wisdom, her discretion, and her piety. One child, the infant Emma, destined to obtain such unhappy

importance in French history, was the only fruit of the marriage. 951-987
—Berenger laboured under the general suspicion that, instigated by his wicked wife Guilla, the daughter of Boso, Duke of Tuscany, he had removed Lothaire by poison; and both Berenger and Guilla were extremely desirous that the widowed Queen should marry Adalbert, their son. 951-962

Adelaide peremptorily refused. Berenger and his wife endeavoured to overcome her resistance by gifts, by anger, by menaces—all failing, they realized their threats, for she was entirely in their power. They stripped off her garments—they tore her hair out by the roots,—they beat her,—they kicked her,—they cast her into a foul dungeon, beneath a Castle hard by the Lago di Garda, one poor little serving-maid being her only companion. Aided by a kind Priest, the faithful Martin, Adelaide escaped from prison. Many were willing to believe that the Queen had been delivered by the energetic little serving-maid, who, unprovided with spade or mattock, excavated the earth under the dungeon door with her own hands. All authorities, however, concur in representing that Adelaide's most efficient helper was the faithful Martin. If Martin ever quitted her side, it was with the intent that he might work more effectually in Adelaide's cause.

951—
Lothaire's
death—
persecu-
tion of his
widow
Adelaide.

Aug. 20,
951—
Adelaide's
escape
from
prison.

Adelaide was tracked by her enemies. Amongst other adventures we are told how the fair fugitive became entangled in the marshy borders of the lake. The Sun rose and the Sun set, and rose and set again, and she would have been death-starved by hunger and misery had she not been rescued by a fisherman.—At one perilous juncture, chased at full gallop by her savage tormentors, they raised the view-halloo, and were gaining upon her, till she baulked them by plunging down amongst the tall stalks of the growing corn; and though, dashing after her, they searched the field with their lances, she continued undiscovered by the perverse diligence of her hunters, and they lost their prey. But soon a brighter fortune dawned.

Through the intervention of Adelhard, Bishop of Reggio, his brother, Albert Azzo, had accepted the hazardous duty of standing forward as Adelaide's protector and defender. Prince of the sacred palace, Marquis of Modena and Reggio, Albert Azzo, adopted as an ancestor of the house of Este, figures prominently in the magnificent vision raised by the prophetic Melissa¹ before the spell-bound Bradamante in Merlin's cave.

951—
Albert
Azzo, the
Marquis of
Modena
and
Reggio,
protects
her.

951-987

951-962

Vedi qui Alberto, invitto Capitano,
 Ch' ornerà di trofei tanti delubri,
 Ugo il figlio è con lui, che di Milano
 Farà l' acquisto, e spiegherà i Colubri.
 Azzo è quell' altro, a cui resterà in mano
 Dopo il fratello, il regno degl' Insubri.
 Ecco Albert Azzo, il cui savio consiglio,
 Torra d' Italia, Berengario, e 'l figlio.

E sarà degno, à cui Cesare Otone
 Alda sua figlia in matrimonio aggiunga,
 Vedi un' altro Ugo, ò bella successione,
 Che dal patrio valor non si dilunga.
 Costui sarà, che per giusta cagione
 A i superbi Roman l' orgoglio emunga,
 Che 'l terzo Otone, e il Pontefice tolga
 De la man loro, e 'l grave assedio sciolga¹.

Value of
 Ariosto's
 historical
 pictures.

This ideal representation diverges widely from the facts ; but the bright tints of Ariosto impress upon our minds many a historical picture which fades from our memory after we have dozed before the groupe as delineated by the veracious and lifeless pencils of Saint-Marc² or Muratori³ :—Truth is not always true to Nature.

Powerful, however, as Albert Azzo may have been, he could not carry on the contest against Berenger, whose strength earned for him in Italy the strange epithet of the “ Rhinoceros,” and Albert Azzo would have been unable to oppose a permanent resistance against the Tyrant.

951-952
 Otho
 determines
 to conquer
 Italy and
 espouse
 Adelaide.

This task was reserved for Henry's son. The tale of Adelaide's sufferings resounded throughout the Carlovingian states. Even in the most secluded monasteries the inmates were excited to wonder and to pity. Her beauty, her virtues, Berenger's unpopularity, the disturbed state of Lombardy, all concurred in stimulating Otho to recover Charlemagne's inheritance. The Princes and Vassals of the Empire were summoned, and the Saxon King declared the causes and the objects of the enterprise in which he determined to engage ;—he would humiliate the pride of the tyrannous Berenger, liberate the oppressed Widow, win at one and the same time Adelaide's hand and the sceptre of Italy, and then present himself in the antient Capital of the world.

951—
 Otho
 enters
 Italy
 through
 the valley
 of the
 Adige.

§ 8. The valley of the Etsch, or Adige, that poetical stream, that cerulean stream whose Teutonic and Italian denominations exemplify so forcibly, by their contrast, the unsubdued harshness of organization in the one race, and the sense of harmony

bestowed upon or acquired by the other, affords the most accessible military road from the Schwaben-land to Ausonia. 951-987
Otho commenced his march with a mighty force, accompanied 951-962
by Liudolph, Editha's son, his only son, in whom all the father's hopes and affections had hitherto centred ; but who, from very obvious and excusable, however illaudable, motives, already contemplated his father's romantic combinations of love and war with bitter vexation and anxiety.—Next in station, Henry of Bavaria¹, still revelling in unforgetten jealousies, unallayed and scarcely concealed ;—Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, Otho's valiant but turbulent son-in-law ;—Frederick, Archbishop of Mayence ;—and a vast number of other Nobles and Prelates.—No more fancies about hats of straw, but an army of ardent warriors fully equipped in a manner befitting high enterprise.

All the results of the hostilities now commenced, and which continued fitfully, until Otho fully accomplished his designs, are clearly established. But the details relating to transactions in a far country, obscurely known to the chroniclers, are related with corresponding confusedness. It should seem that the grieved and affronted Liudolph separated himself from his father, pursuing his own course for the purpose of thwarting the expedition. Otho, however, advanced, heading his vast army of Saxons and Bavarians, Franks and Lotharingians. No opposition was offered in the plains of Lombardy. Otho's triumphant progress is traced, not by battles or conflicts, but by the promulgation of his charters. Proud Milan opened her gates, and Otho's occupation of the City as Lord and Master, was commemorated by the tiny coin, the *Ottelini*, struck by his orders during his residence. The diminutive denomination, popularly given to the mintage, testifies the smallness of the pieces, possibly also the baseness of the metal. These continued in circulation long after Otho's line had passed away, and, when Frederick Barbarossa commenced his reign, the Citizens in their daily dealings, might have been usefully reminded of their subjugation to the Saxon Cæsar.

Liudolph's
grudges
against his
father,
from
whom he
separates
himself.

Otho's tri-
umphant
progress—
he
surprises
Milan.

Berenger retreated to Pavia, taking refuge in the strong fortress whose site is still marked by the gigantic castellated Palace of the Visconti ; now equally the monument and memorial of past splendour and modern Vandalism. But the Lombard King could not maintain his position, and he fled before the face of the enemy. Otho, thereupon, forthwith assumed the royal authority, and, proclaiming himself as King, issued his royal Precepts, dated in the first year of his reign in Italy ; the style,

Oct. 951—
Berenger
retreats to
Pavia, but
abandons
his
position.

951-987

however, being singularly curious. The Titles of "*Rex Francorum et Longobardorum*"¹ and of "*Rex Francorum et Italicorum*,"²

951-962

Otho enters the City, proclaiming himself King, and Eastern Emperor, issues his royal Mandates and Charters in that character.

are equally adopted in separate instruments. This variation can scarcely be ascribed to accident, and may be construed as testifying, not only to the much dominion he had gained, but to the more he asserted.—Otho, King of the Franks West or East, or East and West, as he chose to construe the ethnological name—Otho, not merely King of the Lombards, but of all the populations to whom the enchorial denomination of "Italians" appertained.

Dec. 951—Adelaide conducted to Pavia, and married to Otho.

Otho ranged victoriously throughout the plain of Lombardy, which passed completely under his power, save and except some strongholds retained by Berenger or his lieges. But, in the meanwhile, Otho's brother Henry had been despatched to Canossa³, for the purpose of bearing the Royal wooer's offer. No hesitation on the part of the illustrious Messenger to perform the office,—for Henry and his nephew Liudolph happened now to be at variance,—no reluctance felt or affected by the blooming Widow; she was conducted to Pavia, where the Victor was presented to the Bride whom he had won. The nuptials were celebrated with exuberant magnificence, and doubly joyful was the Christmas festival, the wedding, and the holiday. But scarcely had Otho begun to sip the honey when he was compelled to quaff the gall.

Indeed, what must have been the undutiful thoughts, but, humanly speaking, the incontrollable thoughts, which distracted the young, the ambitious, the energetic Liudolph, when he beheld the lovely Adelaide upon the throne, seated by his grey-headed father's side,—she so fitted, through age and station, to become the consort of the son? What plan more politic, or more conformable to nature and to reason, than that Adelaide, as the wife of Liudolph, the designated successor to the German Empire, should unite in their descendants the kingdoms of Germany and of Italy? Nor was it possible for Liudolph to forget that, though designated by Otho as his successor, his very title to that succession had become defeasible. Eldest he always must be, but the son of Otho and of Editha was not the son of a crowned King and a crowned Queen; and, were such an heir to be the fruit of the nuptials, his claims might be completely annulled. Liudolph could scarcely have concealed his vexation, nor did he care to conceal it. He again severed himself from his father and hurried on to Saxony, where he took up his abode at Saalfeld in Thuringia, "the place of fatal counsels,"—and, according to tradition, there was the plan of rebellion arranged.

952—Liudolph joins in organizing a rebellion against Otho.

Necessity compelled Otho to make his Queen acquainted with her barbarian dominions much sooner than he had anticipated. Having hastily returned with her to Germany, he despatched Duke Conrad to Italy for the purpose of defending the country. But Conrad himself was unfaithful. Conrad was combining with Liudolph and with Henry of Bavaria against Otho,—a son, a brother, and a son-in-law,—concerting his ruin. Berenger retained sufficient power to enable him to co-operate with Otho's domestic enemies: and, it should seem, that they sought to restore the Lombard to his dominions, in order that he might unite with them against Otho, their common foe. This consummation could not be accomplished by force; but an appeal to the Victor's clemency might have some effect, and Berenger, upon Conrad's advice, submitted to the humiliation with the double intent of recovering his power, and of aiding in the plans which Otho's envenomed kindred were concocting against a brother, a father, and a Sovereign.

951-987
951-962
952—
Otho returns to Germany.

Discontent was prevailing widely. The ultramontanes, whether of the Romane tongue or the Tudesque, equally hated and despised the "Italians," for they merged the personality of the dominant Teutonic race in the general idea of the regions which they ruled. In their opinion, Adelaide was an Italian though she had not a drop of Italian blood in her veins: her Emma, Lothaire's little daughter,—and fated to become another Lothaire's queen,—was an Italian *bambina* likewise, and, when she grew up, her local nationality contributed much to the aversion she encountered. As for Adelaide, her exemplary virtues, aided by her beauty and pleasant manners, ultimately conquered all hearts, but, at the first blush, the marriage was very unpalatable to the German multitude.

Great discontent excited by Otho's Italian marriage.

Berenger, repairing to King Otho at Magdeburg, was received with frigid respect. A deputation of Palatine nobles came forth to meet him, and he was conducted to the lodging which had been prepared for him. But Berenger found that he was treated rather as a prisoner than as a guest. Three days elapsed ere the Lombard was admitted to see the King's face; and, though permitted to return to Italy, promises and pledges were exacted from him, that he would appear before the Convention summoned to be held at Augsburg on the seventh day of August, the seventh of the ides of the month, being the Saturday before old Saint Laurence his day.

952—
Berenger determines to appeal to Otho's mercy, and repairs to Germany. He is received ungraciously, and returns to Italy.

The Assembly possessed the combined character of a Parliament,

951-987 } or Placitum, and an Ecclesiastical Synod. All the nations sub-
 951-962 } jected to Otho,—Saxons, Bavarians, Suabians, Lombards,—were
 952— } represented by their Nobles. The Ecclesiastical Estate was
 7 August— } solemnly imposing. The names of the principal Prelates of
 Great } Germany and Italy, from Mayence laved by the broad Rhine,
 Council } to the Etruscan hill-forts of Cortona and Arezzo, shew how Otho's
 or Diet of } mandate was obeyed far and nigh. The representatives de-
 Germany } spatched by Constantine Porphyrogenitus again bore witness to
 and Italy } the interest excited in the Eastern Empire by the affairs of the
 convened } West. And this constitutional Council, so memorable in European
 at } history, is connected with an incident not without importance in
 Augsburg, } the annals of science, for, during the Session a large stone, its
 attended } magnitude most marvellous, fell from the heavens upon the earth
 also by } amidst a raging storm—hail, rain, and thunder.

also by
the am-
bassadors
from the
Eastern
Emperor,
and before
which
Berenger
and
Adalbert
appear.

Before this solemn and venerable Senate, Berenger, and his son Adalbert, humbly appeared as suppliants, soliciting King Otho's peace. The prayer was granted, but upon hard terms. Surrendering the Lombard kingdom to Otho, they received the same back again from him, not as an independent Sovereignty, but as a Benefice, of which the successor of Charlemagne, by delivering the golden sceptre, gave them seizin. The father and the son placed their hands between the hands of Otho, and commended themselves to him as vassals, taking the oaths accordingly. Berenger was then saluted as King of Lombardy, but with contracted boundaries; inasmuch as the Conqueror enforced an important cession. Otho retained the Marches of Verona and Aquileia, the best part of the Friulian duchy. This district was placed under the government of Henry of Bavaria, to the end that the high road to Italy should be always kept open and free.

Lombardy,
the Crown
land of the
German
Empire.

Thus did the whole soil of antient Lombardy and its appurtenances, with some few exceptions, grounded upon antient rights or claims, such as allodial¹ Monaco and the doubly dubious republic of the Lagunes², become vested in the Imperial crown, and an integral portion of the Holy Roman Empire; and so continued according to the theory of the "Reichs-verfassung,"³ until the era, still distinct within the recollections of many surviving amidst the present generation, who lived when that Empire was dissolved⁴.

§ 9. A period ensued, abounding with events equally contrasting and interesting, during which Otho's sorrows were scarcely counterbalanced by his triumphs. It would be my

delight to narrate them minutely, but time presses, space decreases, 951-987
old age advances, and, amongst the details which I reluctantly 951-962
avoid, I can only glance at some few prominent incidents bearing
upon the personages who figure in the History of France or
Normandy, or who contributed to the development of the Empire.

Liudolph's vexation was becoming unbearable. Blooming 952-3
Adelaide did not disappoint the expectations which might be Liudolph's
most reasonably entertained ; and, in due time after the nuptials, jealousies
she brought forth her eldest son. The delighted Husband be- of his half-
stowed upon the child of his new love the name borne by his brothers,
own noble father, Henry, the crowned King. But this first bud of the three
the *Sachs Lombardey* branch was prematurely blighted, and the sons of
wailing rival removed, Liudolph became somewhat more easy— Otho and
but—alas and alackaday !—not for long. The months during Adelaide—
which the heir whilome apparent, but now presumptive, enjoyed Henry,
the absence of a competitor, were numbered. Bruno,
and Otho
(after-
wards
Otho II.).

More hopes, gossips and rockers, full-fed nurses and knowing
matrons, were again congregating in the burthened Queen's apart-
ments. Adelaide did well, and Otho was able to compliment his
brother Bruno by bestowing upon the new Nephew the name of
the Uncle, who probably lifted him up from the font.

In essentials, all distinctions of rank are obliterated by the
opening and the closing events of human life ; the bosom as
much as the grave,—under equivalent circumstances, the tempta-
tions identical. The same mean, sordid, and selfish sentiments
are inspired by the chances of succession to the greedy grandame's
grimy rag-wrapped guinea, the gilded Coronet, or the golden
Crown. We may fancy Liudolph collecting all the cradle reports,
and the earnest interest he took in his tiny brother's teething.
For the encouragement of Liudolph, the baby Bruno was a
dwindler, being evidently destined soon to drop from the bough ;
but any cheerful anticipations thus arising were again dashed ;
and a third child was born, upon whom paternal, or perhaps the
more prescient maternal, affection, conferred the father's name.
Youngest and last of the legitimate children begotten by Otho, Otho II.:
jealousies
excited in
Liudolph
by his
birth.
the boy prospered—fine and healthy ;—and, unless gained or
regained by force, Liudolph might be all but certain that the
covenanted inheritance would be denied to him.

Hatred, malice, and every bad passion now raged amongst
the Royal family. Liudolph, Conrad, and other nobles were
fiercely incensed against Henry of Bavaria. Liudolph headed a
conspiracy against his father, and this sinful act pacified his

951-987

951-962

Con-
federacy
of Otho's
family
against
him.

Uncle, who, never fully renouncing his enmity against Otho, readily joined. But if these kinsmen mutually were at variance, they nevertheless merged all differences in their common feeling of dislike and enmity against the glorious King. The dethronement of Otho was the object distinctly avowed. So contagious was the discontent—so bitter the antipathy entertained by the Germans against the Italianized Adelaide—that even Bruno, so loudly lauded for learning and piety, is suspected to have been momentarily seduced into the revolt. It is said he invited Conrad, Otho's son-in-law, to usurp either the kingdom of Lorraine, or, as it is alleged, the very Empire. The unnatural war was pursued with so much enmity and energy, that it seems to have been merely by chance that father and son were not brought into actual and personal conflict. Yet, during this most melancholy period, Otho achieved a victory which may almost be considered as having rescued Western Christendom from destruction.

Liudolph's cause was popular, especially amongst the young, and general sympathy was elicited by the apprehension that his claims would be defeated by the new passion which had fascinated his father.

Bruno's culpability may be a dubious imputation, but there is no uncertainty concerning the guilt incurred by the other conspirators. Conrad and Liudolph, taking the lead, concurred in an act of treason, not only against Germany, but the Christian Commonwealth. Doubting whether they could make head against Otho, the desperate animosity of his kinsmen induced them to invoke the Magyars, and to bring upon their own people the enemies who prided themselves in deserving the epithet bestowed upon Attila, "The Scourge of God." At this period Zultu¹ Duke or King of the Magyars, Zultu, who fixed the circling boundaries of the kingdom. As if the desire of conquest and the prospect of plunder were not sufficient to set the savages in movement, large gifts in money were transmitted to Zultu by Conrad. And the foul misdeed, which might perhaps be doubted, at least as to the full extent, if we had no other voucher than the French and German Chroniclers, is proved incontestably by the statement of the anonymous historian, who, simply designated as the "Notary of King Bela," is the only authority for the primeval periods of Magyar history. This insane instigation brought on the great inroad of the Magyars into France, Burgundy, and Italy, and the miserable desolation which we have already noticed as having ensued shortly before the death of Louis d'Outremer.

952-3

Conrad
and the
confederates
invite the
Magyars.

952-

The
Magyar
invasion
of France,
Burgundy,
&c.—(See
p. 336.)

Conrad's subsequent repentance, in which he was consistent till his death, shews how deeply he felt his guilt. But Liudolph's angry feelings hardened him against the truth. It was he, who had sinned most deeply, not merely toward his Father but as a public enemy. For Liudolph furnished the Magyars with the guides, who enabled them to effectuate their desolating invasion.

951-987

954-955

The melancholy feud between Otho and his nearest of kin, having raged during nearly three years, a pacification was concluded in the Diet of Arnstadt: and the incidents which accompanied the restoration of peace, were not without a touch of sweetness. Whilst Otho was chasing in the forest near Sonnenfeld in Thuringia, between Cronach and Coburg, a locality whose name bespeaks the connexion thereof with the antient Teutonic belief,—a suppliant, bare-headed, bare-footed, cast himself upon the ground before the Royal Huntsman. It was Liudolph, humbly appealing to his Father's mercy. As for Conrad, he was deprived of his Duchy, and all other the possessions derived from Otho's bounty; nothing left to him beyond his paternal inheritance. The bold, the generous, yet stiff-necked warrior submitted meekly and contentedly to this impoverishment and humiliation. His heart was wholly changed; and he henceforward desired life, only that he might be spared until he could testify his repentance.

954—
The Pacification of Arnstadt.955—
Liudolph's humiliation and Conrad's repentance.

But the mischief could not be undone. The Magyars cared nothing for the reconciliation between King Otho and the recreants who had sought their alliance, and were determined to accept the invitation they had received, to its fullest extent. The attack upon Northern France was only their first campaign.

§ 10. Not long subsequently to the Pacification of Arnstadt, certain Legates or Ambassadors, despatched by Zultu, appeared most unexpectedly before Otho, professing friendship, nay, obedience. Otho at once guessed the truth;—they had come to spy out the state of the Country.—Indeed, the device was very clumsy, inasmuch as there was no one previous time or era, when amicable relations had subsisted between Teutscher and Mogor, and, there was no call now for any alteration of sentiment. Otho treated the cunning intruders with civil contempt; and, having been well feasted, they received some inconsiderable gifts, and were sent away.

955—
Fraudulent embassy despatched to Otho by the Magyars.

Scarcely had Otho thus freed himself from them, when intelligence arrived, transmitted with great alarm by his brother Henry, that the allies whom Conrad had set in movement, were

951-987

955-962

955—
The great
Magyar
invasion.

come. The Barbarians were pouring into the land. The Magyar Hordes, when they re-entered Germany, were more fiercely determined upon rapine than ever before.—Botund the son of Culpun, Zobols the son of Eleud, and Ircun, or Urcun, the son of Eugee, were, according to the Mogor chronicles, the chief Commanders :—Magyar scholars must decide as to the accuracy of their uncouth names. The desire of avenging the shameful death inflicted upon Lelu and Bulzu exacerbated their native fury. Wasting the country as they advanced, they halted to the east of the river Lech, not far from Augsburg, the residence City.

Otho rallied his vassals and subjects, preparing most energetically for the conflict ; and the Germans of every rank and degree ought to have been thankful that such a national Chief had been raised up to be their Leader during this most arduous and justifiable war ;—truly justifiable—for it was wholly defensive.

The Magyar multitudes were enormous. The main body, according to report, numbered a hundred thousand, and from the full stream of the Danube to the haunted Hartzwald and the sylvan Schwartzwald, the whole country was darkened by the swarms of the fiendish foes.—The Magyars boasted, that, unless the Earth should open her mouth and swallow them, or the sky fall and crush them, all Germany must become theirs.

955—
The
Magyars
attack
Augsburg,
but are
repulsed.

Being probably well acquainted with Otho's plans, for the Magyars were craftful in gaining intelligence, they attacked Augsburg ; nor were they repulsed but with great difficulty. Otho had appointed his muster to be held near that City. Thither he marched his troops, the Magyars pestering them like hornets all the way.

Com-
parative
scantiness
of Otho's
forces.

The scantiness of Otho's forces was remarkable, and testifies how shamefully the treasonable family dissensions had debased the national spirit.—The army, embodied scarce ten years then since, for the purpose of satisfying a silly rivalry,—the proud army which had been routed before Rouen,—mustered two-and-thirty Legions ; but, in this extreme urgency, only one-fourth of that number, to wit, eight Legions, could be raised. And yet the invasion of Normandy was a wanton aggression, whilst, in the present time of peril, all the Germanic tribes ought to have been incited to the utmost exertions by the righteousness of their cause.—No provocation had been given to the Magyars by the Germans ; but simply for the protection of their land, their liberty, and their faith, was their conflict waged.

When Conrad joined the army, universal cheers resounded from the ranks as he rode by, such confidence did they place in his valour. Their joy, however, at Conrad's approach, was a sorrow to him ; their eager jubilee bespoke the danger into which he had brought his native country ; and dolefully did their greetings fall upon his ears, deepening his contrition for the evils he had caused.

951-987

955-962

955—
Conrad
joins the
army—En-
thusiasm
excited
by his
presence.

The
Magyars
advance—
skilful or-
ganization
of Otho's
army.

The Magyars were advancing towards the "Lech-feld,"¹—a district so denominated from the river by which it is watered, —evidently intending to occupy the tracts to the eastward of the stream. Otho forthwith marched in a parallel direction, but on the opposite side. Three Legions of Bavarians, and a fourth of Franconians, headed by Duke Conrad, composed the right wing. —The Suabian Legion, under Duke Burchard, supported by the Bohemian Legion, to whom the baggage was entrusted, formed the left. But the Royal Legion, a thousand warriors elected and selected from the whole Army, constituted the centre. Before the ranks and above Otho's head waved Saint Michael's banner —Saint Michael, the celestial warrior, who, when the gorgeous institutions of Chivalry assumed their full development, was generally honoured throughout the greater part of Western Christendom as the tutelary Protector of the Order.

In the legendary symbolism of the mediæval era, the hieroglyphical representation, so significantly portraying the power of evil subdued by the sword of faith, may be considered as identical with the mythic Saint George : who, amongst many of the German nations, usurped the honour previously assigned to the Archangel. The Suabian *Ritterschaft* peculiarly claimed Saint George as their Patron ; and it is a curious example of the meandering interlacements of history, that the Vicariate of the Empire, our third Edward's transient pride, probably introduced this creation of oriental hagiography to the notice of our triumphant King. The connexion he thus formed with Germany and the Germans induced him to favour their minstrelsy, their language, and their decorative arts. These tastes were inherited by his descendants.—Teutonic legends, *Ich dien* and *Hochmuth*, adorn the trophied tomb of Cressy's Hero², who, when living, actually signed his letters by employing the latter epigraph as a confidential substitute for his name. In like manner, his son, the unfortunate Richard, by an ingenious arrangement³, made the words of the German motto, appropriated to the Ostrich feather, bespeak his affection for his German Consort, the good Queen Anne. This

Saint
Michael's
banner a
symbolical
representa-
tion, iden-
tical with
Saint
George—
Influence
of German
chivalry in
England
under
Edward
III.

951-987 pleasant fancy, preserved in Richard's own handwriting in a very
 singular volume catacombed amongst the treasures of our great
 National Library, constitutes the most curious amongst the few
 955-962 remaining autographs of our antient Sovereigns.

9th
 August,
 955—
 Otho
 takes his
 station to
 the West
 of the
 Lech.

§ 11. Having indulged in this flight to distant Windsor, Windsor's Round Table, and Windsor's Tower, we must return to the heroic Otho, who had taken his station westward of the Lech. Through his scouts, he had ascertained that the Magyars were approaching, but he seems to have expected, as we infer by comparing the relations given by our Chroniclers—accurate Witikind, and ambitious Dithmar—that they would come up in about the space of four-and-twenty hours. Well did Otho know the nature of such agile foes: many a time and oft had he discomfited and slaughtered Sclave and Wend, and Zech and Avar. But the Magyars moved more rapidly than even the experienced General had anticipated. Suddenly crossing the water, and filling the air with elrich screechings, they stormed the German host. The Bohemians were scattered—many a knight caught and pinioned by the grinning Ogre,—and all the baggage became the plunder of the enemy. The stout Suabians fled, and the disorder was extending throughout the whole Army.—“Forward, Conrad,”—was Otho's command; and Conrad bravely performed his duty; the Barbarians were cut to pieces and dispersed, the booty recovered, the Prisoners delivered, and Conrad returned with banners displayed.

Sudden
 assault
 of the
 Magyars,
 who
 surprised
 the left
 wing of
 the
 German
 army. But
 Conrad
 drives
 them back.

955—
 9th
 August,
 Eve of the
 battle.

The Germans re-encamped, and prepared for the morrow by fasting and prayer. That morrow was the feast of Saint Laurence—the well-known periodical season of the astral streams. The natural philosopher will be interested by the notice of the awful thunder-storms which spread terror throughout Northern Germany,—but not alone the storms,—for the other portents, by which the tempests were accompanied, created extreme terror.

955—
 10th
 August,
 Morn of
 the battle.

Early in the morning Otho rose and sought strength for the conflict by appealing to the Lord of Hosts, prostrating himself in supplication upon the ground. Having then received the Holy Communion from the hands of his Confessor, Adalric, afterwards canonized, he addressed the soldiers, his companions in war. He reminded them of their former successes, which he ascribed not to their own right hands, but to the Divine protection. They had to wage a conflict for life or death; and Otho, his speech concluded, bracing his shield, and brandishing the Holy Lance, led on the charge.

The battle, fought under the unclouded rays of the burning sun, lasted from the dim day-dawn until the evening star shone resplendent in the darkening firmament. Conrad's exertions were worthy of his reputation, but, suffocated by the sweltering heat, he lifted up the visor of his helmet to take a breath, when the Magyar shaft, speeding on her errand, gave him a mortal wound.

Thus was the prayer of Conrad granted, for he besought that, as a warning chastisement, he might be slain by the enemy whose aid he had invoked against his own people, his own blood, his own kith and kin.

The Magyars defended themselves desperately; but their light-horsemen could not stand against the solid masses of the German cavalry, or resist the heavy trenchant blades wielded by the doughty foe, and, though fighting with desperate pertinacity, they were utterly routed. Otho was foremost in the chase of the fugitives;—no quarter given;—the victors merciless;—the field clothed with the harvest of carnage.—Botund escaped, though Urcun, or some Hetumogor whom the Germans supposed to be the King, was killed; more fortunate than the three who, suffering the same vile punishment as had been inflicted on Lelu and Bulzu, were hung like dogs by the victors. Many were drowned in the river; others rammed and jammed in the horrible charnel pit; all mingle-mangle,—quick and breathing, alive and bleeding, struggling and fainting, dead and dying; others suffocated by the smoke or consumed by the flames in the buildings where they defended themselves,—all were cleared away.—It was a done thing—once and for ever.

Faithful to the old Roman traditions still living throughout Europe—not conned as a dreary lesson out of the thumbled school-book, but gravely told by grisly eld for the instruction of the eagerly listening boy—the German Legions, ere they moved away from the Lech-feld,—truly deserving to be called the *Leich-feld*—the field of corpses, the Suabian “*Lichfield*,”—hailed Otho as father of his Father-land, and saluted him as Emperor.—*Triumpho celebri Rex factus gloriosus, ab exercitu Pater Patræ Imperatorque appellatus est*¹.—The cry was raised by a general and uncontrollable sympathetic feeling. Henceforward, Otho was never addressed in Germany otherwise than as Emperor,—Emperor designate, until duly elected by the temporal and spiritual powers, possessing the exalted prerogative entitling them to name the successor of the Cæsars.

951-987

955-962

10th
August,
955—
The great
battle
of the
Lech-feld.
Total
defeat
of the
Magyars.955—
Death of
Conrad.Vengeance
of the
Germans.955—
Otho
saluted as
Imperator
by his
troops on
the field
of battle.

951-987

955-962

Importance of this victory to Christendom at large, and its advantageous reaction upon the Magyars.

Conversion of the Magyars.

The three anointed Kings of Western Christendom—France, England, and Hungary.

955—
Italian affairs resumed—Berenger abuses his authority; attacks Albert Azzo.

Fully as the victory was appreciated throughout the antient Carlovingian Empire, yet Otho's contemporaries could scarcely be conscious of the high import belonging to the event. If Charles Martel may be said to have rescued Western Christendom from Moslem slavery when he exterminated the Saracen Host on the field of Tours, and repelled the Mahometan deluge, not less is the honour due to Otho's memory. Had not the Magyars succumbed in this conflict, it is probable that all Europe would have fallen under their destructive domination. The consequences were scarcely less beneficial to themselves. They desisted from their inroads. The labours of Saint Adalbert commenced their conversion. Geisa, their King, together with his wife and son, accepted the Sacrament of Baptism through Adalbert's ministration; and that son, Stephen, became the first Christian Monarch of Hungary. From the second Pope Sylvester¹,—enigmatical Gerbert of mysterious fame,—Stephen solicited and obtained the rich Byzantine-fashioned crown still so highly prized by the Magyars as the symbol of the sovereignty which has departed from their land. Stephen also received the title of "Apostolic" from the Supreme Pontiff, the earliest example of those distinctions which even our own Sovereigns are proud to retain. Moreover, Stephen was anointed upon his Coronation, and the King of Hungary was one of the three Christian Kings, distinguished by that Imperial rite; the other two being France—now awaiting the celebration of the solemn ceremony—and Anglo-Saxon Britain;—and Hungary expanded into one of the most brilliant European monarchies.

§ 12. Berenger's submission to Otho did not oust him from his royal rights. The extensive privileges enjoyed by the Prelates and great Feudatories of the Lombard kingdom had always been the exciting cause of dissensions and jealousies between them and their Rulers. Soured by vexation, Berenger greatly abused his legitimate power. He sought to harass and encroach upon his Vassals in every way. Sufficient reason had Berenger to hate Albert Azzo,—assuredly no one better deserved his enmity than Albert Azzo—the warrior through whose gallantry his schemes for securing Adelaide and Italy had been marred. Triple-rampired Canossa, stoutly besieged by Berenger, defied him; but, at length, the Marquis was compelled to crave the aid which Otho was bound to afford, whether as a duty towards an ally and friend, or in the character of Suzerain, to whom the aggrieved Lieges of the Mesne Lord might appeal for justice.

During the German troubles, Otho's attention was diverted from Italian affairs. He now despatched Liudolph for the important purpose of relieving Canossa, and restraining Berenger's misrule. The young Prince acted energetically, but not by reason of any love he bore his Father. He pursued the war so vigorously, that Lombardy passed almost wholly beneath his power. Adalbert, Berenger's adventurous son, gave battle to the German Prince, but, he, defeated and captured,—all Lombardy submitted. Outtake the warmer partisans, there does not seem to have been at this period much fighting blood amongst the Lombards. Berenger fled to his stronghold of San Giulio, a fortified island-rock in the smiling yet solemnly beautiful Lago d'Orta, rising from the blue waters, not far from the shore,—the rock in whose centre still stands the church, containing the rudely sculptured uncouth marble ambo, whence Berenger may have heard the Gospel—the pleasant villa-covered rock—then converted into a fortress, walled and towered and almost impregnable.

Berenger's own garrison surrendered him to Liudolph, but Otho's rebel was Liudolph's friend. Instead of profiting by this great advantage for his Father's benefit, he forthwith enlarged the royal Captive. Berenger resumed his authority. Fresh disturbances ensued, but Liudolph's miserable career suddenly came to an end. Some say Liudolph fell in honourable conflict with Adalbert; others, that he was poisoned by Berenger; but, according to the third and more probable version, a fever carried him off. Liudolph's history, beginning in love, and ending in the most odious form of hatred, descends like a mournful cloud upon the aureole by which Otho's majestic head is surrounded. Had he lived longer, the shade might have become deeper. Liudolph's death, preserving him from further disobedience and sin, may be viewed as a mercy to all parties. Adelaide might have displayed herself in the normal character of a spiteful step-mother; but, fortunately for her fair fame, the temptation was removed: whilst Otho was equally spared the obloquy of sinning against Editha in her grave, by disinheriting her only child, and the dishonour of violating the paternal promise and the national compact which secured to Liudolph the reversion of the Crown.

§ 13. Berenger, freed from Liudolph's presence, and Otho, far distant, conceived himself to be entirely exempted from control; and the Prelates and Nobles, his vassals,—his outrageous violations of law and justice having become intolerable,—addressed

951-987

955-962

956—

Otho
despatches
Liudolph
for Albert
Azzo's
relief.Liudolph,
his
successes.
Adalbert
defeated,
and
Berenger
surren-
dered to
Liudolph.957—
Liudolph's
infidelity
towards
his
father—his
sudden and
somewhat
mysteri-
ous death
—6 Sep.
957.960—
Berenger
provokes
his
subjects.

951-987

their letters to the laurelled "Imperator," praying him to deliver them from the "Tyrant's" oppressions.

955-962

The request, made in writing, was impressively repeated by a solemn deputation.

960—
Otho
invited
by the
Lombards
to deliver
them from
the op-
pressions
of
Berenger.

Walbert, Archbishop of Milan, Oberto, or Obizzo¹, whom we are called upon to honour as the Founder of the great Marquisate of Este, and Waldo, Bishop of Como,—these three appeared on behalf of the whole Lombard Community, having also to complain of individual wrongs. The Archbishop was aggrieved by Queen Guilla, who, having sold the See to a certain Manasses, was labouring to install the simoniacal intruder. Obizzo had stood very high in Berenger's confidence, and his greatest friend; but Berenger was now seeking his life. And the Patrician Octavian, raised to the Pontificate as John the Twelfth², and equally persecuted by Berenger, earnestly concurred in imploring the aid of Otho against the common enemy.

Death of
Bruno, the
eldest of
Otho's
remaining
children by
Adelaide.

Of Otho's three sons by Adelaide, two were left, but immediately after Otho had received the intelligence of Liudolph's death, the elder of the two, sickly Bruno, was taken away, and the puisne, his father's namesake, was his only remaining heir. Otho was therefore at full liberty to accomplish his heart's desire, the transmission of his authority to the child of that second Consort, who had so completely obliterated the memory of the first. Forthwith Otho summoned all his lieges from the various German populations to a general Convention at Worms: and, in this Assembly, the Porphyrogenitus, all rivals removed, was unanimously accepted as King. The Second Otho had scarcely attained his seventh year, and, though the postulation of his Royal Father was implicitly and cheerfully obeyed, the Germans were astounded at the tender age of the new Monarch. But there was no hesitation either in giving assent or completing the inauguration; the boy was conducted with great reverence to Aix-la-Chapelle. The Crown was dropped upon his infantine brows by his uncles, the Archbishops Bruno and William; and now, Otho set forth for Italy, complying with the call he had received.

960—
May 26.—
Otho's
only
surviving
son by
Adelaide
(Otho II.)
accepted
as King
by the
Germans,
and
crowned
at Aix-la-
Chapelle.

960—
Otho's
entry into
Italy.
Berenger's
army
under
Adalbert
refuses to
fight for
him.

§ 14. The younger Otho's Coronation perfected, the Emperor designate, conducted his army southwards, entering Lombardy through the Tridentine Marches. Adalbert, prepared to meet him, had assembled formidable forces. It was reported that they amounted to sixty thousand men, but, the larger the army the worse for Berenger. The nobles under Adalbert declared they would not any longer obey his father. Abdication, effected or

promised, might have been prudent; but Berenger's conduct in this strait, compels us to render an honour to his valour, which we deny to his moral character. He made a brave defence, nor was his Consort less resolute.

951-987

955-962

Compelled, as we are, to view the scene from a distant point, we may faintly discern the deposed King and the deposed Queen, keeping Otho at bay, in the fastnesses protected by lake and mountain where they respectively took refuge. Adalbert also, apart from his father, continued to comport himself bravely. But the contest was hopeless. They were compelled to implore Otho's mercy. Berenger, his wife, and his daughters, were considerately, nay, kindly treated by their conqueror, and Berenger died in honourable retirement at Bamberg. As for Adalbert, he took to the sea. He made for congenial Corsica; and seems to have become a Captain of Pirates. His first exploit was the abduction of King Otho's chaplain, and we are almost tempted to believe that his felucca may have been partly manned by Scandinavians. But, ultimately, Adalbert settled quietly in France, marrying Gerberga, the daughter of Lambert, Count of Chalon, and by her he had a son, Otho, or Otto-Guillaume, who afterwards became sole Count of Burgundy and King of Arles, and of whom we shall hear something more hereafter in connexion with Norman history.

Berenger's courageous resistance—he is ultimately deposed, and dies at Bamberg.

Adventures of Adalbert—he settles in Burgundy, and marries the daughter of the Count of Chalon.

The last-mentioned events were speedily though not immediately accomplished, and we must now wind up the main skein of this story. Adalbert's forces dispersed, Otho presented himself in Lombardy, not as a foreign invader, but as the successor of the Cæsars, coming to his own.—Otho, who had repelled the Magyar flood;—Otho, the great defender of the Christian Commonwealth.

The constitutional distinction between King of Italy and Emperor was carefully maintained so long as the Holy Roman Empire subsisted, and, it was in the first capacity that Otho appeared at Milan. Received by the Archbishop Walbert in the Basilica of Santo Ambrogio, the ceremonial testified the rights appertaining to the Lombard Monarchy. The Royal insignia, battle-axe and baldric, lance and sword, were displayed upon the altar, whilst the Crown was imposed upon the Sovereign's head by the Archbishop. All the Dukes and Princes and Marquises, Nobles of higher estate, and Capitanes and Vavassors of lower degree, rendered their homage to Otho as their immediate Sovereign. The festival of the Nativity was celebrated at Pavia, and Otho and his Queen then proceeded to the City of the Seven hills.

961-962

Otho advances into Lombardy—crowned at Milan—homage rendered by the Lombard Nobles.

951-987

951-962

962—
Jan.—Feb.
Otho and
Adelaide
enter
Rome.962—2 Feb.
—Otho
accepted
by the
Republic—
is crowned
by Pope
John XII.
The Pon-
tiff and
Roman
people
take the
oath of
fealty.

Accompanied by the Clergy, the Senators and Magistrates of the Republic came forth to accept their Emperor. We are told how, upon these solemn occasions, the revered standards of the Legions, treasured, without doubt, in the massy-walled *Ærarium*¹ beneath, were brought out from the Capitol, such as we see them imaged on the winding spirals of the sculptured Column or the frieze of the triumphal Arch. The vast, many terraced, mountainous Palace of the Cæsars—here, deeply caverned by the gigantic vaulted halls, such as might befit the brethren of Enceladus²—and there, emulating Babylon's Seven-zoned tower, decaying, yet glorious, stood ready to receive Otho and his lovely Adelaide. We yet read, in the very remarkable ritual of these solemnities, that, pursuant to traditionary usage, the yet uncrowned Cæsar should be lodged in the stately chamber of Augustus, whilst the more splendid apartment of Livia, still adorned by the tarnished reliques of past magnificence, was assigned to the Empress. Thundering acclamations welcomed Otho and Adelaide as they traversed the City. The successor of Saint Peter advanced to greet the successor of Charlemagne : and the Coronation, the Feast of the Purification coinciding, was celebrated with unprecedented solemnity. By the Pope, Otho was proclaimed Emperor and Augustus : and, from the Pope's hands, he received the Imperial Crown. The Pontiff, as well as the whole Roman people, took the oath of fidelity ; and Otho reciprocated, by granting and re-granting to the Papal See all the dominions which the Primatial Chair of Christendom had at any time held, and more.

All the endowments bestowed by Pepin and Charlemagne, and Louis-le-Débonnaire, were confirmed,—Rome, to wit, and the Exarchate of Ravenna,—various towns and regions of the Pentapolis,—numerous cities and domains in the Campagna, and the Lombard Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.—Corsica was added, Sicily also, as appurtenant to the Empire, though occupied by the Saracen. The Election of the Pontiff was to be conducted according to the Canon law ; banishment being denounced as the punishment of any offender who might disturb the freedom of suffrage.

962—
Otho reci-
procates
by con-
firming the
Pope's
authority
over Rome,
reserving
the
Imperial
Supre-
macy.

But the Emperor vigilantly asserted his rights. Only the usufruct³ of the ceded territories passed to the Pope. A mixed Commission, composed of Imperial Judges adjoined to the Pontiff's nominees, was permanently established. All complaints of maladministration were to be examined before this

Tribunal ; and, if the Pope did not afford a congruous remedy, the duty of rectifying the abuse was to be exercised by the Emperor. This appellate jurisdiction afforded the strongest testimony of the Imperial superiority. The reservation was clenched by the concluding clause of the Charter, that nothing therein contained was to derogate from the Emperor's prerogatives. The original document, written in characters of gold, and whilom deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo, has disappeared, and the very antient transcripts preserved in the Vatican may not be faithful to the letter : but notwithstanding the acute objections raised by Catholic critics, or the stern judgments passed by Protestant antagonists, we must admit that the "Diploma Othonis Magni" affords satisfactory evidence of the relations then subsisting between the Pontiff and the Paramount Sovereign.—

954-987

954-955

§ 15. OTHO was thus pursuing his eventful career during the last agonies of his Brother-in-law's anxious reign.—Had the King's demise occurred whilst the family dissensions were raging, Otho, however urgently required, could not have taken any share in the affairs of France. As yet, he had not triumphed : but, the pacification of Germany effected, he was fully able to answer Gerberga's call.

954—
Death of
Louis
occurs at
the juncture
when
Otho was
able to
interfere
in French
affairs.

Louis, sometimes rallying, yet slowly sinking, long must his death have been anticipated by friend and foe. Indeed, the Normans had been awaiting the event, day by day, ever since the Rout of Rouen. Even then, they boasted that the disappointment had as good as killed him. The vaticination was tardily accomplished, but it was something to look for. The discomfort of suspense, when our desires are delayed, is not always without compensation. Amongst the pleasures of hope, that of auguring ill fortune to those we hate, is not by any means the least ; and the King's protracted decay had enabled all parties to prepare for the contingency.

Gerberga's forethought, affection, talents, all appeared instantly in action.—Soon as the funereal rites had ended, swift messengers were despatched on their several roads to Otho and to Bruno, and equally to Hugh, praying their conjoint countenance and fraternal support.—Otho, though he had not yet attained the culminating point of his prosperity, really commanded the fortunes of France. Hugh-le-Grand had become his vassal. Could or would Otho forget the homage rendered in the Palace of Attigny ? He might maintain, and not unreasonably, that

Gerberga
claims the
aid of her
brothers
and of
Hugh-le-
Grand.

Otho's
vast
influence
in and over
France.

954-987

954-955

Charlemagne's pre-eminence appertained to the Monarch who literally occupied Charlemagne's Throne. Otho styled himself *Rex Francorum*, a title so happily ambiguous, that it could be consistently construed as challenging the dominion of the Gauls, and yet as easily explained away. But deeds, however, speak more decisively than words: and, through the whole tenour of his conduct, he distinctly asserted his ascendancy over the Realm.

Bruno
appointed
Arch-
bishop of
Cologne.

Many previous movements made by Otho had been dictated by the apprehensions now realized; and he immediately adopted efficient measures for securing Lothaire's succession. Pending these transactions, Bruno, though scarcely of canonical age, but recommended by his illustrious birth, his brilliant talents, his extensive learning, and his indefatigable energy, was called by the unanimous voice of the Citizens to the Archiepiscopal Throne of Cologne. Otho truly rejoiced in this elevation, probably suggested it. If Bruno had transgressed against Otho, the noble minded Sovereign not only forgave the error, but accepted his brother as his most confidential friend and minister.

Otho
despatches
Bruno as
his Lieu-
tenant in
France.

In these capacities, the newly appointed Archbishop, as directed by Otho, forthwith proceeded to the appointed place of meeting, accompanied by the chief Princes and Nobles of Lotharingia, nay, some also from Germany; and supported by a military force sufficient to inspire respect for his authority. Either now, or shortly afterwards, the young and strenuous Archbishop received a commission from Otho to maintain tranquillity in the French Kingdom, an order given so stringently, that he felt he was personally responsible for the same. This important fact is collected from an incidental notice given by worthy Rudiger¹, who composed the Archbishop's biography, or rather eulogium, about ten years after his death.—Whilst performing his labour of love, this valuable writer affords ample particulars concerning his Patron's life and conversation as a Prelate, yet the very active share the Prince-Archbishop took in secular affairs is related obscurely and perfunctorily. Concerning the many—very many—portions of the Archbishop's career, which a grateful friend, jealous for the honour of his Patron, might wish to forget, Rudiger is discreetly silent.

Sept. 954
Assembly
of the
Nations of
the Gauls
for the
purpose of
electing
the King
(see pp.
87-92).

§ 16. Such was Gerberga's moral and political influence, that all conformed to her wishes, or obeyed her commands. The Three Nations of the Gauls, according to the antient Tripartite division—represented by the "Princes and the Leaders of the

Realm"—such being the phraseology employed by the Chroniclers—were assembled at Rheims for the purpose of affording their sanction to the accession of their Sovereign.

954-987

954-955

Concerning the "Presence," our notices are, as usual, very brief and obscure. The circumstances being matters of universal notoriety, the Chronicler probably considered that details were not needed,—a mistaken economy, which has often deprived us of valuable historical information. Gallia Celtica is, on this occasion, quoted under the name of Burgundy, for the latter appellation, taken widely, was considered as a modern denomination of the antient Province. The ecclesiastical divisions of the Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees, presented the archaic administration continuously before the public mind. Moreover, other forcible traditions of pristine nationality were preserved in that Region. Thus the Chief magistrate of Autun, the *Vierg*, or *Vergobret*, continued to be designated by his Celtic title—a title retained through every convulsion—even until the Revolution.

In these States-general of France, Gerberga presided. The proceedings are hinted rather than reported. As a Burgundian Count, we may conjecture that Lethaldus, he who had so carefully nursed the suffering Louis, cordially supported the cause of his son.

The loyalty of the Aquitanians, though tepid, was tolerably steady, partly elicited, however, by their opposition to Hugh-le-Grand. Their Princes unquestionably gave attendance.

Belgic Gaul might have been adequately represented by Hugh-le-Grand alone; though we can scarcely doubt but that the Vermandois Princes were present. As for the Norman Richard, he did not concern himself about the matter.

But a fourth Electoral College—perhaps more influential at this juncture than any other, though completely unprecedented—was constituted by the Princes of Lorraine. As now held by Otho, Lotharingia included a very extensive section of Gallia Belgica: and he, without enquiring whether the more or the less of that Royal Duchy appertained to Charlemagne's descendants or to Charlemagne's political successors, treated the Lotharingian Magnates as fully entitled to share in the transaction. At their head, appeared Archbishop Bruno, Duke or Governor of Lorraine, and Lieutenant of the German King, and the Lorrainers were reinforced by a deputation selected from the Princes of the German tongue. They therefore took their seats in the Convention for the purpose of acting with the French as their

Unprecedented concurrence of the Princes of Lorraine, introduced by Bruno.

954-987

compeers, or rather to turn the election. Thus, as the Council of Engleheim, before which Louis had pleaded, exhibited a novel incorporation of the great Ecclesiastical Councils of Germany and of France, so here, in like manner, did Otho commence a fusion between the Temporal Estates of the two Realms.

954-955

Doctrine
as to the
elective
character
of the
French
Monarchy.

There was much to debate. The claim of the young Lothaire was not irrefragable. Neither theoretically nor practically had the French renounced the doctrine, that the right of the Sovereign resulted primarily from the popular will; and we know, that in order to keep up their continual claim, the form of voluntary choice was retained, even when the reality was abandoned.

Rights of
legitimacy
might be
defeated by
the incom-
petence of
the party.

There is not a single example adduced in "*Franco-Gallia*,"¹ that precious constitutional volume, so weighty, though so concise, which is not quoted accurately. Grave authorities flourished in this last age of the Carlovingian domination, who could and did argue, from the very events which had introduced the Dynasty, that the rights of legitimacy might be defeasible by incompetence, and we shall hear this doctrine inculcated from the mouth of the highest Prelate in the Realm. Descent imparted a most powerful inchoate right, yet, if the inheritance was in danger of falling, or had fallen, to an unworthy individual, it was the privilege and the duty of the Nation that he should be rejected. Admit that the Sovereign might be allowed to designate his Successor, yet the King could not reign otherwise than by the consent of the Chiefs of Church and State.—Rather let them refuse assent and repudiate the nomination, than afterwards contemn and despise the Sovereign whom they had made.

12 Sept., 954.
Lothaire
accepted as
King, and
crowned
by Arch-
bishop
Artaldus
at Rheims.

Many feelings adverse to the succession were lurking amongst the Prelacy or the Aristocracy, but they were repressed, if not suppressed, by Otho's intervention. The actual elevation of Lothaire to a partnership in the Royal authority, made by the departed Louis, was neither acknowledged nor contradicted. And thus through the favour and countenance of Hugh-le-Grand and Archbishop Bruno, supported by the acclaim of the assembly, was the young Lothaire, then somewhat about fourteen years of age, called to the throne: and accordingly, his charters of donation, testifying his veneration for Saint Remigius, bear record, how in the Primatial Basilica of the Gauls, he was elected by all the Peers of France, and crowned with the royal diadem, by Archbishop Artaldus. The first act of state performed by Lothaire was very significant. He granted to Hugh-le-Grand the Duchies of Burgundy and Aquitaine: and Lothaire and Gerberga were

then solemnly and honourably conducted to their Royal City, the Rock of Laon. 954-987

It should seem, that Lothaire and the Queen-mother continued at Laon till the ensuing Spring. The once flourishing Royal family was now reduced to three individuals—Gerberga the Widow, Lothaire the Youngster, and the infant Charles, the only survivor of the youngest babes. But the little child, the heir to misfortune, was carefully nursed by Gerberga, whose maternal tenderness must have often rendered her thoughtful concerning his future position. The once favourite project of a Norman appanage had vanished.—No provision made even for the young Prince's sustenance, and Gerberga was compelled to abide in uncertainty concerning his future destiny.

§ 17. Bruno returned to Lorraine. Nobles and Prelates each sought his home; Hugh-le-Grand remained, and, without any effort, resumed ostensibly the same position he had held when Louis, having been recalled from beyond the sea, obtained the Crown by Hugh's preponderating advocacy;—Hugh therefore stood forward before the Nation as the young King's Protector,—keenly vigilant,—his inward feelings disguised by his outward demonstrations of affection. Towards Gerberga, a sister-in-law, and a queen, Hugh conducted himself in a manner befitting her station and his own. He presented himself as thoroughly devoted to Lothaire and Lothaire's cause; wisely and courteously guiding the youthful Monarch, and never quitting his side.—But Lothaire was fully able to walk alone, and he offers the same example of precocious talent which had been exhibited by Richard.

The ill-favoured young King never could become handsome to look upon; his sallow cheeks never filled out; nor could his limp limbs be made to move with grace: yet, though beset by enemies foreign and domestic,—treachery without,—treachery within,—treachery in the gate,—treachery in the way,—treachery perhaps by his own hearth-side,—and some say still nearer,—this unfortunate Monarch during the worried reign he was now commencing, manifested powers fully proving that he was not to be contemned as an unworthy son of his energetic Mother and his spirited Sire.

Hugh advised with Gerberga, courted her, declared his anxiety to testify his loyalty: and, displaying his power, though somewhat ostentatiously, for the benefit of the Royal authority, urged that Lothaire, accompanied by the Queen-mother, should

954-956

954-955

The Royal family at Laon—Gerberga, Lothaire, and the young Prince Charles.

955-956

Position taken by Hugh-le-Grand.

April—May, 955. Lothaire under Hugh-le-Grand's guidance makes his progress through his domains.

954-987

955-956



effect his royal progress throughout his domains. Circuits of this description were customary upon an accession—useful, as being the means of gracefully introducing the King to his people. The Bishops might speak on behalf of the Communities who had elected or accepted them ; and whether for the objects of being observed or of observing, it was very expedient that the Sovereign coming to each, should make his *joyeuse entrée* into the several Cities of the realm.

955—April
—May
Lothaire
at Paris.

Hugh-le-Grand was apparently seeking to prove, that, notwithstanding his vast possessions and privileges, he did not plan any usurpation upon the royal supremacy. First, the Sovereigns repaired to Hugh's good city of Paris, and Hugh-le-Grand, during the Paschal season, entertained his illustrious guests, probably in his Abbatial Manse of Saint Denis, for many days.

Orleans next welcomed the Royal party, and, consulting the map, we may imagine that Hugh, during their route, did not omit to display his dutiful hospitality at his Palace of Dourdan.

Thibaut, of
Chartres,
performing
homage to
Lothaire.

Most of the principal Cities and Towns in those regions were visited by the King ; but our attention must be especially directed to Blois, and Tours, and Chartres. Here Lothaire received the homage of the crafty Thibaut, whose vigorous old age, like that of the Flemish Arnoul, was a proof that the fatigues of government are not incompatible with extraordinary longevity. Lothaire must have shuddered when he met his father's cruel jailer ; but it was needful that these grudges should be forgotten, and their common interest suggested not only reconciliation, but alliance.—Liutgarda, erewhile the widow of Guillaume Longue-épée, was as savage against her step-son as ever.—Constant in hatred as in love, time had not diminished Gerberga's passionate antipathy ;—and, against their common enemy the Norman, there was thenceforward a thorough consentaneousness of feeling between Gerberga and Lothaire, and Liutgarda and Thibaut.

Guillaume
Tête-d'-
étoupe, his
disobedi-
ence.

This portion of the royal visitation having been accomplished, Lothaire, with Hugh-le-Grand by his side, prepared to cross the Loire into Aquitaine, at least as far as Poitiers. Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe ought to have been loyal to Lothaire ; but two disturbing, though contradictory causes probably made him recalcitrate against the King, the latter now identified with the Duke of France,—his near connexion with Richard through his excellent wife Adela, and the strong aversion which Aquitaine entertained against Hugh-le-Grand.

On approaching Poitiers, Tête-d'étoupe was duly summoned

to certify his submission. The sturdy Duke made default. The Royal army therefore advanced, and when they presented themselves before the City, Tête-d'étaupe was not there. Having supplied the Place with ample means of defence, he retreated, but for the purpose of ulterior movements. Poitiers was very strong, and the spirited inhabitants fully prepared for defence; and we may be assured that the great Cathedral of the Patron of the City,—Saint Hilary, who, as Bishop and Confessor, still retains his commemoration-day in our Anglican Calendar, rendered so familiar by the *Term* which it designates—was thronged with votaries. Whatever expectations the French might have formed of success, by capturing Duke Guillaume's person, were therefore baulked. But they assaulted Poitiers the more fiercely, and Poitiers was as valiantly defended.

954-987

955-956

June—
July, 955,
Lothaire
and Hugh-
le-Grand
invest
Poitiers.

955—
June—July
Siege of
Poitiers
continued.

The noble Monastery of Saint Radegund was not then included within the walls, and the structure had been converted into a fortress. Any ecclesiastical immunity which the Cloister might claim was suspended by the military character enforced upon the Sanctuary. Lothaire's troops surrounded the stronghold, which was taken and burnt. Yet no advantage was gained. During two months and more had the siege continued unavailingly, degenerating into a very sluggish blockade; provisions began to fail in the camp, and the French were compelled to suspend their operations. In the meanwhile, Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe was in full activity, ranging the country and collecting troops, till he was able to become the assailant. This movement, though bold, and not inconsiderate, failed. Lothaire and Duke Hugh gave battle to the Poitevins, whom they routed, whilst Tête-d'étaupe saved himself by flight.

Conflagra-
tion of the
Monastery
of Saint
Rade-
gund.

Lothaire, having fully assumed the command, he, the young General, determined to follow up the advantage by renewing the siege. The weather was extremely sultry; a terrible thunder-storm burst upon the leaguer. This was the very season when Otho was slaughtering the Magyars on the Lech-feld. Darkness came on; and during the dark, a driving hurricane.—Hugh-le-Grand's pavilion rent asunder by a whirlwind.—Besieged and besiegers believed that Saint Hilary was protecting his flock. The troops were terrified by the portent, which imparted fresh courage to their opponents. The dog-days' heat brought on disease; and Hugh-le-Grand, much disheartened, but concealing his depression by affected magnanimity, induced Lothaire to grant very advantageous conditions to his opponents—the siege should

August 955.
Second in-
vestment
of Poitiers.

954-987 be raised.—Lothaire, accompanied by the Duke, returned to his Rock of Laon, and Hugh then wended heavily to Paris.

955-956 § 18. Hugh-le-Grand might be thought to have continued advancing in prosperity. Never had he stood so high.—No longer dreaded and hated by the Royal family in the character of a traitorous enemy, but accepted as the loving kinsman of the young King. About this time, Gilbert, Count of Dijon, Hugh's brother-in-law, who had so cordially agreed with him, died, and bequeathed his County to Otho, Hugh's second son,—an important consolidation of power,—yet, after the retreat from Poitiers, no good fortune could cheer his heart. Men said that, since the siege, Hugh-le-Grand was never seen to smile. The storm which carried away his pavilion was accepted by him as a bad omen, and such it was; for, being concurrent with declining health, this casualty—if the word casualty can ever be used indifferently—by working upon his mind, encreased his malady and accelerated his decline.

956
Signs and
portents.
Hugh-le-
Grand's
encreasing
debility.

Although Otho's triumphant sword had expelled and exterminated the Magyars, yet they left behind them a legacy of evil. As usual, their past presence had dispersed the seeds of future contagion. Destructive pestilences spread throughout Germany and the Gauls. A marvellous sign appeared in the heavens—a fiery Dragon swept through the sky.—Hugh's illness became alarming. Time had gained upon Hugh. His existence had become a ceaseless strife—never slacking the intensity of purpose with which he pursued the one object to which his life had been devoted. All his mental and bodily powers kept on full stretch; now in the dark, and now in the light;—plotting, planning, truckling, fighting—a continued agony, never knowing peace or rest. His weary course was ending, and yet it was through the very ending of the course that he contemplated accomplishing his heart's desire. From first to last, Hugh-le-Grand had adhered with invincible firmness equally to his ambitious yet self-denying vow, and to the determination that his posterity should inherit the Carlovingian throne.

The Son of a King, the Nephew of a King, the Brother of a King, who had never desired to become a King, held the firm and unchangeable belief that he was appointed to be the father of a King: yet, despite of that belief, perplexed by doubts and fears.

Astute, intelligent, crafty, silent, his son, the young Capet, had not quite attained the age which would enable him to demand his predestined Monarchy. No sufficient party had yet been

organized in his favour.—Chances are growing adverse.—
Gerberga, Otho's favourite sister, always claiming and obtaining
his aid, the chroniclers display her in constant connexion with
that royal brother,—Hadwisa never appears upon the scene.—
At the German Court, no notice is taken of Hugh Capet, whilst
Lothaire, the favourite nephew, appears shielded by the Uncle's
supremacy. Otho respected the rights of Charlemagne's de-
scendants, and thereby really enhanced his own dignity. Crowned
with the laurels culled on the Lech-feld, such moderation rendered
the victorious Commander a more efficient defender of the young
King's position, even than his military power.

954-987

954-956

Hugh-le-Grand's fears lest the Capet should fail to win the throne.

Hugh-le-Grand became weaker ; he could scarcely take meat
or drink. During the most pleasant season of the year, the
spring-tide ripening into summer, he was removed from Paris
to his Palace of Dourdan on the Orge, but he knew his last hour
was rapidly approaching, and he ordered his worldly concerns.

956—Hugh-le-Grand's illness increases. He retires to his palace of Dourdan.

After the Rout of Rouen, it does not appear that the inter-
course between the Duke of France and the Norman Richard
had increased. Abiding in undisturbed amity, and neither
needing the other, they had not drawn nearer. Hugh-le-Grand
could address the Duke of Normandy as his *bel-fitz*, whilst Richard
might speak respectfully of Duke Hugh as his *bel-père*. But the
connexion had not been realized. Whilst the fair-faced Damsel
was growing up to woman's estate under her mother's care,
Duke Richard had fully reached man's estate in his Grandsire's
Palace at Rouen. It is more than doubtful whether the young
and amiable couple, so solemnly betrothed, had, since the festive
betrothal day, ever met again.

Delay of the marriage between Richard and Emma.

Richard endured the lengthened absence of Emma with very
great patience ; abstaining from manifesting any ardent wish
that the French Princess should share his couch at Rouen. And if
any friend had pledged himself to the assurance that, during the
long meanwhile, the fine young Duke had always conducted
himself with strictly edifying propriety, we should say,—reason-
ing by induction from the facts registered concerning Duke
Richard's progeny,—a bold mainpernour was he.

Notwithstanding this deficiency of affection between the
Bridegroom and the Bride, no offence arose on either side. No
coolness ensued between the Duke of Normandy and the Duke
of all the Gauls. Their mutual friendship continued undim-
inished. Hugh-le-Grand felt assured that Richard would
prove himself the young Capet's faithful and honourable Guardian.

954-987

Hugh-le-Grand enjoins his nobles to accelerate the marriage, and appoints Richard to be the Protector and Guardian of his wife and children.

16 June, 956, Hugh-le-Grand's death and funeral.

Richard administers Hugh-le-Grand's dominions during the minority of his children.

Richard delays the completion of his marriage.

Richard urged to fulfil his engagement.

Having therefore called together Wife and Children, Friends and Vassals, Hugh-le-Grand opened his mind to them. Anxiously directing their attention to the espousals between his daughter and Richard, he besought them to expedite the completion of their marriage. His eldest daughter, Beatrice, had recently espoused the audacious Frederick, the founder of Bar-le-Duc. Hadwisa and his boys he placed under the protection of his future Son-in-law, and besought that Richard might govern and manage the inheritance until the steady and sagacious Hugh should be old enough to receive the degree of knighthood, when his nonage would be considered as ended. During such minority, Hugh-le-Grand earnestly entreated their obedience to Richard, who would assuredly fulfil his trust affectionately and honourably.—And he breathed his last breath. The Royal Abbey of Saint Denis received his corpse. He was entombed by the side of his [uncle] Eudes, in a sarcophagus of marble-stone.

§ 19. The testamentary disposition which Hugh thus made took immediate and full effect. It was indeed a clever and bold stroke of policy on Hugh-le-Grand's part, so to oust Lothaire from the right of wardship which, pending the children's legal infancy, he, as Hugh-le-Grand's Suzerain, would have been entitled to claim. Richard assumed the administration of the Provinces constituting Hugh-le-Grand's domains: and, as we collect from the language of his foes, the primal Duchy of France, no less than the distant Burgundy, submitted to the authority, or at least the control, of the Guardian whom the father had appointed for the heirs.

Yet, notwithstanding all these encouragements, the vigorous young Richard did not glow with desire to "pree" blonde Emma's roseate lips or press her lily hand. We can calculate the very tepid temperature of his amatory feelings, or rather appreciate the extreme difficulty of fanning the spark into a flame, by the inducements and the provocations, and the representations and the persuasions, with which friendly Advisers beset and besieged the apathetic Bridegroom, actuated by the laudable intent of spurring him on to accomplish the promise he had made:—such as the long-enduring friendship between him and his Protector, the late Duke Hugh,—the calls of conscience,—the obligations of honour,—Emma, in the full pride of ripe virginity,—her accomplishments, piety, talents,—above all, the danger menacing Normandy, should, in consequence of Richard's death without issue, the Ducal lineage fail.

The latter argument was assuredly a proper form of speech—
very proper to be used—though in all human probability un-
necessary. We have every reason to apprehend that, even at
this period of Richard's adolescence, adequate security existed
against such a national calamity as his demise without some one
or more lineal heir or heirs.—Heirs of his body, who would have
been fully acknowledged as heirs according to the liberal standard
of Norman morality, and the easy laws of inheritance which the
Normans, unfettered by Code or Canon, enjoyed according to
the antient liberties of their Danish ancestors.

Richard received the counsel graciously, and, promising
conformity, was ultimately as good as his word ; but he did not
proceed with passionate alacrity. A considerable halt was
interposed before he assented. When he made the plunge, the
marriage was celebrated with due solemnity. All the high
Nobility of Normandy and Britanny attended according to the
bidding ; and Emma was conducted with great pomp to Rouen.
We mainly owe all the particulars of early Norman history to the
Dean of Saint Quentin's diligence and care. But Dudo, recording
this matrimonial passage, labours under a distressing embarrass-
ment. Whilst expatiating upon the magnificence of the alliance,
and duly lauding the beauteous Bride, he is compelled to pause,
and, altering his strain, warns his readers against indulging in
the expectation that Emma was to become the future mother
of Richard-le-Bon, our Richard-sans-Peur's namesake, son, and
successor, under whose patronage he penned his prose, and
received the inspirations for his verse.—

960—
The
marriage
between
Richard
and Emma
at length
concluded.

§ 20. We are now approaching an exciting era, but, ere we
return to Richard, we must episodically relate many signal events
which, either directly, or by their reaction, exercised potent
influences upon Normandy and Normandy's destiny.

First, as to our old acquaintance, Arnoul, who, after the Rout
of Rouen, returned, as you have been told, safe and sound, men
and cattle, bag and baggage, to his own country, which he con-
tinued to govern with encreasing ability. Time matured his
wisdom, yet left his energy unimpaired. He displayed his
shrewdness, as well as his generalship, by recovering Herlouin's
County of Ponthieu, for which he had so long warred, thereby
extending the frontier of his Flemish dominions up and home to
the Norman border.

Affairs of
Flanders.

About three years after this exploit, being then nearly eighty-
eight years of age, Arnoul resigned his County or Marquisate in

954-987

956-967

958—
Arnoul
resigns his
County in
favour of
Baudouin,
his son.

favour of his eldest son Baudouin, thus named after his illustrious ancestors, Baudouin Bras-de-Fer, and Baudouin-le-Chauve.—Very touching was the ceremony. Clad in his golden robe of estate, Arnoul came forward, and presented himself to the Burghers who had assembled before his Palatial Castle; the *Oudebourg*, at Ghent, wherein Charles Quint was born:—the towered portal-gate of this venerable edifice, dingy and crumbling, is still standing.—Arnoul declared his intention, that thenceforward he would dedicate his remaining days to the duties which should alone engage the thoughts of those, who, like him, bowed down by age and pain, were awaiting a speedy summons from this transitory world. To his natural successor, the third Baudouin, Arnoul therefore relinquished all his rights in and over Flanders, and all the dependencies thereunto appertaining; beseeching only that he might be allowed to retain the small means needed for the support of a poor old man. And, divesting himself of the splendid mantle, and investing his son therewith, he appeared attired in mortuary sable of the saddest die.

958—
Baudouin-
le-Jeune
proclaimed
Count of
Flanders.

The silence,—as we are told,—was interrupted only by the lamentations and wailings of the multitude. Baudouin, historically denominated “Baudouin-le-Jeune,” was then saluted and proclaimed as Count of Flanders; the Nobles performed homage, and the multitude dispersed, some affected with sorrow, but others not without satisfaction at the novel prospect of a jolly young master.

The
promising
character
of Bau-
douin-le-
Jeune.

Dec. 960—
Baudouin-
le-Jeune
dies of the
small-pox.

Could they, however, have foreseen the future, they would have known that there was no urgent call at the then present moment either for much grief or much exultation. Assuredly Baudouin gave promises of good government. He acquired additional possessions, encouraged trade and commerce, established fairs and markets, and introduced the woollen manufacture in his chief cities, thereby laying the foundation for their future opulence. But, scarcely during thrice ten months, did he enjoy his sovereignty: and it is a curious pathological fact, that Baudouin, like Louis d'Outremer, fell a victim to the variolous contagion disseminated by the Magyar Hordes.—His disposition was genial, and his premature loss was mourned as a national misfortune.

961—
Arnoul-le-
Jeune,
son of
Baudouin,
accepted
as Count of
Flanders,
under
his grand-
father's
wardship.

One child only, did the lamented Baudouin leave, Arnoul the Second, then scarcely ten years old, who, upon his grandfather's nomination was accepted as Count of Flanders; but, during his grandson's tender age, the energetic veteran, though racked by pain, acted as Regent on the infant's behalf. Arnoul

had then exceeded his ninth decennary,—and it is quite possible that he might have numbered a century, had he submitted to the operation boldly suggested by his surgeons, who fully anticipated a successful result. Calculous complaints seem to have been common in the Country, and it was thought that he would have received encouragement from the example of sixteen fellow-sufferers, completely relieved by lithotomy. But Arnoul refused. The old man's resolution failed; he dared not encounter the agony. The consequences were fatal. And, having attained the patriarchal age of ninety-two, he died, and in the Abbey of Saint Pierre-lez-Gand¹ he was buried. In his Charters he was somewhat boastingly accustomed to style himself Arnulphus Magnus, but posterity did not ratify this assumption; and it is by the epithet, so truly applied, as resulting from his longevity, that *Arnoul-le-Vieux* is commemorated in history.

954-987

956-967

965—
27 March—
Death of
Arnoul-le-
Vieux,
and full
accession
of Arnoul-
le-Jeune.

§ 21. Renewed activity in France,—the consequence of the cordial understanding between Otho and Lothaire. So long as Hugh-le-Grand lived, Hadwisa, the mother of his children, is rarely named. But we now find her closely consorting with her sister, noble Gerberga and her young nephew; whilst Gerberga became more and more dependent upon Archbishop Bruno's aid. The French Court was miserably impoverished.—Save starved Compiègne, Lothaire did not hold, beyond the walls of Laon, a Mansus he could call his own.

Poverty of
the French
Court.

Rainier, Count of Hainault, third of the name, brother of Count Gilbert, grandson of Rainier Long-Col, no less aspiring than his Ancestor, had despoiled his sister-in-law, Gerberga, of the ample dotal domains bestowed by her first husband, the bold swimmer. The recovery of this property was an important object; and the mode whereby Gerberga regained her rights constitutes an episode upon which Richerius dwells with characteristic pleasure, inasmuch as the feat was effected by his wily father, Raoul.

Gerberga
deprived
of her en-
dowment
by Rainier,
Count of
Hainault.

Alice, Countess of Hainault, daughter of the Count of Egisheim, was one of the many wise, pious, and helpful matrons who abounded during this era. There is a complete galaxy of such ladies in France, and in Germany, and in Anglo-Saxon England. To this Alice, Rainier had confided the government of his Capital, "Mons," as the Romanized Belgian gave the name, but known by those of the *Vlaemsche-taal* as "Bergen."

Alice,
Countess
of Hain-
ault.
Mons, or
Bergen,
entrusted
to her
by her
husband.

Countess Alice occupied the Castle with her two little children. The fortifications needed additions, and she had undertaken the

954-987

double duty of superintending the erection of the new Buildings and also exercising the needful military command. A respectable body of troops, two "Cohorts," had been entrusted to Raoul's command, but the strong and advantageously situated Castle defied these forces, and he was probably the better pleased to be under the necessity of exerting his ingenuity.

956-967

956—
Stratagem
by which
Raoul, the
father of
Richerius,
gains
possession
of Mons.

The Castle being very vigilantly guarded, two of Raoul's merry men, accustomed to such pranks, disguising themselves as rustics, craved work, got it, and were employed with hod and basket to carry stone and mortar. Once in, they had full opportunity of spying about. Amongst those most tender precepts given by the Almighty, protecting the rights of poverty, many then enforced by the Church, and which, if obeyed by Civilization, would relieve the miseries now rendering the life of the modern Proletarian a protracted death-anguish, none more applicable in all stages of society than the injunction, that the Sun shall not go down upon the Poor man's hire, prohibiting the withholding of the earnings on which he sets his heart, the means of obtaining his daily bread. Each Workman received his denarius day by day. Moreover, in conformity to the kindly spirit, which, dictated by pious feeling, alleviated the harshness of aristocracy, the Countess headed the board where the Workmen took their food; and, all labour ceasing on the eve of the day of rest, the Workmen departed.

Her benignity was ungratefully requited; but Raoul's men were bound to stand faithful to their own master. Having become well acquainted with all the entries and all the sorties of gates and towers, Raoul, instructed by his agents, surprised the Castle, fired the City, captured the garrison, seized the Countess and her children, whom he placed in Gerberga's custody; and, possessed of these pledges, Archbishop Bruno compelled rapacious Rainier to disgorge his prey, and he died a pitiable exile.

Bruno's
govern-
ment of
Lotharin-
gia.

The Prelate passed on to an enterprise of greater magnitude, from which important European relations germinated, centuries after. Much had he trusted, in troublesome Lotharingia, to Immo, an old adherent of the Saxon line; but discontent was surely arising.

Without being able to ascertain the exact legal or political cause, we know, that even in comparatively modern eras, the Lotharingian Nobles enjoyed greater independence than their compeers in any other Circle of the Empire. Prelate, Statesman, and Warrior, Otho's brother determined to bridle their power,

and he dismantled their fortresses. The Owners were deeply aggrieved. The common people, though probably not very sympathetic with the aristocracy, were nevertheless equally excited. Like the Deer, scenting the Stalker, they sagaciously snuffed new taxes in the wind.—A great rebellion broke out. Immo headed the insurrection. Sternly decisive was Bruno, and the movements which threatened the Imperial authority were completely put down.

Battles and treaties—acquisitions and cessions—losses and gains—risings of the waters and depressions of the land—political and natural alterations and disturbances combining,—have rendered the historical geography of Lorraine exceedingly complicated,—very difficult either to delineate or to describe. We do not possess much literary assistance in this portion of our task ; for the fragmentary history of “ Lotharingia,” whether we accept the name in the wider, or the more limited sense, has not received the elucidation which the theme deserves ; and a region important alike to the Germans and the French has been neglected by the indefatigable diligence of the first, and the critical and acute assiduity of the last.

Stating the matter roundly and broadly, we may say that the territories bestowed upon the Archbishop by Otho, gained through policy, or conquered by generalship or valour, consisted of the mediæval and modern Duchies and Counties of Alsace, Lorraine, Bar, Luxembourg, Limbourg, Juliers, Hainault, Namur, Guelderland, Zealand, Holland, and Friesland ; and the Provinces of the “ Trois Evêchés,”—Metz, Tulle, and Verdun,—so famous in the age of Louis-Quatorze. Another mode whereby those who are somewhat familiar with the territorial organization of the antient German Churches, may obtain a general notion of Bruno’s government, will be to consider his authority as extending throughout the Archbishoprics of Cologne, and Treves and Mayence. Also the whole magnificent Arch-diocese of Utrecht, then including the entirety of the United Netherlands, and also “ free Friesland ”—that Anglo-Saxondom beyond the Sea,—yet not as they now exist, but then including vast submerged tracts, which neither the natural shores nor the failing dykes were adequate to defend against the devouring waves.

These acquisitions constituted a Duchy commanding the whole Rhine stream,—narrow, widening, or widest—mouths and banks and estuaries ;—from the rapids and echoes of spectral Lureley¹, even until the disappearance of the mighty but divided

954-987

956-967

Historical
geography
of Lor-
raine—its
difficulties.Extent
of Arch-
bishop
Bruno's
dominions.Bruno's
acqui-
sitions the
principal
barrier
of the
Continent
against
the Danish
invasions.

954-987 flood, amongst sands and shallows and shoals, and the surging
 } seas. Bruno was in effect March-Warden of the whole maritime
 } coast, from the Scheldt to the Sealands and the Islands, so far
 956-967 east as the mouth of the Weser.

Constant
apprehen-
sions of
danger
from this
quarter not
unreason-
able.

Bruno, governing the great battle-field of modern Europe, was placed in a situation of peculiar responsibility. His vigilance was not only specially due to the conterminous countries, but also, generally, to the Christian Commonwealth at large. He was entrusted with the litigious outposts, liable to bear the brunt against the most dreaded enemy: and, upon his vigilance, depended the security of the extensive littoral and the numerous adjoining islands within the channels claimed or owned by Germany or by France. Whether on the sea-board or the fresh water shores, the dread of the Danes was never wholly absent, their outrages were ever-living traditions; any day or any night might the Noble or the Peasant talk or dream of the summer harvests burning in the ricks, or the rigid corpses swinging on the frozen boughs. And the terrors which haunted the Italian and Spanish shores in the days of Dragutte and Barbarossa were tolerable, when compared with the horrors still excited by the representative of the old Sea-Kings—Harold Blaatand in full vigour, his people always ready for the fight, their battle axes slung. Some of the Danes are said to have been converted by Bruno, but such hungry Neophytes required to be more narrowly observed than if they had continued unprofessing Pagans.—And—always comprehended in the category of Pirates, and, none more dreaded,—because the nearest—than the grandson of Rollo. Nor were these anxieties without foundation.—Though temporarily kept in check by Edgar¹, the Northmen were preparing to renew that desperate series of attacks which enabled the Son of Blaatand² to found a Danish dynasty in England.

959—
3 April.
Cordial
meeting
between
Bruno and
Gerberga
at Aix-la-
Chapelle.
Uneasi-
ness of
the Royal
family.

§ 22. Bruno attached himself more affectionately than ever to his widowed sister Gerberga. Thankfully partaking of Otho's hospitality, did they celebrate the Paschal Feast in the Eagle-crowned Pfaltz at Aix-la-Chapelle, seated at the table of marble-stone. Yet, amidst all joys, carking cares constantly gnawed the hearts of the French royal family. Hugh-le-Grand slept in his grave, but Louis d'Outremer's royal widow and Louis d'Outremer's crowned Son were not the more at rest.—Let them flit where they chose, they startled at the groaning of the wind or the creaking of the door.

New sources of apprehension arose—the House of Lombardy—

Vermandois had not despaired of their rehabilitation. Since Charlemagne's days the adverse possession retained by the reigning branches might be construed as having barred their dynastic rights, yet blind Bernard's descendants were legitimate descendants of Charlemagne after all. The runaway marriage of Herbert the Handsome with the Queen Dowager Ogiva, however indecorous, heightened the family splendour, and the union was not unblessed. Two children had the buxom matron borne to Herbert; who, representing, through their father, the genuine Carlovingian line, were also distinguished by their alliance with the royal blood of England.

954-987
956-967
Dormant rights of the Lombardy-Vermandois line.
Herbert the Handsome. His eldest son.—His pretensions. (See vol. I., p. 195.)

Robert Count of Troyes, Herbert the regicide's active son, raised the standard and roused the rebellion. The vituperative appellation, "the Tyrant," bestowed upon the deceased Herbert, Robert's father, and equally applied to him, indicates his power and the apprehension excited by the revolt.

960—Robert, Count of Troyes, rebels against the King.

Count Robert sought to render Dijon the centre of his operations against the King. Dijon gained, Burgundy would lie at his mercy. The way opened for a bloodless contest—gold substituted for steel. A young Noble, son of Count Odalric, possibly the Count of Verdun, had been placed by Lothaire as Commander of the City. This young man, whose name is not mentioned, perhaps through very shame, consented to the suggested treason. Opening the gates, he admitted the revolt, and, preventing the "Tyrant" became his homager. Lothaire assailed Dijon. Up and doing, vigilant Bruno was forthwith also in the field. Two thousand Lorrainers, under the Archbishop's command, attacked Troyes, and Robert submitted to the King's mercy. For him,—mercy,—but for the traitor none. Stern was Lothaire's justice or vengeance. The delinquent suffered capital punishment.—He was beheaded, and Count Odalric was compelled to endure the agony of beholding his son expire under the hands of the executioner. After this vigorous, perhaps rigorous exertion of Royal Power, Lothaire returned to Laon.

Count Robert gains Dijon by the treachery of the Commander.
Lothaire, by Bruno's help, regains the City.
Rigorous punishment inflicted by Lothaire upon the traitor.

§ 23. According to popular opinion, Richard's character improved greatly after his marriage. Inspired rather by conventional gallantry than guided by correct reasoning, the Normans attributed this amelioration to the benign influence of the young Duchess. Considered under a political aspect, the union assuredly proved advantageous. Richard continued gaining in good report with the world: talent and ability enabling him to extend his authority widely, and his influence still more,

954-987 thereby provoking an active revival of antient enmities. The Court of Laon swarmed with Richard's evil-wishers. Above all others, Thibaut-le-Tricheur.—Thoroughly versed in the art of ingeniously tormenting, he was constantly working upon Gerberga and Lothaire, worrying them, teasing them, knagging at Richard's power and prosperity.—Richard, quoth Thibaut, ruled the Burgundians; guided the Aquitanians; chode the Bretons; chased the Flemings; patronized the distant English and far distant Scots; but, most of all, was the Pirate's Son to be dreaded through his firm alliance with Harold Blaaland and the Danskermen.

Thibaut
excites
Gerberga
and
Lothaire
against
Richard.

Richard's
principal
supporters
in Nor-
mandy.

Large as these expressions may sound, even Thibaut could not have employed them, had they not been sustained by an adequate proportion of truth. The young Duke governed his own dominions firmly and prosperously. His most dangerous home opponents, silenced, or taken away: whilst, at the same time, no inconsiderable proportion of those who had been his father's trusty adherents, as well as his own early friends, men dignified by the aristocracy of age, conjoined to wealth and station, were yet living to support him.—Hugh the Archbishop of Rouen, the importance attached to his position not diminished by his clerical demerits.—Richard's veteran deliverers from Laon dungeon, Osmund de Centvilles and Ivo de Belesme,—and Waleran de Mellent also,—still stood by his side.—Concerning Bernard the Dane, the scenes with Hugh-le-Grand constitute his last appearance in Dudo's pages; nor has the diligent Historian of the noble House of Harcourt been able to ascertain the exact period of his death: but he had left an adequate representative in the person of his son Thorold, the Sire of Pontaudemer. In fact, the rising generations destined to supply the places of the fast disappearing, were now assembling around the Duke. In due time we shall become acquainted with them; but, for the present we can only distinguish Gautier-le-Veneur, whose office, testifying the confidence he enjoyed, also bespoke his courage and his thewes.—Well fitted and framed was Gautier to encounter the tusks and claws of the beasts of chase abounding in Normandy;—no talent so sure as the huntsman's, to win Richard's favour.

Gautier-le-
Veneur.

Richard had not taken any notice of Lothaire's accession. He ignored the existence of any mutual relations in the respective characters of Suzerain and Vassal between Louis d'Outremer's son, and the son of Guillaume Longue-épée. Had Richard owned the duties resulting from such obedience, he would have

Lothaire's
accession
ignored by
Richard.

been bound to renew his Commendation and Homage when Lothaire ascended the throne. But he repudiated any such acknowledgement ; Normandy's Monarch refused to recognize the French King as a legal superior. Had they met, the conference would have been conducted with grim civility ; Richard's courtesy might have dictated to him the decency of yielding honorary precedence to an anointed Sovereign. He would have made the gesture of vailing the Coronal before the Crown. But, as cautious Dignities are wont to act when seeking to elude any annoying pressure of etiquette, which might compel them to take the lower room, he had saved himself from any embarrassment by keeping wholly out of Lothaire's way.

Hugh-le-Grand, however proud and potent, could not have boasted of the same independence.—His pre-eminence over all the other Crown vassals was universally admitted, yet he had distinctly accepted his Duchies of France and Burgundy, as Fiefs holden of the King. Lothaire's parchments constituted the undeniable foundations of Hugh's title. Therefore, however inimical or treacherous, Hugh-le-Grand could not legally release himself from his bond ; and, to his sons, the same duties had descended.

954-987
956-967

Hugh-le-Grand acknowledges himself as a vassal of the Crown.

Was this absolute necessity of seeking the King compatible with the liberties which Franco-Gallia so proudly claimed ?—Assuredly.—To the Nations of the Gauls appertained the magnificent privilege of electing their King, and the power of thrusting him off the throne. But the constitutional theory, construed as an entirety, maintained the King, once created, as Supreme Head of the Commonwealth. However shrunken the dominions obeying the King's direct authority, however light the hand he could lay upon the high territorial aristocracy, yet all the royal prerogatives were incontestable. No great Feudatory sat easy, unless he could produce his Charter, exhibiting the impress of the Royal Seal, and duly signed and counter-signed, by Arch-Chancellor and King.—The Nations of the Gauls exhausted their power by making their King : and, till unmade, their rights became dormant, and every royal prerogative existed in full vigour.

The Royal prerogatives never contested.

Amongst the suppositions of those truly profound Archæologists who enlighten us by their research, whilst they task us by their perplexities, we shall *now* adopt the opinion which reduces the sons of Hugh-le-Grand to two :—the Capet, whose precocious prudence seems to have been elicited by the knowledge

Hugh-le-Grand's children.

954-987

956-967

Hugh-le-Grand's appointment of Richard as the guardian of his sons a contravention of the Prerogative.

of his father's aspirations ; and Otho, or Eudes. I shall not trouble the reader and myself by discussing whether there may not have been another or others ; but, any how, they died so young that they do not obtain any place in history. All Hugh-le-Grand's obligations were binding upon these sons : and, after his demise, the legal wardship of the Infants, and the custody of their inheritance, appertained to Lothaire. But Hugh-le-Grand, whilst wrapping himself in his shroud, defied his Sovereign. His death-bed disposition was wholly unwarranted ; for, in complete contravention of the Royal rights, he had placed the Minors and their dominions under the guardianship of the Norman.

Lothaire asserts his rights, and dividing the dominions of Hugh-le-Grand between his sons, they become his vassals.

We must continue the episodical narration of this very remarkable transaction until its catastrophe.—Effluxion of time would terminate the wardship ; yet, in the meanwhile, the united strength which rejoiced the Houses of Robert-le-Fort and Rollo was bearing against the Crown. A happy juncture arrived during the progress of the alliance against Richard, when Lothaire, acutely acceding to the sagacious Bruno's supplications, and supported by Bruno's power, availed himself of the law. Hugh-le-Grand's children were his mother's own nephews, sons of his revered aunt Hadwisa, own cousins, near kinsmen, who had a right to be dear.—Great must have been the stir at the Court of Laon, when the Capet and Eudes his brother were brought before their royal Protector, and, swearing the oaths and performing homage, acknowledged themselves his Vassals and Lieges.

Duchy of France and Poitou granted to the Capet.

Lothaire, thus accepted as the lawful Superior, immediately exercised his unquestionable rights of partitioning the vast inheritance. The Capet received the Duchy of France,—alone constituting a magnificent provision.—Thereunto Lothaire added Poitou, professing, as it should seem, to interpolate the Capet as Overlord of the Duchy, granting him the superiority ineffectually contested by Hugh-le-Grand, and for which he may be said in a manner to have died. Whether Tête-d'étaupe would consent to this humiliation was another matter ; his consent had not been asked.

Burgundy to Eudes.

Early death of Eudes. Burgundy passes to the Capet.

Burgundy became the lot of Eudes ; but this grant speedily enured to the advantage of the elder brother. The Capet, during his whole life, was pursued by good fortune. Eudes did not survive to enjoy his possessions more than three years, when his appanage was inherited by the future occupant of the

throne, now the sole male representative of Robert-le-Fort's lineage,—so curiously do royal families sometimes ride at single anchor, if such an expression can be allowed.

954-987

956-967

These mutations might have affected Richard's interests very seriously. Deprived of the privileges and advantages which he enjoyed as guardian, Hugh-le-Grand's sons, emancipated from Richard's control, were brought under the immediate jurisdiction of their lawful Suzerain. The Duke of Normandy could no longer pretend to any legal or quasi-parental authority over them ; and, it was within the compass of reasonable probabilities, that his shrewd brother-in-law, who, manifested the most persevering ambition, conjoined to the profoundest craft, might become a dangerous rival. What if the Capet had chosen to take up, or make up, a quarrel with Richard, on account of his conduct towards Emma ?

The next move however was Richard's.—Others remained to be made ; but this, not being nullified by the cast of the die, was destined, in the long run, to decide the game, and Richard was enabled to play it out on the tables more fully than even he himself could possibly have foreseen. No longer entitled to exercise any personal control over the Duke of all the Gauls as his Ward, Richard could establish himself in a much more advantageous position, and wherefrom he could effectually outflank Lothaire. Hugh Capet had become full Duke of all the Gauls, owning no superior except the King, and holding his Duchy in a more dignified manner than any other amongst the Vassals of the Crown. Richard, therefore, simply renewed that " Commendation " to Hugh-le-Grand's successor which, by the advice of Bernard the Dane and the Normans, he had rendered to the father.—No abasement implied in this act—nay the contrary.—The " *Princeps Normannorum*," prided himself in acknowledging the Capet, the " *Princeps Francorum*," as his Senior, and, we doubt not, but that according to custom, he performed his homage under the oak tree between Gisors and Trie, on the border. Henceforward Hugh Capet was authorized to demand the service of Richard as his Vassal. And thus, ere the Coronet of the Duchy of France was fashioned into the Fleur-de-Lis Crown, Normandy was its brightest jewel—Normandy became the Grand Fief of the Capetian Kingdom before that Kingdom arose.

Richard becomes the Vassal of Hugh Capet.

§ 24. The inspirations of the Medical Muse fell pre-eminently upon the renowned pathological Poet, Johannes de Meditano¹,

954-987

956-967

Sanguine
Tempera-
ment as
described
in the
Precepts
of the
School of
Salerno.

who, addressing the "Rex Anglorum" in the name of the School of Salerno, has picturesquely idealised the "Sanguine Temperament," first and most gifted amongst the "Four Complexions" assigned by antient Physiology to mankind.

Naturâ pingues isti sunt, atque jocantes,
Rumoresque novos cupiunt audire frequenter,
Hos Venus et Bacchus delectant, fercula, risus.
Et facit hos hilares, et dulcia verba loquentes.
Omnibus hi studiis habiles sunt, et magis apti¹.

And since that King of England was Henry Beauclerc, we may fancy we hear the sagacious Physician, when presenting his poem to his royal Patient and Patron, intoning the passage with dulcet modulation and delicate emphasis, inasmuch as the brightest characteristics truly appertained to the Conqueror's heir.

Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubeique coloris,
Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque benignus².

Applica-
bility of the
Portrait to
Richard.

But, had Richard sat for the portrait, whether moral or physical, it could scarcely have been more accurate, according to the accounts given by his biographers. Even such as the verses commemorate, was Richard. Collect the various historical passages, whether directly laudatory, or incidentally descriptive of his moral or physical idiosyncrasies, his conduct abroad, and his conduct at home, and we obtain a full view of his character. Cheerful, handsome, debonair,—a well filled purse, opened by a liberal hand,—no Raoul Torta to tighten the strings,—none to compete with Richard as the gallant wooer of the coy, though yielding beauty,—troubling no one by the unpleasant example of rigorous morality,—living for enjoyment, and willing that everybody else should be equally free and easy,—agile, stalwart, bold and handsome,—stout, but graceful,—exhibiting in his person the best points of his race, divested of harshness, and his fine countenance adorned by his curly golden hair.

Richard's
moral and
physical
portrait,
as antici-
pated by
Johannes
de Medi-
tano.

§ 25. Whatever Richard's political power may have been, he had avoided making any sign, that, if left alone, he would ever trouble his neighbours. Ambition was neutralized by love of pleasure: his Court at Rouen was a constant scene of merriment and jollity, crowded like a fair.

Implaca-
bility of
Richard's
enemies.

There was no real reason, therefore, to fear him. His foes, however, would not allow him to live a tranquil life. Quiet came at last, but not until they had worn themselves out; and, in the meantime, he had to bear with his trials, or better, to

brave them.—If needs must, right willing and full ready was Richard to grasp the sword. 954-987

All the members of the Royal family, and all connected with them, yet most particularly the powerful partisans, who so repeatedly appear in action as an implacable junto, were conscientiously the deadly enemies of the Pirate. 956-967

Conscientiously,—they knew no otherwise, could not know otherwise, no not if they laboured ever so earnestly, unless transformed by a moral miracle. The implacability which the French ascribed to the Danes was reflected back upon themselves, and returned with equal inveteracy. Like mirror placed opposite to mirror, hating minds repeat hatred in endless perspective ; but not like the mirrors, fainter and fainter. In all such quarrels, each man ascribes to his foeman the faults of which he possesses the full equivalent, may be the very same. Every heart, however tender, includes a stony fragment never softened into flesh ; the heart of stone is never entirely taken away.—No intolerance more inveterate than that which inspires all of us the Advocates of universal toleration.—Alas for the “sacred right of private judgment,” claimed by every one, but allowed by no one.—Who permits it ?—Do you ?—Do I ?—Not you.—Not I.—My permission of “private judgment” is this—think as you please, provided you think so as to please me.—Believe what you choose of your own free choice, but choose my creed.—And if you make your own free choice, your “Choice” is my “Heresy.”—And your permission is the same—my “Choice” is your “Heresy.” There is not a page of the Tract distributor’s Tract, or the Anti-tractarian or Tractarian sermon, or a leaf of the liberal or illiberal broad sheet, which, under favourable circumstances, and fostering influences, might not develope into a San-benito¹, *semé* with flames. Even the most merciful amongst human creatures are therefore oft-times the most merciless ;—there is one grudge which they never forget ; one affront they never forgive ; one opinion they never bear with ; one offence they never pardon ;—the bitterness concentrated in one channel, becoming more intense than when diffused.

National
enmities.

§ 26. I do not doubt but that the reader has often accused me of inconsistency when speaking of Gerberga,—telling so much of her spite, though more of her love. Yet so it was ; the noble Matron’s ardent devotion to her own, being quite compatible with her one malevolence. She feared and hated

Gerberga’s
character.
Its appa-
rent, but
intelligible
inconsis-
tencies.

Richard's borders. He allied himself to Hugh, Count of Maine¹, —the [grand]father of the celebrated Herbert-rouse-the-dog, *Herbert Eveille-chien*—and the distance between Normandy and Anjou was so small, that Geoffrey was watched as the second mal-voisin.

954-987

955-967

But Richard's persecuting Demon, was Thibaut-le-Tricheur. Near enough, and mal-voisin enough to Normandy was he. Thibaut and his Consort were happily congenial; as fiercely minded did Liutgarda continue against Richard, as she had been ever since his birth, or before. Heightened by jealousy, her enmity had not received any mitigation from the series of events which ensued since Guillaume Longue-épée's demise. Without affection for Guillaume Longue-épée, Liutgarda seems to have been not inexcusably provoked by Espriota's usurpation of her rights; and the jealousy of the Countess of Chartres against the Miller's wife and the Mamzer, burnt strongly as ever. Richard, however, on his part, fully reciprocated. He did all the mischief to Liutgarda he could, and aggravated the wrongs she had received from his father by confiscating her dowry lands.

Thibaut of
Chartres
and
Liutgarda.

Thibaut was inclined to contest all Normandy up to the river Seine; or at all events a good share. His peculiar object in the first instance was the Evrecin, a territory which would so beautifully round off the "Päis Chartrain." He had been machinating with a powerful partisan at Evreux; whether burgess or knight we know not, for his name gives no intimation of his rank, and this personage had promised his aid. But the intrigues could not become successful unless supported by force. Thibaut had been beat off by Richard; and he therefore persisted in labouring to stir up Lothaire, so as to marshal all available powers against the common enemy.

Thibaut's
particular
views
upon the
Evrecin.

§ 27. Ultimately, no portion of France, became more truly French than Normandy.—Wherever the Frenchman extends his conquests, the domination obtained by the bold winner of hearts, commencing with violence, ends by love. It was in Normandy that French literature arose. Amongst the populations of France, none have more fully participated than the Normans in that national sentiment which, surviving through every convulsion, and shining most brightly amidst the most gloomy clouds of national misfortune, rendered Franco-Gallia "one and indivisible," ages before the Republic was proclaimed. An affection as potent under the Drapeau blanc, as under the Tri-color—defending the Eagle, as devotedly as the Fleur-de-lis.

954-987

956-967

Hatred
between
the French
and
Normans
during the
early
period of
Norman
history.

Yet, during the early period of Norman history, or rather so long as the Normans possessed a distinct history,—so long as they were alien to France—a bitter dislike subsisted between the two nations, for such they were. Our English hatred of the French was originally implanted by the Norman conquerors; and, at this period, the enmity was peculiarly inflamed by the apprehensions which the French entertained, and with sufficient foundation, of Richard's cater-cousins¹, Harold Blaaland, and the Scandinavians. The geographical denomination, "Scandinavians," must be employed, inasmuch as Richard continued to cultivate the friendship of the three great families of the Baltic and the North Sea.

The political antagonism was exaggerated by both parties into personal antipathy against the respective Sovereigns, and that antipathy fomented by contempt; a grovelling passion infinitely more degrading to those who entertain it than to the objects of their scorn. The readiness with which the Wits of Queen Anne's days chimed into the vulgar strain of ridicule cast upon the "Grand Monarque"² discredits their taste and disgraces their moral dignity. Magnanimity towards an Enemy, a feeling unknown to the savage, honoured by Heathen ethics, and constituting one of the few human virtues which can be truthfully assigned to Chivalry, may, in our civilized age, be occasionally manifested to a Prisoner after the conflict in the field—but never do we now find magnanimity, when war is envenomed by personal antipathies. If there could be such a thing as national shame, who would not lament the foul streams of scurrility with which we drenched the "Corsican"³ as inflicting an indelible stain upon ourselves?—

Richard
and Lo-
thaire re-
spectively
ridiculed
by the
French
and the
Normans.

The mutual dispathies between the Normans and the French assume a ludicrous aspect, from the caricatures of the respective Monarchs which illustrate their history. According to physiological fancies prevalent in former times, and by no means obsolete in our own, the colour which we cannot otherwise define than as the culminating tint of the "Xanthous" variety of hair, was viewed, or rather shunned, with the deepest and most incurable aversion. In France, the Trouveur spoke the popular opinions by which the feature,—termed in plain English, a carrotty-poll, —was deemed the warning symbol of moral depravity—

Entre rous poil et felonie

S'entreportent grant compaignie⁴.

A curious testimony of this uncharitable prejudice is afforded

in mediæval art. The antient painters, the Byzantine teachers of Giotto¹ and Cimabue², were guided by the technical traditions of Hagiology, not by æsthetic precepts. Judas was always pourtrayed with this characteristic. No cast of countenance, no sinister expression would have been considered adequate to express his depravity. 954-987
956-962

Fortunately, however, or unfortunately, there is no colour more difficult to define than this odious "signalement," yet none more easy to euphonize, inasmuch as it passes, or might pass, or ought to pass, by delicate ascending or descending gradations into various hues ; one almost pleasing, some tolerable, others—but there we stop—and the artifices by which the lover discovers graces imperceptible to any other eye, nay, even interprets blemishes as charms, have always been employed in society for the purpose of eluding the inferences which are deduced from this peculiarity.

Nominibus mollire licet mala : fusca vocetur,
Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erat :
Si pæta est, Veneri similis, si rava Minervæ³.

As for Lothaire, according to the Norman portrait⁴, he was ill-favoured equally in body and in mind. Look at him, said they,—a fine fellow for a King ; stingy and shabby, proud and fell, shambling upon his crooked shanks, his long, pale, hollow-cheeked, freckled face, encircled by his fiery hair : whilst the golden locks which we admire in Richard, presented the identical reprobated colour to the eyes of his French enemies.

. Mult somes tout hontous
Richard cet Normant, cel aventis, cel rous !⁵

It is that Richard, that Northman, exclaims Thibaut, that vagabond, that russet-pate, who puts us all to shame !

§ 28. Richard, during this era, had to struggle against fraud and deception, treachery and hostility, to labour against assaults so sharp, combinations so potent that at first they threatened the very existence of the State ; yet, nevertheless, so overruled as to seal the independence of Normandy, and to enable his descendant, in the fourth degree, to achieve the conquest of England.

Seizing the opportunity when Lothaire and Gerberga held their Court at Laon, Thibaut came before them and warned them of their impending danger. He expatiated upon Richard's direct authority, and also upon his resulting influence, scarcely Thibaut
excites
Lothaire
and Ger-
berga to
act against
Richard.

954-987

956-960

less threatening. Not a square toise of land in Normandy, would Richard own that he held of the King. Nay, added Thibaut, he rules the French as though he were their sovereign ; and as this expression could not extend to the King's dominions, it must be construed as referring to the preponderance which he possessed in the Duchy of France by reason of his Capetian alliance.

Concurrently with these arguments, Thibaut kept Lothaire's apprehensions seething, by exaggerating the Pirate's military and social power.—Verily, no safety for France, otherwise than in Richard's destruction. Bold Gerberga solicited Thibaut to advise. Thibaut was plain-spoken. Open force, or sagacity,—that is to say, device or stratagem, trick or treason, were alike allowable. Whatever language the Pirate spoke, whatever garb he might put on, he was excluded from the social compact.—This doctrine was one of the *Arcana Imperii*¹, not to be displayed abroad, but always concealed in the breast.—The catastrophe of Picquigny was a scene for example rather than detestation.

Assistance
against
Richard
sought
from Arch-
bishop
Bruno.

Negotiations were opened with Bruno, reviving the recollections of the Land. Old men were living who had heard from their fathers how cleverly Archbishop Wilibert, Count Henry, and Count Everard had delivered the Carlovingian community from the Black Dane, whom no Baptism could purify, no alliance bring within the protecting pale of Carlovingian civilization. The King gladly assented. Gerberga entered readily into the scheme. Otho also, and the security of France—and through France, of Germany—silenced all the scruples which conscience might raise.

Bruno
invites
Richard
to a con-
ference at
Amiens,

§ 29. Lothaire, Gerberga, Otho, Thibaut, Bruno,—all agreed upon the ultimate object of their confederacy. Why should they not ? It would have been out of character for any one of them to have held aloof from any mischief against Richard. Thibaut, certainly the most active, and at this juncture, perhaps the most powerful, assembled his forces at Beauvais ; whilst, at the same time, a bland communication was transmitted by Bruno to Richard, speaking much of peace and amity, and his wish to protect Richard against his enemies, inviting him to an interview at Amiens. No object—as the bidding ran—did Archbishop Bruno seek more earnestly than a reconciliation between Richard and his nephew the King.

Richard was thrown off his guard. Without consideration, neither receiving nor seeking advice, he marched forward to the

place of conference, lightly and easily, as though he were going forth for amusement or pastime.—Many were the marvels sung by the Minstrels in after times concerning the preternatural trials and perils which befel Richard-sans-Peur in the forest glades,—seductions and terrors,—encounters with fairies bright and ugly fiends,—and now, when, having entered the Beauvoisin, he was passing through the woodlands, a veritable adventure occurred, which, with due embellishment, might have figured in the lay. It was the sudden apparition of two Knights starting through the thicket, hot, and fagged, and dusty, so muffled in their mantles that their faces could not be discerned.

954-987
960-962
Mysterious warning given to Richard of his danger.

Their errand was one of very substantial reality. These friendly strangers were Thibaut's men. They had learnt the intended treason,—perpetual imprisonment, or death, had been devised. Greeting Duke Richard, he at their request turned aside ; and they intimated to him, in terms obscure and emblematical, yet not unintelligible, that a great danger was imminent. They probably adopted this semblance of mystery for the purposes of relieving their conscience and also rescuing Richard, yet equivocally evading the opprobrium of directly betraying their master's counsel.—Noble Duke, said they, what choose ye to be your lot ? Ruler amongst your own people, or a banished man ? Shepherd, swineherd, or worse ?

Richard was astounded. Richard-sans-Peur felt fear now ; and when, in after times, the Knights told their own story, they related how Richard's colour rose, not from anger, but from real and actual alarm and confusion.—Silent awhile, he broke that silence :—Whose Lieges were they ? What matters it, replied they, if faithful to thee. No more questions did Richard ask. His guerdons bespoke his gratitude for the warning, and also his comprehension of the snare. Richard's own golden-hilted sword did the one Knight receive. Four pounds in weight did that hilt weigh. The Companion was honoured by Richard's golden bracelet—the ensign of his ducal dignity—equi-ponderous with the splendid sword-hilt, and also fashioned of the purest gold. The Monitors vanished. Richard rejoined his Nobles and Cortège—Gautier-le-Veneur no doubt amongst them—and related the strange encounter which had befallen him. Some slight debate seems to have ensued ; but they were ultimately unanimous in accepting the counsel conveyed by the enigma.—Forward would be folly ;—and forthwith must Richard return to Rouen.

Richard accepts the warning and returns to Rouen.

954-987

960-962

Discredit
brought
upon
Bruno by
his share
in this
trans-
action.

§ 30. Bruno waited for Richard anxiously, fretfully, impatiently. At length, a messenger despatched from Rouen, informed him that his evil intentions were disclosed. Bitterly vexed by this revelation, uncertain by whose intervention his machinations had been thwarted, the Archbishop again assumed the character of a peace-maker. Courteously did Bruno reiterate his entreaty, seeking to conciliate Richard by meeting him on his own confines. Let Richard advance as far as the Epte, and, accompanied by Lothaire, the Archbishop would gladly undertake the journey. Richard tartly refused. The Normans were deeply incensed. The discomfited deceit only encreased the enmity of the two nations. The news spread widely. The iniquity of the proposed stratagem, condemned more sternly by reason of its failure, brought Bruno into discredit. A report circulated in Normandy, that, when the intelligence reached Italy, the Pope was inclined to fulminate a sentence of deposition against the Archbishop. But it would have been a hard matter for the Pontiff thus to deal with a Prince of the Empire. Bruno's acts and deeds, life and conversation, should be carefully studied. In him, we begin to see the mischievous consequences resulting from the annexation of temporal sovereignty to ecclesiastical dignity. But temporal sovereignty must not be confounded with temporal authority, nor be mistaken for the position which the Bishops held as chief magistrates of their city, protecting fathers of their people, interposing between subject and sovereign.

Silence of
the
German
chroniclers
respecting
Bruno's
inter-
ference in
French
affairs.

The German Chroniclers, with one exception, seemed to have agreed to observe a careful reticence as to any circumstances which might affect Bruno's reputation. The notice of the share he took in the unnatural conspiracy against Otho was probably disclosed by accidental want of caution. They also, for some less obvious reason, have ignored his connexion with France. The important part which Bruno acted in securing Lothaire's accession is known to us only through the French authorities. With respect to Bruno's dealing with Richard, had the device succeeded, the event would perhaps have been recorded no less carefully and clearly, than the happy consummation of the plot against the Danish spouse of Gisella.

§ 31. None so mortified by Richard's escape as the participator in the plot,—possibly its originator,—Thibaut. He immediately recommenced his dealings with ready Lothaire, and readier Gerberga, persevering in the object of inducing them

to crush the rebellious enemy. Could they bear that the red-headed Pirate should put all France to shame? He insisted upon the necessity of bringing Normandy into subjection.—*Ogni medaglia ha il suo rovescio*¹.—Perhaps if Thibaut of Chartres could plead his own cause, we might have been persuaded to moderate our opinions of his failings. Vying with Arnoul in length of life, the epithet of *Le Tricheur* was partly supplanted by the more kindly appellation of *Le Vieux*; and it is curious to observe that no period of history exhibited more signal instances of longevity in Royal and Princely families than the close of the tenth century. Without doubt, also, there were many who accepted Thibaut in the character of a useful and patriotic member of the state, by reason of his steady enmity against the Normans: and Arnoul being removed, first transiently, and afterwards permanently, from the field of action, Thibaut came forward as the Protector of the Carlovingian Commonwealth against the astuteness or violence of the Pagans.

954-987

954-955

Thibaut of
Chartres,
—his
character

The Paschal festival called the nobles to Laon, and the festive meeting was followed by a remarkable *Cour Plénière*²,—a *Placitum Regale*, at antient Soissons. The locality must be marked. This Merovingian Capital constituted the chief City in the Vermandois; and rare was it for the King of France to convene such an assembly beyond the narrow circuit of his own Crown-land. Soissons, the place now selected, would attract a fuller appearance of his Nobles and Allies.

961—
Conven-
tion of the
nobles at
Soissons.

Lothaire had prepared for action with his usual vigour.—Accompanied by Gerberga, he had been traversing his dominions, and thus gained support. Richard's chief enemies thronged at Soissons—a Military Muster as well as a Great Council,—or perhaps we should term it a Military Council, such as appears not unfrequently in antient English history. No Prelates are noticed as having concurred, but the issue reveals that the question was debated whether it would be more expedient to declare open war against Richard, or again try to secure him by deceit;—and the latter course was adopted.

Widely spread were Richard's friends. Had not many a knight in Lothaire's service tasted the bounty of the Norman Duke?—None of the movements of the French were unknown to him. Secretly, suddenly, assembling his troops, he crossed the country, and attacked Soissons, seeking to effect the dispersion of the Convention. But the royal forces were equally on the alert: and Richard, beat off with considerable loss, retreated to Rouen.

Richard
attacks
Soissons
and fails.

954-987

960-962

Norman and French historians are always far apart from each other. Fluent Dudo and his Norman successors avoid making the slightest allusion to Richard's bold but bootless enterprise ; whilst faithful Frodoardus and discreet Richerius are consistently silent respecting the whole series of transactions which we are now reviewing.

Lothaire's
embassy to
Richard.

§ 32. Richard's defeat encouraged Lothaire to assume a high position. A noble Ambassador appeared in the Palace of Rouen summoning Richard to perform homage.—Richard received the Envoy in his *Cour Plénière*, surrounded by Prelates and Baronage. The proceedings of Lothaire's representative were energetic, and not uncourteous. Richard was reminded of the submissions which Sire and Grandsire had rendered to the Crown of France. To these expostulations, persuasions were conjoined. Would it be judicious to resist the King of France, and the power which the King could command ? Considering the chances of war, might not even Richard be compelled to return to the country whence Rollo came, to old Denmark, beyond the sea ? And something was thrown in concerning the machinations of Richard's enemies.

Lothaire
proposes a
conference
with
Richard
to be held
within the
Norman
boundary.

As to the arguments deduced from previous homages, Richard had a Plea in bar ;—the release made by Louis on the banks of the Epte,—an act which terminated the question. Nevertheless, Richard was perplexed ; his discomfiture before the walls of Soissons, might be the prelude of adverse fortune. Lothaire, professing to be earnestly desiring a compromise of disputes, proposed a conference.—Abandoning precedence, the King of France would meet Richard on his own Norman land, where the Duke might listen to proposals leading to a thorough pacification.—Smooth words, but false.—The success or failure of the projected negotiations were items of comparatively small importance in Lothaire's calculations—matters almost indifferent. He and Gerberga, and Thibaut, indeed all his chief Allies had resolved to extinguish the rivalry between France and Normandy by a shorter process. They would rid themselves of the evil fruit, by cutting down the evil tree : and the trysting place was duly suggested by some skilful observer, well acquainted with the country—perhaps Thibaut himself—not less intelligently chosen than the Isle of Picquigny, for the object they all yearned to obtain.

In order that we may interpret the subsequent movements, we must open the map, and direct our attention to the river

whose name furnishes the first article in every Geographical dictionary. Twenty-one European streams, at the very least, are severally designated as the "Aa." Amongst these, the most important is that great "Aa," which, during the last century, severed France from the Austrian Netherlands, and still continues a political boundary : the latter domination, being replaced in our own day, by the Kingdom of Belgium. Now, from that same "Aa," unto the Seine, and even beyond the Seine to the promontory of the Hogue, we may observe how the Channel and North Sea coasts are intersected by numerous streams or streamlets, larger or smaller, which, fertilizing the soil, and ministering to the maritime interests of the land, are also more or less available as military defences. The general lines of course and outlet are not materially altered ; yet manifold changes have taken place in the physical features of the chorography ;—extensive tracts accumulated by alluvial deposits ; here, the run widened ; there, estuaries filled up and converted into lush pastures ;—fresh waters commingled with the salt tide ;—rivers so deepened by the up-rushing wave, that the tall oar worked by the fishermen's long arm, can no longer reach the bed ; whilst, in others, so shallowed by the rising banks and shoals, that the bark cannot speed her way.

§ 33. The *Bresle*, the well-known river of Eu, severed Ponthieu from Normandy.—The defence of the island fortress by Rollo's genuine Northmen, evidences the availability of that frontier line. A stout defence could Richard have made on that border, had Lothaire there attempted hostilities.—Journeying on westward, we are next stayed by the *Yare*. Is it not interesting to find amongst the North-folk of East Anglia, the namesake of the Northman's stream ?—Further, we arrive at the *Diupe*,—the *Dieppe*,—the *Deep-water*, which as my readers may recollect, or ought to recollect, first invited the erection of the now flourishing sea-port City. This same *Diupe* is formed by the confluence of the *Bethune*, and the *Eaulne*, the Celtic Allan water, where, for the present, we must stay, adverting however to the circumstance, that the same conformation of territory continues until we reach another Celtic stream, the *Durdan*, and thus onward till we meet the mouth of the Seine.

During the earlier mediæval period, however, the *Bethune* had not acquired its present name, being considered emphatically the *Deep water* ; and Lothaire had fixed his place of conference on the borders of the *Eaulne*, so that Richard might be led to take

954-987
960-962
Alterations in the maritime and littoral geography of the North Sea and Channel.

Rivers intersecting the littoral from the Bresle to the Seine.

Place of conference appointed by Lothaire on the banks of the Eaulne.

954-987

his station on the inland Delta, with the *Deep-water* in his rear. —This position would not be advantageous. Richard was fully aware, that, if possible, Lothaire would endeavour to circumvent him. Yet such was his disturbed state of mind that, knowing his danger, he could not determine to shun it. He had however employed all due precautions. The country folk had armed themselves, all ready for another Maromme *mêlée*, and he advanced with a powerful body—well picked—well chosen;—including the proudest combatants of Armorica and Normandy. All ardent for enterprise, and amongst them none more daring than Gautier-le-Veneur,—none more strenuous in fight, and Richard's companion day by day.

Lothaire
advances
with
Baldwin,
Geoffrey
and
Thibaut.

§ 34. With Lothaire marched proudly the three bad neighbours, Baldwin of Flanders—Geoffrey of Anjou—and, above all, Thibaut. Could you have asked them the question, there was not one who would have shrunk from the “yea,” that whether by foul means or fair, their delight would have been to send Richard to Valhalla—though they would have called that dark region by a different name.—In the same manner as we now colloquially compute military strength by sabres and bayonets, it was said that the army of Lothaire numbered seven thousand helmets and three thousand gilded shields. All these were gathering beyond the Eaulne, whilst Richard proceeded confidently and cheerily.

Scouts
sent out by
Richard.

Reports however, somewhat alarming, were spreading concerning the French forces, and Richard sent forth three Espials to ascertain the facts. How and in what guise was Lothaire advancing? They separated, searching the country; and the first Scout crept so close as to observe the preparations of the French. No one who saw them could now doubt but that as enemies they were to be deemed. Lothaire was holding a Council of war with the three *Mal-voisins*, preparing for the battle. Thibaut the Tricheur in full armour, Geoffrey Grisgonnelle, his grey gown doffed, and he, shining in rattling steel,—young Baldwin armed and yearning for the fight; all, glowing with eagerness to surprise and exterminate the foe.

Richard
prepares
for a banquet
on the
grass.

The sky was bright and the breeze refreshing, the grass tender and green, the copsewood-shade inviting, the cloth spread upon the turf, and Richard improved the time for morning carousal. Well loaded were the sumpters with creature-comforts, and Duke and Damoiseaux having sat down, a hundred Valets were ministering to the party.

Richard and his Companions were beginning to enjoy their banquet, when, in scurried the first Scout, shouting as he drew nigh, proclaiming how imminent was the danger.—Richard would not stir; he would complete his meal, and desired his Seneschal to bring another course, merrily telling his merry men that when they had eaten enough and drank enough, then should the banner be raised, and all go forward. 954-987
960-962

More cates were dished, more cyder brought, but there was much between the cup and the lip; for then galloped up the second Scout, screaming that the French were marching; and, close upon his heels the last Scout of the three. Such haste had the good Knight made, speeding as for life or death, that the spikes of his spurs were blooded up to his heels, so deep had he scored into his swift horse's flanks. The French were charging! Alas for the banquet!—cates and cyder left on the grass, and all prepared for the deadly stour. Intelligence brought of the approach of the French.

Our Narrators are as it were entangled amongst the rivers, and the tales they tell are perplexed and confused. But when was any account of any battle completely clear? We can discern that Lothaire himself had not yet crossed the Eaulne. Richard immediately hastened his march towards the ford, and there he took his stand. He, the Preux, the bold one, followed by the flower of Normandy, preparing for the worst. But Lothaire was very vigilant. A French detachment crossed the ford, and, at their head, a single Knight, panoplied like the son of an Emperor. First and foremost did Richard assail the enemy. The French Knight, confidently expecting the attack, charged the Duke with more courage than good fortune.—He fell transfixed by the Norman lance, and his followers were cut down by the Normans. The crossing of the Eaulne.

But Lothaire was pushing forwards furiously. Seven hundred banners did he lead to the strife. To await their assault would have been a desperate venture. The keen-toned cornet sounded the retreat; and the retreat ensued. Richard and his troops fell back upon the Deep Water, where he was supported by the rural levies, glowing [with pride at] the opportunity of defending their Sovereign and their honour. Geoffrey of Anjou had however partly anticipated him, occupying the vicinity. And now came up the Royal squadron. Desperate was the battle waged in the Dieppe water:—knights struck down, and struggling in the stream,—sinking into the pits of the river bed,—mixing their blood with the waves.—Many a hard blow hit;—horses plunging in the wet gravel, or The Normans fall back on the Dieppe water.

The battle of the fords.

954-987

960-962

slithering and sliding on the silt and the slimy margins. Thrice did Richard raise the Norman war-cry "*Diex aie!*" his own folks joining him, whilst (as the excited Trouveur tells) all the slogans attributed to the various provincial nationalities were resounding. —"*Mon joie!*"¹ cried the Frenchman:—" *Arras!*" the Fleming: —"*Valie!*" the Angevin;—and Thibaut himself, shouting out "*Passe avant et Chartres!*" Face to face, the two Sovereigns observed each other; and, whenever Lothaire saw Richard lift up the sword, did not his heart, as the Normans tell us, die within him? Lothaire was actually thrown off his horse, though not by Richard, but, unhurt, he speedily regained his seat and resumed the contest. Richard fought desperately, and Thibaut could distinguish the young Duke's clear voice rising amidst the turmoil, vituperating him as a miscreant and a traitor.

Gautier-le-Veneur.

But who so prominent in the group as Gautier-le-Veneur? All the interest of the battle seemed at one juncture to be concentrated upon the Huntsman, as though he had been the sole object of the conflict. Dragged off his horse—seized by the enemy—rescued and remounted by the ready Duke on the best he had—perhaps his own charger;—and now, again for the battle.—But the strength of the French was wasting. Three hundred horses lost;—black, dappled and grey. Lothaire was distracted; his movement to the Fords, though judiciously planned, had become most inopportune; he had not calculated the mischances and circumstances of the amphibious fight, the dashings and the splashings, the stumblings and the risings. And when the Trouveur chaunted the "*geste,*" at Woodstock or Westminster, how delighted were the attentive listeners when they heard the familiarly expected verses, describing Lothaire's yellow face, permeated by spite and malice, becoming ten times uglier. How he tore his own banner all to rags and tatters, and flung away his sword, raging and raving as if he were crazy.

Lothaire's
exceeding
vexation.

Lothaire abandoned the battle-scene, the flood and the field, with the utmost speed: and Richard, gleefully rejoicing, exclaimed, when he saw the tails of the enemy's horses,—"*Lothaire goes home; a thousand lances shall he have for his convoy!*" Richard girt himself again for the fight. Another horse was brought him; his fresh and spirited Castilian steed. He donned his helmet, and prepared to start. All about him, nobles and friends, deemed him foolhardy,—blamed and rebuked him. Their words he would not hear, and had crossed his saddle when some clever courtier plucked at the reins, and led him off.—

And now he returned exultingly to Rouen ; not scath-free, but without having received a single wound. 954-987

If the Gascons were proverbially considered as vain boasters, the antient Normans were possessed by a kindred spirit. However influential Normandy was becoming, still we can scarcely believe what they tell us, that every part of Christendom, from Scandinavia to the Alps, and beyond the Alps, delighted in Lothaire's discomfiture ;—East and West, North and South, re-echoing Richard's praises. 960-962

Richard's
triumphal
return to
Rouen.

§ 35. But the home importance appertaining to the Battle of the Fords was assuredly very great. All were angered. Lothaire stung by his defeat. Richard affronted by the thwarted treachery. The French Nobles, generally troubled by the loss they had sustained, and the apprehension of further disasters.—Above all, Thibaut could not rest ; and, for the third time, attempted to satisfy his ambition, and satiate his vengeance.

The older Thibaut grew, the more intensely did he become matured in enmity. State-craft, fluency of speech, energy, all increased with age, and he continued unremittingly the provocations addressed to Richard's enemies. He reproached King Lothaire, roused his pride, excited his fears. Would he, contented to abide in disgrace, allow Richard's persistence in rebellion, holding the Norman Monarchy, without even rendering a formal homage ? Was Lothaire worthy to be called King of France,—he who dared not assert his Kingdom's integrity ?—Moreover, was it not probable that Richard, inviting his Danish kindred, would inflict sorer injuries upon France than even his grandsire Rollo ?

962—
Thibaut
excites
Lothaire to
assert his
rights.

And now Thibaut disclosed his schemes for Lothaire's advantage, and his own. Let Lothaire appear before Evreux, and Evreux would open her gates.—Win Evreux for me, and I will repay thee.—Evreux once won, he, Thibaut, would aid in prosecuting the warfare. Ere the approaching Pentecost all Normandy would be at Lothaire's mercy, and Lothaire would regain all that his luckless grandsire Charles had lost. Joyed and overjoyed was Lothaire. He had fully learned to comport himself as King : and, issuing his precepts under seal, all the Lieges of France and Burgundy were convened to his *Cour Plénière* at Laon. Lothaire, before the assembly, impeached Richard as a Felon ; the Duke would neither obey him as a Liege Lord, nor answer him as a Liege Lord. He had summoned them to repair the wrongs of France : let them support their King and the

Cour
plénière
summoned
by
Lothaire
at Laon.

954-987 rights of the Crown, and Normandy should be as it had been,
scarce fifteen years since,—absolutely in their power.

960-962

Ce qui à France doit servir
Ne li laisser issi tollir
Ramenez à ce les Normanz
Ou ils erent n'a pas quinze ans¹.

Evreux
reduced by
Lothaire
and
Thibaut.

Commonplace arguments these,—trivial modes of persuasion,—yet valuable as testifying how appeals could be made to French national spirit, and French exertions stimulated by the enhancement of French national glory. The Nobles went entirely with their King. Lothaire took the command of the army, and, having summoned a large force of his own, he was joined by Thibaut. The opening of the war was singularly successful. A sudden assault from without, and the co-operation of disloyal Gilbert Machel, or Meschrel, from within, very speedily reduced Evreux, and the city was transferred into the possession of Thibaut. Imperfect as we know the means of intercommunication to have been in those times, it is often startling to find how each country was self-contained, and men unacquainted with the movements, whether pacific or hostile, of their near neighbours.

962—
Richard
invades
the Pays
Chartrain.

Richard had not surmised any practical result from the *Cour Plénière* at Laon, still less was he prepared to frustrate the expedition against Evreux. His elastic alacrity remedied the negligence. The Banner of Saint Michael raised, Normans and Bretons joined him by hundreds and thousands. Lothaire dared not face the defenders of their country, and retreated. Richard blew the counterblast. The Normans burst into Thibaut's dominions, extending themselves over the Pays Chartrain, mercilessly devastating the country, plundering and pillaging. No opposition made by the peasantry,—not even in self-defence;—dispersed, they were indiscriminately slaughtered. The active Normans were pursuing the chase for their own profit and gain: bebies of prisoners taken and bound, and more than two hundred thousand marks did they vaunt as the amount of ransom money and plunder.—Hilarious indeed was the grand settling day at Rouen, and Richard disbanded his troops, supposing that he had ended the war.

Thibaut
retaliates
by in-
vading
Nor-
mandy.

But now it was Thibaut's turn. Richard had shamed him, and he would shame Richard. The manner in which this warfare was conducted exhibits a singular contrast between the consistent views of the parties, and their desultory modes of action. Richard, however, had now supplied all deficiencies. Seven

hundred chosen Companions constituted the kernel of the garrison. A rumour had reached Richard that Thibaut was on his march ; nay, he had entered Normandy, supported by the power of France. The rumour became a certainty, though the intelligence did not define the fulness of the danger.

954-987

960-962

Anticipating the season of enterprise, Richard had knighted a young warrior, his namesake, so young that he was fondly called Richardet—"little Richard."—And Richardet, clever and brave, was sent forward to ascertain the numbers and intentions of the enemy. The Chartrain army advanced rapidly, ruining the unprotected country in their progress, and were drawing very nigh to Rouen.

Richardet fell in with a hostile party. He was surrounded and handled so roughly that though lance and sword delivered him from the assailants, it was with difficulty that he escaped alive. However, he did escape ; and when he came before Richard, the battered helmet, the broken sword, and the blood clotted on his visage told the story. But Thibaut's movements were masterly ; and whilst Richardet was informing Richard of his adventure, the Chartrain forces, burning and destroying as they pressed onwards, had actually entered Hermondeville, nay, had come quite close up to the bridge of Rouen.

Rapid advance of the Chartrain troops, who encamped at Hermondeville, opposite Rouen.

Hermondeville, afterwards the great Faubourg of Saint Sever, now studded with the tall steaming shafts which capitalize the land and stain the sky, was then a straggling hamlet ; the scanty dwellings planted here and there amongst pastures, woodlands, and marshes. No defence could be made, and the Chartrains encamped in a position which gave them a commanding station upon the river bank, covering also a considerable breadth of country.

So forcible was the impression made by this invasion upon the Normans, that the particulars of the exact locality occupied by the enemy, have been marked out to this day by continued tradition. But the ruins of the consecrated structures erected in subsequent ages upon the site, have been buried so deeply, or eradicated so thoroughly, that the diligent archæological topographer alone, can designate or dream, where they once arose, generations of buildings, so to speak, having risen and fallen upon the ground.

Site of Thibaut's Camp known by continued tradition.

Within the memory of some very few survivors who remember the Cap of liberty¹, the Monks of famous Bonnes-nouvelles², founded by the Conqueror's bounty, and boasting the more than

954-987 dubious tomb of the Empress Maude, could point out to their
visitors, how and where the invaders had pitched their tents on
the site of the monastery, and the adjoining grounds.

960-962

At the commencement of the present century the lofty walls surrounding the Convent and vast gardens of the Emmurés, the first recluses ever beheld at Rouen, were still standing, and the Nuns might beguile their winter evenings by relating to the novices how in the old time Thibaut's savage soldiery had revelled within the secluded precinct, and throughout the wide extent of their Barony.

The small craftsmen, and mean burgesses, inhabiting the long-shore street, grotesquely known by the appellation of "Claque-dent," or "Chatter-grinders," fully knew that their line of timbered dwellings marked out a portion of the river frontage occupied by Thibaut's camp. Whilst "le Clos des Gallées," a Wharf upon the Seine, adjoining the bridge head, and commanding it, constituted the Leaguer's termination.

Speed and
cleverness
of the
Chartrain
encamp-
ment.

Such was the very advantageous position selected by strategic Thibaut. No impediment could be offered against his Troops, and their immediate proceedings evidenced their proud determination. They came as if they intended to colonise. In the course of the one day, they raised their bivouacs, pitched their tents and pavilions, put up their camp kitchens, cooked their food, and, when evening drew on, they were ready to settle for the night with entire comfort. And yet, whilst the business of the encampment was in progress, they had not desisted from active war, for their parties foraging and ranging, were ravaging the country and firing more and more cottages and barns.

Richard's
prepara-
tions for
offensive
opera-
tions.

A sad humiliation this for Richard, that the Enemy should thus be bearding him in his own land. But the greater the insult, the more glorious must be the compensation. Nor was he altogether taken by surprise. Rouen was always in defensible condition; the strong walls and towers in good repair, the look-outs garnished, and the deep crenellations planked and pallisaded. Resolved to act upon the offensive, he made full show as though he was providing only for defence:—the beacons were flickering and flaring upon the ramparts, the Warders watching on the topmost turrets, and the Sentinels walking their constant rounds, evincing their vigilance by the incessant blasts of their bugles.—The seven hundred Knights, Richard's boon companions in the Hall, and his Capital's doughty defenders, all ready.—Abundance of craft in the pool.—Richard animating the whole meinsée,

addressing his men, explaining his scheme for delivering themselves from their foes. Sure might they be that the enemy would believe themselves secure, and that a sharp attack that very night would catch them off their guard. Close must be the conflict,—cut,—thrust,—stab,—let the blood spurt out after every blow, but the day of battle must commence before the dawn.—A prayer is offered up by Richard in the Cathedral, his rich mantle cast as an offering upon the altar ; and then, the embarkation.

954-987

960-962

Silently they muster on the river bank ; skiff, boat, barge, and galley, put in requisition. Throughout the night the troops were crossing the water.—A brilliant night.—The splendid full moon reflected in each ripple on the broad flowing tidal stream. But the rich moonlight was saddened by the incendiary glare,—the ruins of Hermondeville and the villages far and near, smouldering and blazing ; a scene heightening Richard's anger and desire of revenge.

The Norman
troops
crossing
the Seine.

Rightly had Richard speculated upon the over-weening confidence which possessed the invaders. At the conclusion of their diligent encampment day, they had retired early to rest ; but when they were wrapped in their soundest sleep, just before the day was breaking, the shrill cornets were pealing, the three divisions of the Normans, shouting "*Diez aie !*" burst upon the Camp, and the desperate fray commenced.

Such was the present inequality between the contending parties, that, though the Normans gained their advantage by due diligence, and the Chartrains lost their chance by their own neglect, the dealings of the assailants appeared almost unfair. Thibaut's men were routed whilst they were rising, or before. This one found his death-bed in his heather-bed, that one, cloven down whilst buckling his armour. The battle of Hermondeville could hardly be called a fight ; it was a flight and a massacre. How triumphantly do the Norman Trouveurs describe the destruction of the enemy : the Norman cavalry galloping about, hoof-crushing the fallen, the wounded, the dying, the corpses, Richard loudly inspiring them by his outcry, and they encouraging themselves by cheering Richard. Thibaut tried to rally his men,—could not,—and speeded away, and escaping simply by his horse's swiftness, he directed his course to Chartres, ignorant of the sad reception there awaiting him. At that very hour, Thibaut's noble city, the inhabitants knowing nothing of the disasters then consummating on the banks of the Seine,

Total rout
of the
Chartrain
army.The Count
runs away.

954-987

was resounding with cries of terror and confusion, whilst the bells were slowly tolling, urging the bidding prayer for the soul of the one departing.

960-962

Few of Thibaut's troops accompanied him, more fled in his footsteps helter-skelter, but a greater number tried to save themselves by skulking in the woods and swamps. These mostly became the victims of their own terrors. Out poured the Burgesses from Rouen, wielding gisarme¹ and battle-axe; the peasantry followed with club and scythe. Very many prisoners were taken, and magnificent was the booty grabbed by the Burghers and Clowns stripping the bloody carcasses. Six hundred and forty were counted on the field. Richard employed the day in exploring Hermondeville and the vicinities, which afforded only an insecure shelter to the fugitives. But his object was a work of mercy. He sought out all the living. Hurt and wounded were carefully conveyed in litters to Rouen, whilst to the dead he gave a Christian burial.

Richard's
humanity
towards
the van-
quished.

Thibaut's
accumu-
lated mis-
fortunes.

As for Thibaut, mournful was his arrival at Chartres. Little was Thibaut aware, when fleeing from the battle field, that the day was a day of four-fold calamity.—He, disgraced—his troops slaughtered—Chartres devastated by a dreadful conflagration, his noble palace a smoking ruin,—but, deepest grief of all, his son and namesake a corpse; for on that very day had the young Thibaut died.

Persever-
ance of the
Allies not-
withstand-
ing their
reverses.

§ 36. Splendid successes these for Richard, yet, unconvulsive. The alliance formed against the Pirate continued undissolved, nay, it should seem that the reverses of the Confederates stimulated them to fiercer hostility. The Normans though for the most part assimilating themselves in language, manners, and religion to the French,—under which term we may include all the populations between Alps and Atlantic, Mediterranean and North Sea, Bretons only excepted,—still laboured under social ex-communication. All enchorial Frenchmen, without distinction of race, hated the Danish lineage, considered them as intruding barbarians, and yearned to expel the black-blooded aliens from the land.

Disasters had neither mitigated Thibaut's enmity nor stayed his activity. We are almost compelled to respect him for his strenuousness and consistency in wrong. Grisgonnelle was seeking to enlarge his borders. Arnoul-le-Jeune inherited the domains, as well as the sentiments of father and grandfather. Lothaire contributed his contingent, and all, uniting their forces,

invaded Normandy. A succession of expeditions now ensued. Grissonnelle ravaged the Passoiz.—The Manceaux, and the other confederates, taking their share, spoiled and despoiled Domfront and Belesme, and all as far as Rotrou.—The Count of Maine pestered Alençon and the Corbonnois, and up into the Lieuvin. The Normans were hearty in their defence, but the multiplicity of the points attacked by the French rendered it impracticable for Richard to make any decisive movement. The men of Exmes and Eu guarded their country against the Count of Perche. The men of the Avranchin did their duty, so also those of the Pays-de-Caux. The Bretons stood steadily by Richard.

954-987

960-962

The three
bad neigh-
bours
annoy the
Norman
Domin-
ions.Steadiness
of the
Bretons
and
Normans.

Very peculiarly, however, did Richard rely on the Bessin and the Cotentin. Richard's early training at Bayeux had given him a personal hold upon that country, abounding more than any other portion of his dominions with families of pure Scandinavian blood: and, glancing at a gayer theme, we may suppose that in this region he made acquaintance with that lovely Damsel of Danish race, who became the Ancestress of the future Dynasty.

Over and above his own subjects, Richard mustered a considerable number of soldiers—soldiers in the modern or strict sense of the word. Brabanters, Hainaulters, Flemings, happy to receive their solde or pay from any hand; and in this case, from their own liege lord's enemy. They belonged to the people who afterwards assisted Richard's great grandson in effecting the Conquest of England, and even more extensively co-operated with the Scoto-Saxon Kings in the reduction of the regions north of the Tay.

Yet, notwithstanding these aids, and amidst all his prosperity, the conduct of Richard discloses the important fact which his biographers carefully conceal, that he deemed himself in great peril. On the face of the current affairs we can discover only one patent reason, justifying the anxieties thus troubling him, that is to say, the detention of Evreux, which still continued in Thibaut's power. But his own language reveals the deeply-seated root of his misgivings. He knew the truth.—Richard the child, Richard the youth, Richard the man, like the rest of his lineage, was extruded from the sphere of French civilization; always under society's outlawry,—a Coloured man on the Broadway,—an Irish Papist at Bandon¹ during the full orange blaze of the "Glorious and Immortal Memory,"—and, to his dying day, spoken of and written about only as "*Dux*

Richard,
neverthe-
less, feels
himself to
be in
danger.

954-987 *Piratarum*," Chief of the Pirates.—He was perfectly cognizant of the universally accepted doctrine that, when open weapons could not prevail against the Dane, it was lawful to dig any pit into which the Wolf could fall.

Richard
cultivates
the friend-
ship of the
Danes.

Under such a weight of trouble, the recollection of the fraud attempted against Richard by Archbishop Bruno justified him in assuming that the Germans participated in the feelings of the French. The fickle Celtic tribes might turn against him any day. The seeming firm land might in fact be quicksand, and except the Capetian party, and they doubtfully, there was not a soul who could really be trusted by the Chief of the Pirates. Richard had persevered in keeping up friendly relations with his kindred in the pristine home of Gorm and Rollo. To them, thanks to his rearing, he was still as a fellow-countryman.—The stout ruddy Danish damsel he could compliment not less intelligibly than if he had joined her in the Yule-dance. When a Danish keel came up to Rouen, Richard could greet the rough Butsekerl¹ in his native speech, shake his hand, and ask whether "cow-smeer"² sold well in the London Southwark, and how things were going on in the Baltic Islands. And, if the vessel landed her cargo, Richard, in due terms of trade, could offer good cheap for the bargain. His heart turned northwards. Harassed and depressed, he determined again to invoke the assistance of that Monarch to whom in his early days he had been indebted for the preservation of his dominions, perhaps also of his life.

Harold
Blaaland's
prosperity.

Supreme, or Over-King of the North, Harold Blaaland was now ruling most prosperously. Notwithstanding the multitudes which had gone forth to England and to Ireland, and to France and to Flanders, expatriated or slain, colonising or ravaging, mouldering beneath the turf, or cultivating the soil, Denmark still teemed with population. The riches and spoils acquired by the Danes during their inroads, instead of enervating their vigour, had encreased their martial efficacy. No people in Christendom better equipped with helm and hauberk, sword and shield:—and a first-rate navy. In addition to his own eager swarming subjects, crowds of adventurers had joined Harold—Norwegians, Irish Danes, or Oost-men,—and those whom the Chroniclers designate as *Alans*³, probably some of the Slavo-vendic populations. Was Harold a Christian⁴? He is claimed as such. The fact must be considered as doubtful: Harold certainly abstained from manifesting that hostility to

Opulence
and Popu-
lation of
Denmark.

the Gospel which had characterized his predecessors, but we do not possess any proof of his perversion or conversion. Luke-warm, and taking matters easily, the Missionary cause obtained no advantage either from Harold's persecution or his favour, nor did he discourage the old-faith folk, who adhered to Odin. Consequently the Heathens were so numerous amongst the Danes, that the French still considered them generally as Idolaters. —Heathens or Idolaters they might be, but any such objection vanished under Richard's present need. Help must be sought where help could be found, and what help more trustworthy than his own antient people.

954-987

960-962

Forthwith he despatched his messengers to his dependable friend Harold Blaaland. He besought Harold as his kinsman, complained of his wrongs, praying him to abate the pride of France. Joyfully did Harold receive the Ambassadors, and accept their message. High spirited, full armed, and eager for the battle, the best and choicest of Harold's warriors mustered in the service. The Keels were fitted out, and amply manned, and, amongst the many Commanders, incidental circumstances enable us to distinguish three:—Guthrun¹, perhaps the brother of Harold Graafell,—Askman, whose name emphatically designates him as the Pirate,—and Eyvind Screya. The fleet sailed from the Baltic during the fine spring season: their navigation was prosperous, and they entered the familiar Seine.

Richard invokes the aid of Harold Blaaland.

Harold assists—fleet fitted out, &c.

§ 37. It will be recollected that when Sidroc, the Irish Dane, accompanied by Irish Godfrey, the present leader's pioneers and precursors, made their grand invasion, they established themselves at "Jeu-fosse" or "Givoldi-fossa," a most advantageous locality, which they fortified and rendered their head quarters: and Richard, having settled his own plan of operations, directed that Harold's land and sea-forces should there unite with him. No difficulty had the descendants of the earlier ravagers in reaching their destination. No need had they of chart or map, or compass in the binnacle. Experience and tradition concurred in guiding them. All the soundings from the Baltic to Paris, and far beyond Paris were known to them,—all the deeps and all the shoals, and every bight and every bend. Cheerfully was the "Heysaa" shouted by the Danes as they pulled up the stream. Intense was the panic of the French, the Pagans again covering the inland waters.

Jeu-fosse, or the Fossa Givoldi, occupied by the Danes in the reign of Charles-le-Chauve (Vol. I. p. 245). Richard selects this locality as the station of Harold's forces.

The Danes were the Cossacks of mediæval France, loathed as filthy barbarians, and dreaded for their ferocity. Would not all

954-987

the horrors of which the remembrance was perpetuated by the tales repeated round every hearth, recur again, the branches of the trees bearing the ghastly crop of swinging corpses.

960-962

More than an hundred summers and an hundred winters had rolled round, since Sidroc and Godfrey first raised the Raven standard at the Fossa Givoldi. But the lofty ramparts and the precipitous dykes were ready to shelter the great-grand-children of the earlier devourers. Well chosen, and well re-chosen was this position, for fixing the Danes in the very heart of Northern France, offering them the most available means for defending themselves, and, at the same time annoying the surrounding country. To the East the station was protected by the Seine, and on the West by the Eure, for the streams of Seine and Eure, converging at Pont de l'Arche, form a species of peninsula, in which Jeu-fosse is included. Yet we must speak cautiously. The topography of this spot has been carefully investigated by those unparalleled archæologists, the French academicians; and, it should seem from their researches, that many channels have been filled up, and the face of the country otherwise changed.

Richard
marches to
meet the
Danes at
the Fossa
Givoldi.

Whilst the Danes were advancing, Richard, heading his Norman and Breton cavalry, marched concurrently to meet them and greet them: and, in the army's train, good store of provisions followed, such as would encourage his guests. Plenty of fish, (without doubt salted,) wine and venison, and when and as soon as the Keels had anchored, Richard and his allies held a Council of war. The visions of misery which had haunted the French were speedily realized and amply fulfilled. Jeu-fosse, the key of the Danish operations, was strengthened, and thence they sallied, desolating all around with fire and flame. As heavily fell the scourge on the enemy as the Norman heart could wish, or the Danish eye could see. Upland and Townland equally devastated. Chartres alone was spared. The inhabitants concealed themselves in the woods and the wilds, or fled. Cultivation ceased. For the purpose of starving out the inhabitants, all the stores of provisions which the Invaders could not consume they destroyed. The Danes staved the casks, and burnt the corn; an audacious dealing with the gifts of God, condemned even by man's natural conscience, and confessed as a sacrilege by Infidel and Pagan.

Devasta-
tions
committed
by the
Danes.

Nevertheless, the Danes proceeded methodically. They wasted, but they wanted not: fierce warriors, they were also

merchant pirates ; wild Buccaneers, yet prudent and provident. If abroad they scattered, they nevertheless hoarded for their own land. Their booty, such articles of value as they seized, rich robes and burly garments, cups and flagons of gold or silver, they warehoused at Jeu-fosse. The antient Camp became an emporium to which the Normans and Bretons resorted and drove their bargains ; and at Jeu-fosse also the barbarians detained many a douce damsel and uncomplaining matron whom they had captured or carried off during their forays.

954-987

960-962

They
establish a
trading
store.

Their inroads extended far to the west. Grisgonnelle had full reason to repent his attacks upon Richard, which conducted the Northman into Maine and Anjou. Well might he deplore the day when he provoked the enemy. But Thibaut's dominions suffered most severely. Herbert Eveille-chien would have lost his occupation there. So great was the desolation, that, as men said with doleful pleasantry, not a dog was left to bark in the Pays Chartrain.

§ 38. Upwards of twelve months did the fury of the Danish desolation continue raging. The countries thus infested, became completely disorganized. Such was the panic, that the whole of France was considered as lost ;—those vile Northmen will subdue our whole realm even to the Alpine borders !

The discontent excited in France exaggerated the terror. Utterly despairing of finding the means of resistance, the French cast the whole blame upon Lothaire. The Prelates assembled in council in Melun. Thibaut appeared before them, representing himself as a martyr to his principles. Was it not by his fidelity to France, and to the King of France, that he had drawn down upon himself the Norman vengeance. It was resolved by the Synod, that an appeal should be made to Richard's clemency.—Another Convention was held at Laon, Prelates and Nobles joining. The Bishops took the lead ; Lothaire was compelled again to listen to their reproaches. The proposition for negotiations was entertained as advisable, and Wolfaldus, recently Abbot of Fleury, but now Bishop of Chartres,—firm and wise,—was requested to undertake the task of mediation.

Panic
amongst
the
French.
Great
Councils
held by
Lothaire at
Melun and
at Laon.Negotia-
tions
proposed.

Wolfaldus, accepting the office, warily despatched a Monk to feel the way. It is probable that this same Monk belonged to the Monastery of Saint Peter at Chartres, a House specially patronized by the Norman Dukes ; if so, he, an individual belonging to a friendly community, was therefore more likely to be kindly received. From the brief report, it is difficult to

Wolfal-
dus,
Bishop of
Chartres,
accepts the
office of
Mediator.

954-987 ascertain whether, when the clever tonsured Nuncio appeared
 before Richard, he addressed the Duke in dread, or in drollery.
 960-962 A proper escort was requested as a preliminary favour, lest the
 Bishop should be devoured by Richard's "wolves" and "devils";
 and Richard, smilingly assented, promising that due precaution
 should be adopted for protecting such a good morsel as the
 Bishop. Wolfaldus, when he arrived at Rouen, spake sternly
 and solemnly, rebuking Richard for his treason against the
 whole Christian Commonwealth, by inviting the Pagans to pester
 the land, and he earnestly supplicated Richard to arrest the
 torrent of evil.

Recrimination is not always an illogical mode of defence.
 Richard could perorate by recapitulating his own personal history,
 from the days when he, a boy, beguiled by the artifices of Louis
 d'Outremer, had been imprisoned in the dungeon of Laon. He
 vehemently burst out into complaints of the treachery and
 treason which had been continually employed against him.
 Archbishop Bruno—shame to his calling—plotting against
 Richard's life :—Thibaut never ceasing his devices :—Lothaire's
 faithless proffers, which had decoyed him to the ambushade of
 the Eaulne; and now, could not Richard most truly assert,
 that Thibaut, insulting him up to the very walls of Rouen, had
 planned Normandy's complete partition and subjugation?

As befitted a loyal subject, Wolfaldus avoided concurring in
 any censure passed upon his own Sovereign, but insisted upon
 the crime which Richard had committed by inviting the Danes,
 and thus renewing the miseries of the Kingdom. Richard began
 to relax: his natural disposition inclined him peace-ward.
 Could he avoid feeling that he had contracted a most perilous
 alliance? He proposed a conference with Lothaire, and the
 French Prelates and Nobles. Let them meet him amicably in
 the genial month of May, and he would endeavour to mollify
 the Pagans. Lothaire concurred in the proposition. The
 Assembly was convened at Laon. No Thibaut repaired thither.
 Some cause of distrust had arisen, and the jailor of Louis
 d'Outremer was excluded from King Lothaire's counsels. But
 the intended proceedings could not be concealed; and Thibaut's
 anxiety betrays his apprehension, that he, so long an intriguer,
 might, at last, be sold by his own confederates.

Richard
consents to
treat.

Thibaut
excluded
from the
great
Council at
Laon.

Thibaut
treats
independently
with
Richard.

He therefore began to treat independently. Again was the
 Monk employed as a messenger. The Heraldic office had not
 yet been instituted, but the clergy had a constant mission as

peace-makers. Like the tabard in subsequent times, the rochet or the cowl bespoke neutrality, and commanded respect from all. The Monk, speaking in Thibaut's name, addressed the Duke as the wielder of the Danish power.—The Count of Blois and Chartres, deceived by the French evil advice, but now repentant, was the sufferer; his country thoroughly ruined, nor could he be rescued otherwise than by Richard's aid. Thibaut would appear before him, restore Evreux, praying Richard, on his knees, to grant that he might be honoured by claiming Richard as his Lord and Suzerain. Could this exaggeration of humility be considered as sincere by Richard? But it did not offend him. Indeed, what mattered sincerity? No man of the world, when he receives the tribute of adulation, rings the money, or even grumbles, though a few base pieces be passed amongst the sterling. Richard began to be uneasy in the Danish hug, and longed to be free from their embraces, and therefore he closed at once with Thibaut's offer. Let Thibaut himself visit Rouen within three days, and proffer his submission.

954-987

960-962

Thibaut sought no guarantee, no pledge for safety. Gulping the humiliation, he repaired to Richard. Entering the City by night, he stole silently through the dark crooked streets, some few of Richard's confidential friends guiding and guarding him. Thibaut was tired out, Richard apprehensive, each equally eager for a reconciliation. When Thibaut entered the Presence chamber, they ran to meet each other, embraced and exchanged mutual kisses,—a ceremony, to both of them either a farce or a loathing.—It is however somewhat mournful to think of the "Vieux Chartrain" craving young Richard's clemency; but he had brought himself to this pass. Not only did he engage forthwith to restore Evreux, city, and castle, but covenanted to hold all his dominions 'as a Benefice under Richard. Richard may, as his encomiasts tell us, have been vanquished by Thibaut's lowliness, but unquestionably far more by the concession; and, on his part he promised a cordial peace. That self-same night did Thibaut set off for Chartres; and the evacuation of Evreux by Thibaut's troops, and the consequent restoration of the betrayed City to the lawful owner, attested his sincerity.

Thibaut
visits
Richard
secretly at
Rouen.—A
pacifica-
tion con-
cluded, and
Evreux
restored.

§ 39. This weighty transaction concluded, now remained to Richard the equally important concern of completing his negotiations with his enemies the French, and the more difficult task of saving himself from the Danes, his dubious friends. Richard conducted the transaction characteristically, and in consistent

954-987

960-962

Joyous
prepara-
tions made
by Richard
for the
reception
of the
French.

conformity with the gay and gallant character of the Norman Court:—a character which, since Guillaume Longue-épée's accession, had become traditional. Many of Richard's domestic circle must have fully recollected the merry hunting meet in the romantic "Forest of Lions"; when the courtship between Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe and the Norman Adela, began so untowardly, and ended so happily. On the present occasion, the enjoyments of that sylvan festival were re-presented with increased brilliancy. By Richard's command, the trelliced lodges were raised, and the lengthened bowers prepared, astonishing the beholders equally by their size and their magnificence.—Green rushes and sweet smelling herbs overspread the hard-trodden, smooth, foot-worn, embrowned turf within: whilst the rich curtains dependent from the entwined branches composing the roof, imparted to the rustic edifice the courtly character of palatial splendour.

It was during the brightest season of the year; the Sun in Gemini, radiating upon Mother Earth from the culminating point of vernal loveliness, about to ripen into full summer scorch. As usual, or rather as inevitable, where Richard fixed his quarters, an avalanche of good cheer continued descending—man and beast equally cared for,—sacks of oats and trusses of provender,—wains laden with venison and pipes of good wine.

The
French
implore
Richard's
interven-
tion.

Lothaire absent, his Bishops, Counts, Knights, and Nobles, appeared as petitioners before the Norman Duke, tendering their services, and entreating his mercy. Urgently did they beseech him on behalf of the French King, the French knighthood, and the French people, that Richard would restrain the ferocity of the Danes, and rescue France from their fangs. Lothaire was guiltless. Thibaut, the seducer, had been pardoned, and, as a perfect guarantee for peace, Lothaire and the Optimates of all France would by their hand-fast compact secure to Richard and his heirs the "Regnum Northmannicum" for ever.

Richard
agrees
under the
pressure of
danger
from the
Danes.

Fully willing was Richard,—but now came the pinch. How was Richard to free himself from his allies; now not merely needless, but dangerous?—The mythic Richard-sans-Peur, who figures in the Minstrel song or the Old wife's tale, is as reckless of bogles as Tam o'Shanter¹. But the flesh and blood Richard never displayed any extravagant venturesomeness when imminent peril was impending.

§ 40. Manifesting his accustomed graciousness equally inbred and acquired, Richard cordially accepted the proposition. Yet,

even at this juncture he could not refrain from recapitulating his grievances, and recurring to the treasons which had been effected or contemplated against his liberty—authority—life. Bruno's machinations most of all.

954-987
960-962

We feel that Richard was conscience stung. In this last desperate scheme of invoking the Danes he had fully justified all the obloquy attached to the leader of the Pirates, and which, in the opinion of the French, dictated the course they had pursued, not repudiating the possibility, or rather the hope, of ending his life without judicial formality or war declared.

Richard, however, was now as much appalled as the French could be. There were the Danes, and they would not go. His management was skilful, and a friendly negotiation was commenced by him. He knew the Danish strength, and the Danish weakness;—the weight of the Danish battle-axe, and the fault of the Danish armour. Consorting, he addressed them conjointly and severally; Chieftains and subordinates, each had his compliment and good word. The old were venerable; the middle aged mighty; and the young so fine and brave. He had not thanks enow for the hearty friendship they had displayed in leaving their native country. But they had secured his safety, and vindicated their own renown. The King of the French, his Nobles, his people, now worn out by hostilities, earnestly sought quiet, and solicited peace. Richard therefore prayed that they would discuss the proposition, and grant at least a truce.—No, noble Duke, was the unanimous shout of the Northmen. Thou art gibing and jeering us. No.—Neither now nor ever.—No.—Not for a day! They would have their will. France was theirs, and the abandonment of their conquest would bring them to shame, Danishmen and Irishmen, Alans and Norskmen, before the whole Northern world.

Richard meets the Danes, and proposes peace.

They reject the proposition.

Go with us,—and we will win all France for ourselves, and for thee.—Keep aloof, and we shall win all France for ourselves, but not for thee.—Choose! Richard, however, continued self-possessed. Loud was the outcry, but Richard knew that strength of lungs is not always accompanied by corresponding stoutness of heart.—Hostilities being stayed, let two days, he solicited, be allowed him for deliberation.—Two days were granted. Then two days more.—Four days ended, he then asked eight days further time, and at the end of the eight, he craved eight days again.

Much perplexed were the French Bishops and Nobles by this

954-987

960-962

Truce
granted for
further
considera-
tion.

delay. But Richard was well acquainted with the Danish character. He had begun his manœuvres, for his qualifications as a Statesman would be unfairly appreciated, if we rejected the supposition that the proposal which he intended to make, had not been ventilated between him and the more leading men of the Danishry. Having fully matured his scheme, grounded upon his thorough knowledge of the Danish character, he explained his plans to the French. The Danish sword would slip easily into the sheath, if the full purse opened sufficiently wide. To deal successfully with the Danish Chieftains, he must select not only those who would have most powers of persuasion, but also the most persuadable. The best tools are such as do your work, and their own.

Richard's
secret
meeting
with the
Danish
chiefs.

The meeting with the Danes was appointed to be held in a meadow, nigh the Seine, at that dead hour of the night when slumber falls the heaviest on the eyelids and the prescient cock heralds the unseen dawn. The full Moon was shining brightly, the breeze was lulled, and the green tints of the trees, and the green tint of the grass, were distinguishable from each other, perceptibly though obscurely, by the conjoint operation of eye and mind.

Richard had put himself in communication with the most useful men amongst the Danes, the proudest born, the boldest, and the wisest : but not many. It was essential for the success of the scheme, that the conference should be concealed from the vulgar ; and the end was attained.

Richard
preaches a
Sermon to
the Danes.

The proceedings are related amply. Richard opened the conference by delivering a "sermon" :—a laborious and didactic exhortation, inviting them to accept Christianity. The Dean of Saint Quentin and the diligent Benoit give a full, and apparently faithful, report of the discourse, nor can any adequate arguments be raised against their general accuracy. But Master Wace, reciting his composition before Henry Beauclerc and Adelisa of Lorraine, and their gay Court, he expecting a handsome guerdon, and also fully aware that the preachment and certain matters alluded to therein, would not be pleasant to ears polite, discreetly elides the Homily ; and I shall follow his example. But the fact is, that such a proceeding was in conformity to the spirit of the age, and the address was probably composed by some of the French clergy, who sought to improve the opportunity, —say Wolfaldus.

A full assent was given by the Chieftains to Richard's promises,

perhaps to his performances. The Danes, whom he had called to council, were few in number. A bracelet of gold was easily portable, and we should not be inclined to reject the supposition, that some earnest was given by Richard to their leaders pending the discussion.

954-987

960-962

The Chieftains assent to Richard's proposals.

The locality was far away from the Danish vessels, and the Danish camp. Richard's various arguments were plausibly and discreetly urged.—Were not the Danes as his own people after all?—He would suggest plans for their benefit; and those whom he consulted being really friends, or having been made so, closed with his offer. The conference was prolonged till the night had concluded, and the dew drops had begun to fall from the damp-heavy leaves.

§ 41. Stealthily they met; silently they departed; and conforming to Richard's directions, the docile Chieftains summoned a general muster of the Dansker men, which was held in a mead, adjoining the Seine. Richard appeared before the Danish army and recommended a pacification; a proposal received, as before, by a universal burst of indignation from the multitude. They reproached Richard with his folly. No talk of peace, or concord with the Frenchmen, would they tolerate. The work they had begun they would conclude; never desisting until they had made the whole country their own. A schism immediately ensued. The Chieftains whom Richard had conciliated urged compliance with the Norman proposals. The Heathen section, for as such, we must designate the dissidents, were enraged. The dispute became more violent. Richard prudently avoided mixing himself up in the matter, whether by opposition or argument, and stole away, allowing the Danes to continue the dispute amongst themselves.

Richard again addresses the Danish Host.

During three successive days did the discussions endure, each party vituperating the other; yet the debate was merely a hammering of words. Nothing could be gained by either side wasting its strength upon the other.

At last the dissidents proposed a very reasonable compromise. They had embarked in Richard's service, and at Richard's call; he invited them—he must pay them.—Money, or money's worth they must have.—If Richard would defray their expenses or suggest some other compensation, well and good; they would depart; if not, they would abide and compensate themselves. Amongst the Danes, there were many, who, converted to Christianity, accepted the largesse, and settled in Normandy.

The Danes propose a compromise.

954-987

960-966

Ample Benefices were granted to them by Richard, and they merged in the general population, yielding to that social influence, which, in the next generation, obliterated all difference of origin.

Upon Richard's suggestion, a portion of the Danes agree to depart for Spain.

§ 42. It was now needful to deal with the Heathenry. The ensuing passage becomes an incident of European interest, inasmuch as it throws much light on the subsequent extension of Norman power. The conquests of Apulia and Sicily, are inaugurated by the events to which the Jeu-fosse Armada gave rise. Richard possessed a large naval force, and he had no difficulty in supplying ships and stores sufficient for an expedition suggested by him to the Northmen: a bold adventure, which, relieving him from their alliance, promised great advantages to the greedy rovers.

Harold had tacitly abandoned all claim to the Cotentin, yet, in a manner, the Pagus was a Danish dependency. The almost insular peninsula abounded with excellent Mariners: and the predecessors,—or, perhaps, we ought rather to say,—the progenitors, of Tancred de Hauteville and his companions,—were familiarized with the Atlantic navigation. Their “*Esturemenz*” (—as the word “Steersmen” was naturalized in the Anglo-Norman dialect—) were accustomed to frequent the coasts of Spain, and guided the fortune-seekers, who were content to repay themselves for the service rendered to Richard, by the plunder of a distant nation, which these marauders anticipated would be defenceless against their power.

Danish devastations on the shores of France under Guthrun.

The Danish traditions concerning the achievements of Ogier-le-Danois, or “Holger-danske,” in Charlemagne’s days, have been adapted or adopted by imaginative Scandinavia in many a sweet Ballad and romantic Saga. But their own Historians, properly so called, are silent as to any more recent communications, whether hostile or pacific, with the trans-pyreneean realms, and we gain our knowledge of the present transactions wholly from Norman and Spanish sources. King Guthrun, or Guthred, figures on the deck as the most prominent personage in the armament. Three hundred keels composed the fleet, eighteen opulent Cities are said to have been destroyed by the Flibustees during their course,—and a considerable length of time elapsed ere they discerned the Galician hills.

This was a season of great national tribulation. Upon the death of Sancho el Gordo¹, the Kingdom of Leon had descended to his son Don Ramiro², then only five years of age. No regular

regency had been appointed. The powers of government were, however, exercised by the renowned Fernan Gonzales¹, and, upon his death, Garcia Fernandez became the successor of his Sire. The young Chieftain avoided the conflict. Sisnando, the martial Bishop of Compostella, was alone emboldened to attempt any adequate defensive measures, and, through his exertions, the Shrine of Saint Iago was surrounded by walls.—But the invaders stormed Compostella; the City, plundered; Sisnando, slain; and, during two years, did the descendants of the Visigoths groan under the Danish domination. The Danes, despising the Galicians, treated the country as their own: and, without doubt, the generous product of the Galician vines enhanced their enjoyments, and relaxed their discipline.

954-987

960-966

Invasion
of Galicia
under
Guthrun.

At last, the Gothic blood was up. Rallying under Count Gonzalo Sanchez, who assumed the command, the people universally took arms. It should seem that the Christians sustained a defeat in the field. The respective narratives given by the Norman and by the Spanish Chroniclers are very discordant. The boozing Danes, laden with booty, and exhilarated by victory and its accompaniments, were staggering and straggling in triumphant disorder towards their ships. Count Gonzalo suddenly attacked the enemy. His success was complete; Guthred, killed; the plunder, recovered; the captives, rescued; many of the Danish barks burnt, and neither Spain nor the Spaniards ever thereafter annoyed by this plague.

Danes
defeated
by Count
Gonzalo.

France, equally fortunate, had seen the last of the Danes.—The encreasing splendour of the Anglo-Saxon Empire, incompletely veiling the rottenness of the Commonwealth, was attracting their avarice. Svend-Tveskieg, or Swein with the Forked beard, the son of Harold Blaaland, was, ere long, to appear and obtain that supremacy which placed Canute upon the throne: and, henceforward, their energies were concentrated upon the British islands and England.

§ 43. In the meanwhile, harmony was fully restored between Normandy and France. Soon after the departure of the Danes, the compact was concluded between the rival Potentates. Lothaire,—escorted by his Prelates and Nobles; Richard,—surrounded by his Warriors, they to be distinctly recognized in the next generation, as the founders of an hereditary nobility,—met on the shores of the Epte. Lothaire assured the “Regnum Northmannicum” to Richard and his descendants: covenanting also to maintain perpetual peace. This treaty was confirmed

Peace
concluded
between
Lothaire
and the
Normans.

954-987

by reciprocal oaths : gifts, exchanged as further tokens of amity : and Richard returned cheerily to Rouen.

960-966

Death of
Emma.

Not very long afterwards, the childless Emma departed. Upon her death-bed, she requested her brother the Capet to receive into his Palace those faithful companions and servants who had enjoyed her confidence and her love. Her worldly estate she divided, or more probably, had divided, amongst or between the Church and Poor. Affectionate, submissive, pious, we find no record of Emma's alms and donations. They were, we must suppose, mostly perfected during her lifetime.—Not even a sepulchral stone denoted her humble grave. All who survived her, willingly forgot her, and none more gladly than the courtly historian Dudo. It is a plausible conjecture, that a voluntary separation had previously taken place between Emma and her husband, and that she had sought repose in a Monastery.

Continued
cordiality
between
Richard
and Hugh
Capet.

Richard, however, though he did not feign regard, treated her with respect ; and the uninterrupted friendship between him and Hugh Capet proves that no offence had been taken at his notorious connubial infidelity. The marriage was a State-marriage, in the fullest meaning of the term, and was so viewed by all parties, from the day when the first proposals were made upon Hugh-le-Grand's overture by Bernard de Senlis and Bernard the Dane ;—but rendered less uncomfortable than usual through Richard's kind temper and Emma's patient humility.

Feudal
relations
between
Normandy
and the
Capets.

Richard, having fully released himself from all dependence upon France, he drew the closer to his Patron, the young Capet, priding himself upon the honourable subjection he was bound to render to his late Ward, now the magnificent Hugh, " Prince of the French and the Burgundians, the Bretons, and the Normans." Whatever superiorities were derived or claimed as subsisting between Normandy and France, after the accession of the Third Race, must be deduced from the relations contracted between Richard and Hugh-le-Grand. Richard clung closely to the Capetian cause ; and, so efficient was his assistance, that he is reckoned as the chief amongst the partizans who established Hugh Capet on the throne.

The last
Carlovin-
gians.

Louis d'Outremer, and Lothaire, and the last Louis of the line, and the Charles, in whose persons the Carlovingian Dynasty closes, availed themselves of all the powers and resources which remained to them : and, had their talent and courage been permitted to prosper, they might have rescued the falling

Monarchy. Hoping against hope, they performed their duty, 954-987
but their hope was not fulfilled.—Despised, because unfortunate, —
—for our harsh nature is gratified whenever we can attribute 960-966
culpability to misfortune.

Is the alms ever dropped from the charitable hand, without some involuntary tendency to suppose that the suffering which the charitable heart rejoices in relieving, is either directly or indirectly the token or punishment of folly or of sin?—There is but One Benefactor, who gives without upbraiding.—The language of human mercy always tones into contempt. Commiseration renders the commiserated vile in our eyes. How intelligible and how logically consequential are the sentiments excited by the two words in apposition—“*pauvre misérable !*”

A complete fusion of interests ensued between the Courts of Rouen and Paris. The events which subverted the Carlovingian domination, must therefore be treated as integral portions of Norman history. It was from these early communications and dealings that the Norman Duchy acquired its peculiar character. Nor was it until Hugh Capet ascended the throne, that the ban of social exclusion pronounced against the then fully converted Northern Pirates was removed. But the Law of Love is as inoperative between Nations as between individuals. Implacable was the mutual feud between Normandy and France, though the Normans were received, in all respects, as members of the Christian Commonwealth.

Accession of the Capets, an integral portion of Norman history.

We must now approach the last act of the terrible Carlovingian tragedy, and witness its catastrophe: the implacable Nemesis avenging the pristine crimes—the crimes of glory: and according to the usual compensation of historical injustice, in the same proportion that Charlemagne is extravagantly extolled, even so are his descendants, in whom his proud lineage expires, equally unduly condemned.

Normans not fully brought into the Christian Commonwealth, till the subversion of the Second Dynasty.

§ 44. Vainly toil we, philosophising in Science, to evade confessing the Almighty's omnipotent universality in the material creation; substituting in our reasonings, nature's laws, for His ever-enduring active will.—He is the Source of all existence, celestial or terrestrial. He is not eternal and infinite, but Eternity and Infinity. He is the Fountain of all intelligences. He is the Foundation, the constant Efficient Cause of spirit and of matter, of body and of soul, and of all the qualities, forms, or substances which the senses or the intellect He has bestowed upon us, can perceive or conceive. The gémation of each

954-987

960-966

animalcule, and the expansion of each spore, as much the special behests of His incomprehensible Power, as the Fiat that first called heaven and earth into being. When the sparrow falls from the bough, the earth's attraction fulfilling His word, acts as He commands in bringing that one little bird to the ground. Each bulb from which each hair of our head springs forth, was numbered before He formed the protoplast out of the dust. All mutations, all developments, all correlations, all operations of forces, all result from the Creator's enduring ordinances. But our consciousness of guilt compels us to shrink from the conception of the Living God walking personally amongst us : we seek to hide ourselves from the knowledge that He is actually accompanying us in all our paths and in all our ways. With us when we rise up, with us when we lie down, with us whether we sleep or wake, with us whether we live or die ; not by metaphor or poetical imagery,—not by trope or figure of speech, but incomparably more truly than any created being.—You and I and all things exist only through Him, He the only reality.—

Are we right in accepting human history as a series of scrutable causes and calculable results, the progress of human Societies governed by universal general laws, immutable as those which permeate the Material Universe ? Are we not paltering with our consciences when we merge individual responsibility in collective destiny ? Do we not, theorizing according to mere human reason, always discover or conceal a residual energy for which no hypothesis can account.—Not even can the cast of the die, or the lottery chance, the jerk of the Gamester's elbow, or the blinded boy's hand-dip into the fortune of the wheel, be disengaged from the special direction of Providence.—Whoever looks beyond the surface averages, and the classifications of the Statist or the Physician,—honourable as are these productions of diligence and acuteness and skill—and render to them every honour,—must discern that the poisonous miasms of the sewer, obeying the predetermined harmony established by the Eternal Mind, have been removed from the Prince in the Royal Palace, or brought to bear specifically upon the Proletarian in his fetid cellar, as clearly as if we beheld the destroying Angel drawing or sheathing the sword.

§ 45. Every event in each individual's life, and consequently, every event in each class, sept, tribe, or family, the aggregate of individuals ; and every event in each community, state, or commonwealth, being the aggregate of classes, septs, tribes,

or families ; has its salient point in the consiliency of the thoughts, acts, tempers and passions of separate and single embodied souls. And thus, when reviewing French history, no circumstance becomes more prominent than the generic likeness marking the various convulsions and revolutions which the Realm has sustained ; the great majority connected with the influence of some one woman in State affairs. Blanche of Castile's¹ bland piety, and the Pompadour's² brazen profligacy—Joan of Arc's rapt visions and Agnes Sorel's³ meretricious charms.—The diplomacy of the Ruelle, guiding the Cabinet or ruling the Sovereign, planning the marriage or prompting the murder, negotiating the peace or provoking the war.

954-987

960-966

Influence of women in the affairs of France, a peculiar feature in French history.

The Capetian Dynasty obtained the Crown by contingencies bearing the closest analogy to those whereby they lost the Crown. The charges adduced against the last Carolingian Queen were virtually re-echoed when Marie Antoinette was conducted to the Scaffold. Vice, intrigue, and treachery, ruined the Carolingians. The like stern retribution clove to the line of Robert-le-Fort. And the hell-hounds unleashed from the *Parc aux cerfs*, hunted the progeny of Saint Louis to destruction.

Capetian Dynasty ruined by the same causes as the Carolingian.

The powers exercised by Woman pervade the national annals.—Deep is the lesson conveyed by the fact, that Brantôme's⁴ record of depravity is an indispensable muniment of French History.—Consider what would constitute a truthful series of tableaux dedicated to the memory of the “ Father of letters.”⁵—Stand by the death-bed terminating his career.—Diane de Poitiers⁶ as gay as a lark, whilst the Duke de Guise⁷, slowly creeping to the door with a doleful face, trills and sings as he trips away,—*il s'en va, le gallant*.

§ 46. At the commencement of the Carolingian history, Franco-Gallia teeming with intellectual vigour, her literary remains supply the most abundant materials to the historian. Men of note, Men of mark, Prelates, Monks, Divines, and Soldiers, have contributed their stores. As the Monarchy declines, the historians decrease in number, though still retaining signal value. But we must now lose the last survivor amongst our old friends—Frodoardus.—We have heard him speaking through these many years : sometimes taking part in the transactions he narrates and for the most part almost always their witness. Truth seeking, truth telling, neither expecting profit, nor courting praise, bearing testimony to the fortunes of his generation as a simple duty towards them and towards posterity, he continues

Falling off of historical information.

954-987 working with unabated diligence ; but, during the period which
 950-966 we are now treating, the reader may trace some diminution in
 his vigour.—Incidents related more briefly,—powers of observa-
 tion less acute,—strength less adequate to the exertion.

Quietly and sedulously however does Frodoardus proceed, until, diverting his path for awhile from public affairs, he pauses, inscribing the approaching termination of his labours. Having attained the age of seventy years ; broken by age and infirmity—his sacerdotal duties—painful labours—and not caring to drink the cup to the dregs, he, as he informs us, cast off the burden of his preferments,—Canonry and Abbey,—and retired to his Cell. The events which happened during the three subsequent years, are succinctly commemorated, and then the pen drops from his hand. He died on the Feast day of Saint Joseph of Arimathea, and, interred in Saint Remi's Royal Basilica, his memory received great honour.

Infirmity
and Death
of Frodo-
ardus, 17th
March,
966.

Richerius
—singular
import-
ance of
this
historian.

But the loss of Frodoardus is most satisfactorily compensated. Whilst he was declining, a successor was maturing, by whose aid we complete the melancholy epic of the Carlovingian decline and fall. This is Richerius. Hitherto Richerius has afforded an ample complement to Frodoardus : henceforward his book becomes the back-bone of the annals. Richerius alone enables us to connect the ruin of the Second Race with the rise of the Third Race : and, chasing the visions which have been evoked, he sweeps away all the cobwebs spun by imaginative talent. It may be doubted whether any parallel case can be adduced, in which the resuscitation of a single author, his work existing only in a unique exemplar, has imparted an entirely new aspect to the previous *Textus receptus* of history.

It has become the silly phrase of the day, that the paramount, nay, the only condition required for good government, whether in great things or small, is the placing the right man in the right place. But we can neither command the existence of the right man—" *poeta nascitur non fit* " ¹ is true in every calling—nor compel the right men to place that same right man in that same right place, so the presumptuous, nay, mischievous popular aphorism vanishes in pompous vanity. But if we, living in the nineteenth century, try to select the qualifications required for the individual who was to close the chronicle of the Carlovin-
 gian Dynasty, we shall find them combined in Richer or Richerius. The son of a personage not so elevated in station as to be entangled over-much in public business, nor so inferior in rank

Peculiar
qualifi-
cations
of
Richerius
for his
task.

as to be an unworthy companion of the Monarch, Richer's father became the living record of the facts and recollections which he related to his son.

954-987

960-966

The son was equally competent to execute the task. Yearning for knowledge, and imbued with traditionary information which he alone could attain, he was fully fitted, both by talent and acquirement, to employ the teaching; and, at that period of life when the powers of memory are most vivid, and the mind most matured, he was called upon to be the Historiographer of an expiring race, by the most pre-eminent amongst his contemporaries, one whose name stands so high in the annals of science—though so dubious as to moral desert.

When Gerbert of Aurillac, (of whom more hereafter), famed, or defamed, as Pope and Magician, had attained the Primatial Seat of the Gauls, he requested Richerius to compose a History of the Monarchy from its foundation.—Richerius declined the labour. It appeared to him that he could not make any useful addition to the works of his predecessors, and he, therefore, preferred confining himself mainly to the more recent portions, his father's times and his own. Had it not been for Richer's sagacious diligence, any approximation to the real history of this eventful period could never have been known.—“Tynt 'is tynt!”—“Verloren ist verloren!”¹—Lost history, like lost languages, never can be recovered by any process in the nature of induction.

Gerbert when Arch-bishop of Rheims requests Richer to compose a complete History of France.

Gerbert—no one else could have done the deed—gave over his correspondence to Richerius. Gerbert was constantly involved in machinations, on behalf of others and of his own self, and it is sometimes difficult to avoid the suspicion that he occasionally betrayed one party by co-operating with another. We possess his own letters, or letters under his name, others which were dispatched or exchanged to or between the most eminent personages of his time, including the Sovereigns: but we are rarely enabled to distinguish whether he speaks in his own person, or in the person of the party whose name is prefixed; nor whether he acts as agent or as principal;—nor whether the letters were confided to him by the writers; nor whether he obtained the documents honestly or by collusion. This singular collection has been long known under the title of *Epistolæ Gerberti*, and has proved a torture to the wits of the erudite.—Crabbed—enigmatical,—the inexplicable hint,—a phrase in conventional gergo,—names in secret characters.—The obscurity has

Gerbert supplies Richer with materials.

The Gerbertine State Papers and Correspondence. Their value and obscurity.

954-987 increased their interest. Much labour has been bestowed upon their elucidation, but with indifferent success.

960-966

The one manu-
script of
Richerius;
autograph
and holo-
graph.

The original of Richer's history exists as he left it: autograph and holograph: never used during the nine hundred and odd years which have elapsed since his era and our own, but by one scholar, famous Abbot Trithemius¹ in the fifteenth century.

It is amusingly instructive to observe how the old Monk went to work upon his task. He proceeded economically. For the most part his manuscript is a palimpsest: the membranes of various qualities, and the leaves of unequal sizes. Here, are interlineations in larger characters—and there, interpolations in the margin; some portions in exceedingly small and delicate letters, penned, perhaps, when the sun was shining brightly, —others again, in large Pica, written when the smoky lamp was burning dimly. The text has been most carefully corrected and re-corrected, enlarged and improved by the author. But, if Richer's additions are important, the subtractions are even more so, and his concealments more striking than his disclosures. Sometimes a word or a paragraph has been erased, and the scalpel employed so earnestly, that not a letter can be traced. Considerable breaks and halts are found in the narrative, assuredly not for want of knowledge. These occur wholly during the reign of Lothaire, to the extent, in the aggregate, of nearly twenty years, and, very generally, at the precise nick of time when we are peculiarly anxious to receive full information.

Peculiar
character
of Richer's
mind
disclosed
by his
correc-
tions, &c.
of the
manu-
script.

Richer's conduct as an historian was unquestionably dictated by prudence, though combined with a higher principle than prudence. Enriched with materials for composition; and fully able to employ them, he was endued with the rare virtue of silence. The periods omitted would have necessitated the narration of occurrents which it would have grieved him to record. This is the more evident, because in one very remarkable instance, when he had commenced a chapter which must have contained matters bearing painfully upon the moral character of individuals who are amongst the most prominent in this history, and thereby enabling us to form a more correct judgment concerning the more immediate motive causes of the revolution, he baulks us by his conscientiousness, and taking up his shears, he snips off the remainder of the page. This is one of the numerous examples, when a pentimento is far more instructive than the Artist's completed composition.—No passage can be really suppressed, but by casting it in the fire.

After the death of Lothaire, the narrative expands. Richerius appears to have emboldened himself to his task, and to have worked with more confidence. Yet his reticences do not cease, and we can discern them again in connection with the scandalous subject which must have filled the chapter we have lost. Upon the accession of Gerbert to the See of Rheims, the history terminates. Infirmary probably, interrupted Richer's labours. But the parchment is not exhausted, and he still employed himself in collecting memoranda for the continuation of the useful task. He transcribes two letters from his Patron Gerbert, which the learned editor who disentombed the manuscript, has, in consequence of some nicety of arrangement, withheld or postponed. Then follow some few miscellaneous jottings,—words written to try his pen,—a sketch intended for a letter addressed to some friend, concerning a medical treatise which that friend had lent him in the course of the year: and, amongst other notices, one of peculiar interest to us, which, whilst testifying that the affairs of Normandy continued to attract his attention, affords at the same time a grotesquely forcible testimony of the permanently enduring contemptuous feeling which the old Carlovingian Frenchmen entertained against the mongrel Pagans.

954-987

960-966

§ 47. The fragmentary character possessed by Carlovingian history at this era, when the antient fabric was crumbling into ruins, often necessitates a departure from chronological order. We must occasionally groupe our personages; and, amongst these personages, none requiring to be more distinctly individualized than the Prelates, who, acting very different parts, contributed, each in his position, to the Capetian triumph.

Shortly after that Lothaire, having reduced Dijon, had given so hard a blow to the Vermandois family, the wearying career of Artaldus came to a close. The ecclesiastical Provinces of Rheims and Sens were forthwith synodically convened. The Capet, who possessed much influence in this assembly, supported Hugh the old Parvulus, the Regicide's son. Three more Bishops were the Capet's Bishops,—Paris, Orleans, Senlis. The restoration of the expelled ex-archbishop being opposed, it was agreed that the question should be referred to the Holy See. The Pontiff's decision was adverse to the Parvulus. The hopes to which the ousted litigant had so fondly clung, were finally crushed. Having been kindly received by his brother Robert, he fell sick, and died of a broken heart at Melun.—We have had

961
Death of
Artaldus,
Arch-
bishop of
Rheims.961-2
The See
claimed by
Hugh the
Parvulus.His disap-
pointment,
and death.

954-987 the Boy-Bishop before us ever since he was five years old, and
 now there is an end of him.

960-962 A vacancy in the Rhemish Primacy was a very important political crisis, setting all parties in motion. The successor of the Saint who baptized the Sicamber ranked as the first subject in the State, Arch-Chancellor of the Monarchy, and President *ex officio* in all the great national assemblies.—Invested with these powers, the Archbishop of Rheims, though he cannot be described as the King-maker, might, nevertheless, when the balance trembled, turn the scale, and become the arbiter of the kingdom's destiny.

The antient canonical right of election was vested in the Clergy and Laity; yet rarely did they recalcitrate against the recommendation given by their natural patron, the Sovereign. But France, since Lothaire's accession, had passed virtually under the German protectorate,—a superiority neither recognised by treaty nor created by compact, yet not the less real. Bruno, filling the office of Protector, availed himself of every opportunity which might knit Lotharingia more closely to France; and upon his solicitation, Odalric, the member of a noble Lotharingian family, obtained the dignity. Pious, honest, and hearty, Odalric was welcomed by Lothaire, who honored his character and energy. Thibaut-le-Tricheur had usurped many of the archiepiscopal domains, including Couci. Odalric pronounced sentence of excommunication against him and other intruders. They all submitted. The Archbishop having vindicated the claims of his predecessors, he manifested his generosity by regranteeing the contested domain to Eudes, now Thibaut's eldest son and heir; and Eudes was well contented to hold the lofty tower of Couci under the Archbishop's suzerainty.

After this, we hear nothing more of Thibaut, whom his own people called "*le Vieux*." The enterprising and active statesman and warrior, who connects us continuously with the times of Rollo, is laid by. The time of his death is not particularized:—and thus, one more amongst our few remaining acquaintances, who, dating from the old times, are all going, is taken away.

Odalric, so long as his incumbency lasted, fully asserted his station; but he held his Pontificate during four years only, when, to use the antient customary form of speech, the "widowhood" of the Church again excited the expectations and intrigues of various clerical and secular suitors.

The appointment of another Lotharingian of high estate and

962
Odalricus
promoted
to the
Arch-
bishoprick
of Rheims.

Thibaut-le-
Tricheur—
his humili-
ation and
death.

5th Nov.,
969. Death
of Odal-
ricus.

merit, again reveals the obedience rendered to Archbishop Bruno. Adalbero's father was Godfrey, Count of the Ardennes, or Verdun, and from him also descended the "Pio Goffredo,"¹ —alas, for the teaching of the chivalrous Muse!

954-987

960-962

Adalbero was thoroughly well taught in theology and divinity. He applied himself, with equal ardour, to the humanities, as they were then pursued. The classics, no less than all branches of knowledge which tended more or less towards the mathematics, were sedulously cultivated by him. He was deeply read in the History of France, and had carefully studied the laws and usages of the Realm and the principles of the Constitution. Adalbero adapted himself to the spirit of his age and country. Towards the close of the tenth century, Literature was cultivated in France and Germany with singular ardour:—and learned men, enjoying a degree of reputation analogous to that exhibited in Western Europe at the period usually termed the revival of letters, received solid rewards.

970—
Adalbero
appointed
in the
place of
OdalricusAdalbero's
knowledge
of French
History
and con-
stitutional
law.

Rarely did Adalbero appear in public affairs, until towards the conclusion of Lothaire's reign, when he came forward, exhibiting great ability, united to much laxity of moral principle: but can any party Leader, or any practical Statesman or Politician, ever conform in his public life to those dictates, which render the Gospel as heavy a yoke to him as the Law.—Adalbero decided the fate of the Carlovingian Dynasty.

The ecclesiastical promotions which Adalbero's high situation enabled him to procure or bestow, deserve singular attention. The one, exercised a most baneful influence upon the reigning family—the other, became a memorable era in the history of the Papacy, and therefore of Western Christianity.

Not long after Adalbero's appointment to the Archbishoprick, we find a Diploma or Charter issued by him in his capacity of Arch-Chancellor, countersigned by a Clerk of the Chapel, holding the office of Vice-Chancellor, an active functionary, sometimes denominated *Asceline*², and sometimes Adalbero. No explanation is given of this somewhat singular equivalence. If this *Asceline*, who becomes so painfully prominent in the annals of courtly scandal and falsehood, called himself "Adalbero," out of compliment to the Archbishop, he could not have selected an *alias* more perplexing to the historian. There were five contemporary Prelates, including him of Rheims, all rejoicing in that identical appellation; and therefore, for the sake of brevity and clearness, we shall always designate him as *Asceline*.

954-987

960-962

Asceline
(otherwise
Adalbero)
—his char-
acter and
promotion
to the See
of Laon.

The exact period of Asceline's elevation to the See of Laon is uncertain; possibly, some slight confusion may have arisen in consequence of the multiplicity of his namesakes. But his biography is consistent, and high did he stand in public favour. —No wonder, for Asceline's character was singularly attractive: nobly born, rich, ambitious, a clever lampooner, such as in society are courted and dreaded; liberal and bountiful,—his great wealth judiciously bestowed, so as to obtain general applause. Pleasant and persuasive in conversation, Asceline encouraged learned men: and, neglected as Dudo de Saint Quentin has been by modern enquirers, it is important to inform the historical student that much weight is added to the "*Acta Normannorum*" by the circumstance that the author inscribes the work to Asceline. Asceline's ability and acquirements rendered him popular in every sphere. Equally welcome, much too welcome, was the smirking Asceline, whether in the Royal Cabinet, or the Ladies' Bower. His position at Laon enabled him to become a pestiferous intimate of the Court.—He was a base deceiver, and we have reason to fear that he was guilty of sins darker even than treachery.

Gerbert of
Aurillac
afterwards
Pope Sil-
vester II.

Kings and Queens, Emperors and Empresses, concurred in rendering the highest tribute to the intellectual powers possessed by Gerbert of Aurillac.—Gerbert, the peasant's son, destined to attain the highest station in the Christian Commonwealth.—They honoured his mental endowments, and at the same time, they promoted his labours; but, under their leading he diverted his great ability into the paths and ways of the world, whether crooked or straight, for their profit and advantage. The incidents of Gerbert's life offer as many difficulties as his mysterious and problematical character. When, in the days of the Plantagenets, the English pilgrim visited the shrine of Saint Peter, he heard how Gerbert the Magician had attained the Papal See by his dealing with the Powers of darkness;—how the hidden treasures of Augustus were disclosed to him, and when disclosed, withheld by the Demon;—and how the brazen head which he constructed, pronounced those oracles, at once true and false, which encouraged him to persevere until he was seated in Saint Peter's chair.

Gerbert's
knowledge
and
talents.
He intro-
duces the
so called
Arabic
numerals.

That Gerbert visited Moslem Spain, and acquired his mathematical knowledge in the schools of Seville or Cordova, can scarcely be doubted. To him, European civilization is indebted for those arithmetical numerals¹, which, if not the foundation,

have so greatly contributed to the progress of science, and the general convenience of society. As an astronomer, Gerbert, the cotemporary of Albatagnius¹, and Alfragan², and Thebith³, and Ebenyounis⁴, and Aboul Wefa⁵, seems to have known all that the wisdom of Javan⁶, expounded by Semitic acuteness, could afford. He constructed the first celestial globe which Christian Europe ever beheld. Observation had perfected all that the book had taught. In mathematics, and the then kindred science of music, Gerbert acquired the greatest proficiency. His talent as a dialectician was unrivalled; whilst his knowledge of the antient classical writers, and his zeal for the diffusion of their study, fully equalled the ardour which he evinced in other branches of human knowledge.

954-987

960-962

An uncouth, halting hexameter, marking the progress of Gerbert, is quoted in most of his biographies:—

Scandit ab R, Girbertus in R, post Papa regens R.⁷

Some repeat the verse as Gerbert's jocular vaunt after he had succeeded; others represent it as a vaticination of the Demon. But *Ravenna* and *Rome*, denoted by the second and the last of the thrice reiterated initials, would never have been attained, had not Adalbero's favouritism afforded him the advantages which enabled the protégé to become his patron's successor in the See of *Rheims*, indicated by the first.

Having cultivated Gerbert's acquaintance by correspondence, Adalbero solicited the young philosopher to become the Rector of the schools annexed to the Cathedral, as well as to aid in the formation of a Library. The invitation reached Gerbert about the time when he was introduced to the Emperor Otho, who received him into his confidence,—a confidence which, extended through three generations, rendered him a thorough familiar at the German Court.—Scarcely inferior was Gerbert's potency in France, where he exerted the same fascination. The lovely Grecian and Italian Queens, who rivalled each other in beauty, and the recluses of the Cloister, equally placed their trust in Gerbert. Amidst all the whirl of political affairs, his ardent pursuit of science and literature never slackened. But we cannot discover in Gerbert's character any traces of piety or conscientiousness.—We can only view in him a profound philosopher, a brilliant genius, and an ambitious and unprincipled intriguer.

Gerbert's
intrigues.

§ 48. During the era of Charlemagne and his immediate

954-987

960-962

Transi-
tional
stage of
Feudality
under the
last Carlo-
vingians.

successors, the rich and instructive Capitulars, combined with the antient Barbaric Codes, declare the law of real property, whilst the "Formularies" exemplify the practice. Many obscurities do they offer, baffling solution: yet, on the whole, we possess an adequate number of texts, enabling the constitutional archæologist to frame a tolerably plausible theory. But, as we advance, these sources of information become more scanty, and, in the most important branches, wholly cease. The Lawgivers abandoned their functions, nor do we possess any materials for discussion or consideration, save and except a scanty sprinkling of Charters,—the language employed by historians,—and the facts occasionally revealed.

Increased
stringency
of Feu-
dality.

"Feudality" was assuming a more systematic form,—a form imparting greater stateliness to the Sovereign. More symmetry was acquired by this branch of the "Civil Hierarchy,"—we shall borrow this designation, now vernacular amongst our neighbours, though a contradiction in terms, until one more comprehensive and more accurate can be found. The species of adoration, supposed to have been imported from Byzantium, and which Rollo performed by deputy, occasioning the ludicrous scene enacted at Clair-sur-Epte, was not only insisted upon, but, as it should seem, rigidly enforced in the most humiliating guise. The Vassal was required to place his hands beneath the soles of the Sovereign's feet; and the usage constituted a sharp, definite, and ungracious line of demarcation between the higher and the lower Nobility. No exception was made in favour of blood or race. A Frank of the Franks, a descendant of Charlemagne, if his tenure placed him in the second rank, submitted like the rest: and we may fear that the Sovereign delighted in compelling even the noble house of Vermandois to gulp the degradation.

Perform-
ance of
adoration
strin-
gently
exacted.

Very few, as far as we can judge, even amongst the great Feudatories, were exempted from this marked acknowledgment of inferiority. Normandy had been freed by special compact; and we are certain that neither Louis d'Outremer nor Lothaire could dare to demand the observance from the Duke of all France and Burgundy.

Greater attention was paid to ceremony and etiquette in general.—The French Court, probably imitating the Imperial ceremonial, became more punctilious; and the Vassal, who, bearing the sword, walked after the Sovereign, was considered as thereby declaring his subjection to the Superior.

The incidents of tenure were more strictly defined, and that, to the Crown's advantage. More than once we have had occasion to point out how the Sovereign's legal power, as supreme Lord of the land, encreased proportionably with the decrement of his political power. Could the steps whereby this process was accomplished be traced, we should probably ascertain that the result arose from the silent but constant and consistent pressure of the Royal Chancery.—Say what you will—all law is judge-made law and lawyer-made law.

954-987

960-962

Incidents of tenure more strictly defined.

Influence of the Chancery.

It may also be affirmed without hazard of error, that the practice of Commendation, as taught by that illustrious practical professor, Hugh-le-Grand, had nearly eaten out alloduality. The principle exemplified in the legal phrase, "*le mort saisi le vif*,"¹ was not yet accepted as imparting an indefeasible title. The son received possession only by and through the Royal Precept or Charter. Upon parchment, seal, and signature, was the Vassal's title founded ;—Lothaire, who so energetically vindicated his rights as supreme administrator of the law, when Count Odalric's son lost his head before the gate of Dijon, was equally on the alert to demonstrate, that, through him, the greatest amongst his Vassals reigned.

Alloduality extinguished by Hugh-le-Grand's doctrine of commendation.

§ 49. An excellent opportunity had offered for asserting those sovereign prerogatives, on an occasion when their enforcement redounded equally to the honour of the Crown and the Realm's stability. Upon the resignation made by Arnoul-le-Vieux in favour of his Son, Baudouin-le-Jeune, Lothaire did not take any notice of the transaction : and, when Baudouin died, Arnoul-le-Vieux reverted to his former authority, construed by Lothaire as having been merely suspended during his Son's brief reign, though exercised in the name and on behalf of the grandson. The demise of Arnoul-le-Vieux having ensued, Lothaire treated the Fief as open ; and insisted, as he was fully justified in doing, that Arnoul-le-Jeune was bound to render homage :—but the ill-advised youth refused.

^{965—}Upon the decease of Arnoul-le-Vieux, (see p. 379), Lothaire demands the homage of Arnoul-le-Jeune.

For the purpose of annoying Richard-sans-Peur, Lothaire had gladly allied himself with Flanders, yet no real friendship could subsist between the Kings of France and Lideric the Forester's formidable descendants. The connexion through Madame Judith, the daughter of Lothaire's great-grandfather, did not produce any practical affinity. Lothaire acted as Louis d'Outremer would have done, or have tried to do,—he enforced obedience by military execution. Raising a powerful army of French and

954-987

Burgundians, he invaded the country, and the whole of the

962-965

"Flandre Gallicante,"—that is to say, the entire territory

extending as far as the river Lys,—fell into Lothaire's power.

Lothaire
invades
Flanders—
Richard of
Normandy
mediates—
Arnoul ren-
ders due
homage.

Young Arnoul was expelled.—From whom, under this distress, did he seek for aid? He appealed to the Norman Richard, and found a friend in him, who had a right to treat Arnoul as an hereditary enemy, his own father's murderer.—Some authorities assert, that Richard was co-operating with Lothaire, and had furnished a contingent as an ally; but, influenced by sentiments deserving a higher name than mere generosity, the son of Guillaume Longue-épée interfered on the suppliant's behalf. Arnoul rendered due homage, received his great Comital Marchland from Lothaire's grant, and was thoroughly re-instated as Count Marcher.

The sup-
pressed
chapter in
Lothaire's
history.

§ 50. About one year after Lothaire's death, there suddenly rises up an individual, never named in Lothaire's lifetime, and who, by his unexpected apparition, indicates a most important unrecorded passage in the then deceased Monarch's history; a chapter relating to an event which must have happened about the period with which we are dealing. This personage, the living witness of the matters left untold, and who attained to portentous eminence during the Capetian Revolution, is Arnulphus¹ or Arnoul, a Canon of Laon, then promoted to the See of Rheims, though stigmatised as Lothaire's bastard.

Lothaire's
clandes-
tine
marriage
with a
Lotharin-
gian Lady
—Arnulph
their son.

Epithets now understood as implying illegitimacy, must not, during the Middle Ages, be construed as necessarily conveying the import, that the connexion subsisting between the parents was illicit. Arnulph, as we have every reason to suppose, was not a spurious child, but the issue of a marriage lawfully and honourably contracted between Lothaire and a lady, who was a cousin of Guy, Count of Soissons, and daughter of a Lotharingian Noble, probably reckoned amongst the lower nobility. Her lineage, however, is presented with much obscurity; though the references given in the standard work, from which I collect the information, might perhaps assist those skilled in French genealogies, to remove the difficulties.

The Lady
separated
from Lo-
thaire—
marries
Theobald
de Monte
Acuto, or
Montague.

By this Consort, Lothaire had Arnulph, though not a word is breathed concerning him during his father's life-time; possibly, also, a Richard, of whom we have a transient notice. The latent Queen having then been separated from her husband, she became the wife of Theobald de Monte Acuto, or Montague. No cause for the dissolution of the marriage between her and Lothaire is

hinted. The whole transaction has been designedly enveloped in obscurity. All we can conjecture is, that some one of the many allegations arising out of canonical affinity, pre-contract, or the like, which were considered as legal grounds of nullity, helped Lothaire in slipping out of the bond when he desired to solemnize a more desirable union.

§ 51. Since Lothaire's accession, Otho had been uninterruptedly pursuing that brilliant career, which I have perfunctorily attempted to describe :—Western Christendom rescued from the Magyar pollutions.—Italy freed from anarchy :—an Anti-pope put down :—all opposition silenced :—the Lombard power extinguished ; and from the Alps to the frontier of the Byzantine territories, Apulia and Calabria, the whole Peninsula obeyed the Saxon Emperor. The subjugation of the Roman Republic to the Cæsar constituted her charter of independence. Nay, Venice, though girded by her lagunes, courted the Latin Emperor's favour.

954–987
962–965
965—
State of
Italy under
Otho—he
returns to
Germany.

Otho's task was however only partially accomplished, clouds were rising ; but he yearned to be again present with those who loved him. Desisting for a time from his world-influential labours, he returned home. Materials exist, enabling the historian to follow him stage by stage ; but, omitting all intermediate stations, we will meet him at Cologne.

There were gathered together Otho's nearest and dearest kindred. Pious Matilda, King Henry's affectionate relict, the Dowager Empress, honoured as the Mother of the family. Queen Gerberga, followed by her two sons, Lothaire, the King of France, struggling against fate ; and his brother Charles, the neglected boy, whose destitution was rendered more pitiable by his illustrious ancestry. There also Hugh Capet and Eudes, Otho's ambitious nephews, and Henry the excluded Porphyrogenitus, Otho's repentant brother, and his pleasant son Henry, so cossetted during baby-hood and boy-hood by his grandmother. All the Dukes and Banner-bearing Counts, all the great Feudatories of the Empire, hailed their Sovereign's return. And, pre-eminent amongst the mitred crowd arose Bruno, commanding universal respect and honour.

965—
The
famous
Festival at
Cologne.

This Court so held by Otho at Cologne was admired as the grandest spectacle which men had ever witnessed in the German Empire. Long subsisting were the traditions of the festival's splendour. Particularly, as it should seem, in Saxony, where we find them recorded in the vernacular chronicles, written

954-987

centuries after the Sceptre had departed from Henry the Fowler's lineage. Yet these rejoicings were uneasy, and only disguised the anxieties, whose bitterness dashed the present pleasure. However triumphant Otho had been, he apprehended danger in Italy. Rome, fermenting : the Imperial succession not yet settled in favour of the younger Otho. And Otho therefore determined to depart from Germany for the purpose of accomplishing his last Imperial progress to the Capital of the Christian world.

962-965

June 965—
The
parting
between
Otho and
his Mother
at Nord-
hausen.

The Court broke up, and clouded was the close. Otho accompanied his mother to Nordhausen¹; and, during seven days did he linger there, dreading the parting. When the eighth gloomy morn had dawned, the Imperial Mother and the Imperial Son having attended Mass, Matilda preferred her last request.—Nordhausen, said she, is precious to me ; here was thy brother Henry born, here Gerberga, here I founded this House, for the good of my children's souls. Give care to this holy place, and let it be thy Mother's memorial. Tearfully pressing him to her bosom, she accompanied him so far as the portal, where his train was ready ; and they separated, bidding each other farewell.

Yet the last farewell minute had not really arrived. Matilda, returning into the Church, clave to the dust of her child's footsteps ; not figuratively, but actually kneeling over them, and literally bedewing his path with her tears. Some kind-hearted attendant ran forth, and informed the Emperor, who was preparing to mount his steed, of his Mother's desolation. The mighty warrior, turning back, rushed into the Sanctuary, embraced his agonized Mother, hugged her and kissed her again and again ; and, wrenching himself from his parent's arms, fled away, never to look upon that dear old face any more.

But the youngest amongst Otho's collateral kindred or ascendant relatives was the first to be called away. Bruno's health was declining rapidly and irrecoverably. Weak in constitution, he was exerting himself beyond his powers, and sinking under premature old age. Constantly worried with state affairs ; and now, it may be hoped, awakened to the feeling, that in the acts of the Politician, the Christian had too often deeply sinned, he debilitated his body by rigorous abstinence and fasting ; at the same time he was wearing himself out by intense application to those studies, which recruited his soul at the expense of his corporeal frame.

The urgencies of France summoned Bruno to Compiègne.

He was now utterly unfitted for such a journey.—Whether for this world or the next, he who does most, lives longest. The pages of history bring Bruno so repeatedly before us, that, unless we mark carefully the dates of events, we might imagine he was verging towards senility. But he had scarcely over-passed the *mezzo del camin di nostra vita*¹, his thirty-eighth year, and yet he was dying. He broke down under the fatigues of the journey ere he reached his archiepiscopal residence ; and his death ensued on a noted day, the Feast of Saint Gereon², honoured at Cologne as foremost in the rank of Christian warriors.

954-987
952-965

11 Oct.,
965—
Death of
Arch-
bishop
Bruno.

§ 52. Connected with the vigorous expansion of feudality, which so greatly enhanced the royal authority, was the evolution of a new constitutional principle, tending to create a royal Caste ; a Caste completely severed, not merely from the main body of the nation, but even raising an impassable barrier between the royal family, and the vast majority amongst the natural aristocracy as a class or order, a very few Houses only being excepted. It was now taught and held that the daughter of a Vassal appertaining to the secondary rank, a Vassal who had kissed a Sovereign's knees and placed his hands beneath a Sovereign's feet, was disqualified by the incidents of her father's tenure, from becoming a Sovereign's legal Consort. So stringently was this doctrine construed, that, even Imperial blood became polluted, if flowing in the veins of an individual whose ancestor had submitted to such a humiliation.

The
German
principle of
*Ebenbur-
tigkeit*
enounced
in France.

We do not trace any foundation for this opinion during the earlier periods of the Monarchy. Magnanimous Charlemagne was not encumbered by any such prejudices : and, contemplating his crowd of wives, real or dubious, we can scarcely distinguish more than one,—one, equally remarkable for her virtues and her misfortunes,—who could claim a regal parentage.

Principle
of *Ebenbur-
tigkeit* not
known in
early
times.

This principle of "*Ebenbürtigkeit*," familiar to the German Jurists, but legally unknown in this Realm, subsists throughout the ambit of the German Confederation and Scandinavia ; and it has been even recently adopted by the two newly erected and rival Kingdoms, raised upon the soil of the antient Lotharingian Duchy, Holland and Belgium ; so that a Sovereign, whose lawful affections have been fixed upon a woman included in the excluded rank, must either abdicate as an atonement for his misalliance, or purchase domestic happiness by imposing upon her, through whom that happiness is bestowed, the brand of a Morganatic marriage.

954-987

Very probably the sudden development of this novel aulic doctrine, this encroachment upon the Sovereign's personal liberty, acquired greater energy, by reason of its peculiar application to Lothaire. Floating prejudices or opinions, social or conventional, religious or political, solidify by the touch of one whom we hate as an enemy, whether by reason of himself, his party, or his faith.

960-966

Possible danger of injury resulting to Lothaire by the development of the principle.

Subsequent events demonstrate, with sufficient clearness, that Lothaire's unscrupulous and artful enemies, the Capets, and all the Capets' adherents, cleric and lay, might, should a fitting opportunity arise, render his connexion with Count Guy's sister, a pretext for depriving him of the crown. Lothaire may have become tired of his first love: perhaps he was very young when he made a hasty choice: and, all these motives concurring, he would find no difficulty in divorcing himself from the Lotharingian lady, as the preliminary step towards a more congruous union.

Reasons for supposing that his apprehensions induced him to repudiate the lady.

But where was he to seek a Princess to or for whom he could propose? Not amongst Cerdic's illustrious line; for at this period the only Atheliza whom we can discover in our royal genealogy, is Edgitha, the holy Abbess of Wilton. No one looked over the Pyrenees. Barbarous Denmark was out of the question. Whether Conrad the Pacific, the King of Burgundy or Arles, had a daughter, we care not to enquire.

The Othonian biographies or memoirs.

Heartily cordial was the intimacy between the Empress Dowager, and the congenial Empress Regnant. The Othonian Memoirs, as they may be justly termed, the special biographies of Otho, and of Bruno, of Matilda and of Adelaide; one amongst these compositions penned by Saint Odilo¹, and another by Roswitha², the celebrated poetical Abbess, whose misapplication of her talents, in her imitations of the Roman dramatist, should rather deserve censure than earn praise, render us thoroughly familiar with the hearty lovingness which pervaded the German Court; and such is the spirit exhibited in the painting (so to speak) of the family groupe. Grandmother and Mother, children and grand-children, present at their table, or frolicking before them. The parents were indulging in matrimonial speculations. Emma, Adelaide's daughter by her first husband, the Lombard King, scarcely more than a baby, when Otho rescued and espoused her, was now under the protection, and received the bounty of her liberal step-father. But the prudent mother could not be otherwise than anxious to obtain a proper establishment for the

The family groupe—matrimonial speculations.

penniless creature ; and we should discredit her feminine acuteness, were we to suppose that when she recommended her “ little girl Emma,” as the future wife for one of the royal youngsters, the words were casual. The minute particularity of the anecdote shews that the conversation made a strong impression upon the family mind—and it fructified, though not exactly as Adelaide intended ;—for we do not see any reason to reject the supposition, that the match between the Carlovingian King Lothaire, and the Lombard Lothaire’s daughter, was made up during the Cologne festival.

954—987

960—966

§ 53. But we continue oppressed by the ominous shadow enveloping French history. The marriage, an event of high national interest, is recorded most drily and succinctly. We ascertain the fact from a notice contained in the very last paragraph Frodoardus penned ; and he tells it as though he wished to get rid of the matter, “ *Lotharius Rex uxorem accepit, Emmam filiam quondam Regis Italici.*”¹—In the eyes of the French the Lombards were Italians, and they loathed the alliance, not caring to know what was her father’s name ;—as for Richerius, he is resolutely silent.

966—
Marriage
between
Lothaire
and Emma.

So sporadically and stingily indeed are the circumstances of this reign related, that we hear nothing concerning Louis, Lothaire’s first son by Emma, until the young Prince was called to share his father’s throne. Moreover, they had a second born, Otho, whose very existence is passed over by historians. We become acquainted with him simply through a very curious miniature limned in Queen Emma’s Prayer-book.—The tonsure testifies that the youth had received Holy Orders ;—a scarlet or purple robe indicates his royal birth ;—a line in the necrology of Rheims bears record that a Canonry in the Primatial Cathedral had been bestowed upon him,—probably as a provision until some better preferment, perhaps the Arch-Bishoprick, should fall in : and a note at the conclusion of his mother’s Psalter informs us of the day when he died, but not the year.

Obscurity
of the
history
con-
cerning
Lothaire’s
children by
Emma—
Louis and
Otho.

§ 54. Rapidly is the Royal family decaying.—Gerberga, she, whose name has hitherto been associated with every important event since the day when Louis d’Outremer won and wooed the young widow of Gilbert the bold swimmer,—so wise in counsel, so pious, so tender to her own, but so implacable,—now wholly disappears from our sight. The Bride immediately supplied the Mother’s place, and Gerberga departed from the Court of Laon. Her retirement made a considerable change in the aspect

Gerberga
retires
from court
with her
youngest
son,
Charles.

954-987

960-966

Gerberga's
disappoint-
ments and
sorrows.

of public affairs. Gerberga had been Lothaire's guide and counsellor, ever active on his behalf, the main connecting link between France and Germany, ensuring the uncle's aid, that aid needed by the nephew under every contingency. The Matron presents herself as poor and neglected. She does not come before us as a Dowager Queen, occupying a Royal Palace, or as the cozy well-to-do secular Abbess of Notre Dame de Laon. The preferment was taken from her, and she retreated to some obscure unnamed abode, where she persevered in performing the duty imposed upon her by Providence. Charles, now about sixteen years of age, was her sole companion, her comfort, her sorrow.

Since his father's death we have never met Charles, otherwise than clinging to his mother's side. The poverty-stricken boy seems to have been in every body's way, except his mother's. The destitution impending upon the younger branches of the Royal Family had been fully anticipated by Lothaire and Gerberga, years ago; though, child succeeding child, and child dropping off after child, they could not foresee upon what member in particular the lot would fall. It was unquestionably this fretting anxiety which aided in stimulating Louis d'Outremer to prosecute his frequent schemes for reintegrating France by the recovery of Lotharingia, and equally excited him to regain that noble Neustria, usurped by the Danish barbarians.—For this object, Louis d'Outremer had entrapped the rosy-cheeked confiding Richard.—With this intent, he kidnapped the noble boy, and imprisoned him in the Tower of Laon.—It was under this temptation, that the warm-hearted, affectionate, generous, conscientious Gerberga, rejoiced when she was watching, with tip-toe eagerness, at the chamber door, for the moment when Richard, worn out by grief and duress, should expire.—But her sin had now come home to her;—and she was enduring the chastisement she had earned.

Gerberga's
death—
Charles
received
in his
brother's
palace.

Gerberga died about three years after Lothaire's marriage. We miss her much when we lose her,—she has been so long before us, in joy and in sorrow, that we part from her as an old and intimate friend. And, upon his mother's decease, the young Charles was received, but not welcomed, in his Brother's palace, where, wearily and joylessly his young life wore away.

966-972
Otho's
absence in
Italy.

§ 55. During six years, running into the seventh, was Otho enforced to absent himself from his native land. Occasionally, though rarely, could Adelaide comfort and support him by her

presence and her love. In all its length and in all its breadth did Otho traverse his Transalpine Realm, from the Marches of Verona to the Gulph of Naples, and from the Adriatic to the Great Sea. The diplomas bearing Otho's signature and seal, and the laws he promulgated, enable us to track his diligent visitations. Yet, amongst these singularly interesting and instructive documents, the historical enquirer, if he attempts to verify a theory at once popular and baseless, will vainly seek for a solitary instance of any grant, bestowing any constitutional franchises upon the Italian municipalities.—The charter must be sought upon the same parchment which enrolls King Alfred's enactment establishing jury trial.

954-987

966-972

Realising in his own person, the authority of his Imperial predecessors, Otho acted upon the full consciousness that all their autocratic powers had descended to him. The fasces, whenever he gave the word, were unbound, and the axe upraised ; and the satellites who, by Otho's command, swung and wielded the instruments of punishment, had no more feeling for the sufferers than the scourge and steel.

Severity of
Otho's
govern-
ment.

Otho could now devote himself to his Italian administration with undivided attention. So ably had he organised those dominions, so completely had domestic or foreign foes been conciliated or subdued, that Germany continued as tranquil as if he had been present. Italy appeared thoroughly consolidated with the Teutonic Empire. Teutschland might despise Welschland¹, and Welschland might spit at Teutschland : but the dispathies between the Italian races and communities encreased the strength of the rivets which held them together under the paramount Sovereign. The Clergy seemed contented to forego all local privileges,—merging all distinctions of country in their common Catholicity. Thus, the extent of the province appertaining to the newly erected Archiepiscopal See of Magdeburg, was settled at Ravenna in a Lombard Church Council, where Hatto² of Mayence, Hildebrand of Halberstadt, Landwart of Minden, Reginhart of Reichstadt, and Wichfeld of Verdun, and many other German Prelates attended, undeterred by the lengthened journey.

State of
Italy.—Its
consolida-
tion with
Germany.

Important were the objects which induced or compelled Otho thus to continue abiding in Italy. The Lombard Princes were ever and anon giving trouble. But the most perplexing causes of uneasiness were always nestling at Rome,—such as they had been, such as they have been, such as they always

Troubles
at Rome—
John XII.,
his de-
pravity.

954-987

966-972

will be. Gerbert spoke the general opinion prevailing beyond the Alps, that all Italy was as bad as Rome, and Rome, the horror of the world. But the Bark of Saint Peter, though tossed by the tempest, and so oft driven toward the shoal by her own pilot's incompetence, or worse, rights herself, and, casting anchor beneath the sheltering rock, rides buoyantly upon the waves.

At this era, the Papacy had become the opprobrium of Christendom; the Lateran Palace, a Lupanar; fornication, minor amongst the fouler sins by which John XII. was defiled. In this our task, we are dispensed from dwelling upon his delinquencies: but, as a characteristic trait, we may notice, that he was a desperate gambler, infected by that vice which includes the germs of every crime. When the bones turned against him, he was accustomed to break out in paroxysms of insane anger, cursing and swearing, invoking the aid of Jupiter and Venus. Nor are these oaths to be considered as unmeaning or semi-profane ejaculations, in the manner according to which the like, "*per Bacco*," for example, are now employed in the vulgar vernacular; but, according to the teaching of Scripture, not repudiated in the mediæval period, were highly sinful, if not real appeals to the Demon.

The frequently recurring schisms in the Papacy, heightened the evils resulting from the turpitude of individual Pontiffs. During the miserable contest which raged between Leo VIII.¹ and Benedict V.², it was scarcely possible to define who was Pope and who was Anti-pope.—In fact, the lawless violence of the Roman Nobles, and the depravity pervading the Roman people, rendered the Pontiff either their tool or their victim:—a state of things which their descendants have unintermittingly endeavoured to perpetuate even to the present day.

Otho effected a partial reformation of these abuses;—the stiff-necked citizens were severely chastised; good laws enacted; some stability was restored to the Pontifical Chair;—his own supremacy, though occasionally insulted, was never questioned; and, consequent upon these qualified successes, he accomplished his second object, for which the first was the needful introgression, —the association of his only son and namesake, Adelaide's child, young Otho, the crowned King of Germany and of Italy, to the Imperial dignity. The father's nomination could scarcely be resisted; but the merits of the youth recommended him to the people; and the Supreme Pontiff's special invitation graced the latter's obedience to an irresistible command.

The junior Otho crossed the Alps, and held his Court at Verona. A great Council or Diet of the Italian Nobles had been convened there. It is a sign of the times, that in this assembly, the elder Otho thought fit to publish his famous chivalrous decree, giving a further and mischievous extension to trial by battle. Thence to Rome. Senators and people, Priests and Pontiff, hailed the Emperor regnant and the Emperor designate. The young Sovereign's appearance was exceedingly prepossessing. He fully inherited his father's spirit, whilst his mother's beauty predominated in his outward form. Small in stature, sweet the expression of his countenance, smiling lips, fresh coloured cheeks, and truly golden-tinted hair: and, on the Feast of the Nativity, the second Otho, amidst the applause of the Roman people, received the Imperial Crown from the Pontiff's hands.

But, according to Otho's political theory, a third element was indispensable for the purpose of imparting to the young Otho the pre-eminence needed to satisfy the father's aspirations. None but an Emperor's daughter—none but the Eastern Emperor's daughter,—could become the fitting Consort of Imperial Otho's Imperial son.

§ 56. In the course of the last twenty years, or thereabouts, reckoning retrospectively, of Otho's reign, four Sovereigns had successively governed or were governing, the Eastern Empire. Two amongst these four Sovereigns had espoused the unhappily celebrated Theophania¹, and three of the four Sovereigns were successively relieved from all earthly troubles by that same fatal charmer. Her origin was ignoble, nay vile; but the low born damsel redeemed her degradation by her beauty and her talent. Yielding to kindness or infirmity of judgment, the celebrated Constantine Porphyrogenitus², permitted his son and heir, Romanus³, to select the fascinating girl as his consort. She repaid the affectionate concession which sanctioned her marriage, by poisoning her husband's confiding father: and Romanus, prematurely raised to the throne through the atrocious act, is more than suspected of complicity.

Romanus reaped as he had sown,—the wicked daughter-in-law consistently became the wicked wife. Yet they lived happily together. The wily Theophania's pleasant manner and conversation, her adroitness, and her handsome face, enabled her to mask her wickedness, and to retain an encresing dominion over her husband's affections. Their nuptials were fruitful. Theophania brought forth four children. Two daughters:

954-987

966-972

967—
Diet at
Verona.—
Extension
of trial by
Battle.

25 Dec., 967.

953-973

Byzantine
Emperors
—Constantine
Porphyrogeni-
tus—Roma-
nus II.
—Nicepho-
rus Phokas
—John
Zimiskes:Theo-
phania the
elder,
twice Em-
press—
Her
crimes.Constantine
poisoned
by Theo-
phania.

954—987

953—973

Romanus
poisoned
by Theo-
phania.

the eldest, bearing her mother's name, destined to become very prominent in the history of Germany and of France, gifted like her mother, though unstained by that mother's depravity. Two sons also, Basil and Constantine. And, when Romanus, sinking under the effects of the venom scientifically administered by his treacherous partner, anticipated his death, totally ignorant of its cause, he, fully depending upon her fidelity and love, nominated her to be the guardian of their sons, and, during their minority, Regentess of the Empire.

953—969

Nice-
phorus
Phokas,—
Theo-
phania,
having
poisoned
Romanus
for his
sake,
instigates
John
Zimiskes
to assass-
inate
Nice-
phorus

Chief amongst the Imperial Generals, Nicephorus Phokas was honoured and trusted by Romanus as the pillar of the throne. Hideously ugly, but endued with equal valour and ability, he had attracted the love of Theophania, or rather provoked her lust. She was constantly gnawed by that direful appetite for crime, so frequently the consequence as well as the punishment of the first misdeed. Romanus, being on his death-bed, Theophania gave birth to an infant, the second daughter, who, like her sister, is rendered memorable in history by her marriage; for Anne became the wife of Vladimir the Great¹: and this alliance is quoted by the Czars of Russia, as one of the proofs qualifying them to serve themselves heirs to the Eastern Empire. Nicephorus ascended the throne, and Theophania's indecent acceptance of the usurper as her husband, deepened, if possible, the disgrace which her reputation had sustained.

Theo-
phania's
co-opera-
tion.

But Theophania had surrendered her soul to the Evil-concupiscence, and she exaggerated her sins. She was captivated by John Zimiskes, the nephew of Nicephorus, a warrior no less valiant than his uncle. John Zimiskes assembled a band of the Emperor's personal enemies. They rowed their boat to the foot of the lofty palace wall. Theophania and her tender-hearted maids of honour and sympathising ladies were ready. The basket descended, and the fair and zealous labourers hauled the pleasant freight—burly Zimiskes and his confederates—up to the window. The assassins burst into the sleeping Emperor's apartment. He was cruelly butchered, John Zimiskes insulting his uncle's dying agonies by kicks and vituperations.—As for Theophania, Zimiskes profited by experience. During the remainder of her life, secluded in a monastery, she was abandoned to the tortures of craving passions and unsatisfied vengeance.

969—973

John
Zimiskes
appointed
Emperor.

Undeterred by the turpitude of the Byzantine Court, Otho, his mind wholly occupied by his magnificent vision of restoring the Roman Empire to its pristine glory, persevered in his schemes

for winning an Imperial Princess as the partner of his son, the young Emperor.

954-987

Constantine Porphyrogenitus had most emphatically warned his successors against the self-degradation, resulting from an alliance with a Western Barbarian. This aversion,—closely paralleled by our European assumption of social superiority over the Orientals,—is generally known through the terse summary of fact and doctrine which we owe to the most popular amongst our standard historians. Yet the progress of society has practically furnished us with a clearer exposition than could be given by a writer who did not live to witness more than the incipient development of the ideas, bound together according to each individual man's views, yet not connoted, by the undefinable term, Civilization. And, for a clearer exposition of the inward feeling entertained by Nicephorus, when a matrimonial connection with the younger Theophania was sought by a Teutscher Emperor, let us imagine the Envoy who represents his Majesty, *Faustin le premier*, seeking to obtain for the Crown Prince of Hayti—whom shall we say?—Not a British Princess; for, in such a contingency, the offer, however unsuitable, would be declined politely and delicately, without any expression of contemptuous horror: but, picture to yourself that same Envoy soliciting the fair daughter of a Senatorial free-soiler, to share the future diadem and throne of his swarthy master's son.

954-973

Otho continues persevering in endeavouring to procure a Grecian Princess for his Son. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. 53.

Otho probably expected that Nicephorus would feel fewer scruples than a real Porphyrogenitus, in conceding a Despoena appertaining to the family he had deposed. But though Nicephorus did not acquire the imperial dignity by descent—yea, though he was a usurper,—he had adopted as heir-looms all the principles and practices of his predecessors; and denied assent. Otho, rendered the more eager by opposition, determined to employ military force in aid of amatory persuasion. Had not he wooed and won Adelaide by the sword? Advancing as far as Capua, he menaced the Greek possessions. Nicephorus sought to open negotiations,—Otho refused, probably expecting some more decided advantage; and his conquests in Apulia, widening and expanding, Byzantine pride condescended to make another overture for peace.

Nicephorus refuses to grant the younger Theophania to Otho II.

Otho attempts to compel assent by attacking the Grecian possessions.

Otho accepted the message, and having raised the siege of Bari, he selected as his Envoy the celebrated Liutprand¹, Bishop of Cremona. A Lombard, a Paduan, a son of that City, where the love of learning seems to have become adherent to the soil,

954-987 Liutprand was not unworthy of his birth-place ;—a good scholar,
—versed in the classics,—possessing a very fair knowledge of
954-973 the Greek tongue ; perhaps, acquired colloquially, for at this
period, the vernacular language of the Byzantine Greeks had
scarcely departed from their ancestral standard.

968—
Liut-
prand's
embassy
to Constan-
tinople.

A previous Legation to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, had made Liutprand well acquainted with his sphere of operations—but the learned Bishop's qualifications for diplomatic agency were more than counterbalanced by his faults of temper ; nay, by his talents. Liutprand was a keen observer of character : and, yielding to the temptation so frequently conjoined to the useful gift, he was an uncharitable observer. Proud of his penetration, delighting in discovering the faults and the weaknesses, and the pretences and the sillinesses of all with whom he had to deal, enjoying when he could uncover the nakedness of his neighbours ; a lick-spittle, catering for the supply of scandal to please the appetites of others, and, at the same time, gratifying his own.

Liut-
prand's
report of
his Lega-
tion.

Liutprand, accompanied by the Papal Legate, proceeded to Byzantium, prepared and ready to bully and ridicule the Court and the Nation, where and amongst whom he was to appear as his Sovereign's Representative. We have a very full account of his Embassy in the form of a journal, addressed to the two Emperors—Otho the father, Otho the son, and also to the Dowager Empress Adelaide.—“Cremona to Constantinople,” ought to figure as the title of the production.—It reads like a Book of the Season.

Liut-
prand's
contempla-
tions—
views of
the Greeks.

Much curious information however is contained in this “*Libellus*.” It conveys the general idea, that the differences between Eastern and Western Europe were no less marked than at the present day, and the sentiments of each party, ignorance, contempt and vanity, counterparted on either side. Liutprand is incessantly groaning at the absence of creature comforts ; his miseries deplored in every tone of objurgation and growl. He was starved by the naked splendour of the marble palaces of the Grecian Cæsars. Beds not fit for a dog, if the members of the Legation were so happy as to find any, they being frequently compelled to wrap themselves in their mantles, and bundle themselves up, shivering on the precious tessellated pavement, so splendid and so cold. Sour wine, defiled by tar and gypsum. Disgusting food dished with more disgusting sauce ; the main foundation of the feast, however, being generally

leeks and garlic and onions, which Nicephorus was wont to devour. Allowing for a portion of truth in these complaints, arising from differences of custom and taste, it is evident that the greater sobriety and simplicity of living amongst the Greeks, was one of the main causes of offence which the jovial Bishop received.

954-987

970-973

The mission, with which Liutprand was charged, demanded the highest degree of tact, good sense, and good manners. Whatever may have been the corruption, the vileness, and the depravity of the Greeks, they certainly constituted the most refined society of the age, delighting in the literary treasures of their ancestors. Unable to imitate the works of Hellenic art, yet fully competent to appreciate their æsthetic excellence, they also inherited a gift long denied to Western Christendom—the whole of the Scriptures in their own mother tongue. Hence they prided themselves upon their superiority over the Teutonic Barbarians. The remote chance of a favourable result, was frustrated by Bishop Liutprand's pragmatic sneering, and arrogant bearing; and the demand which he made for Theophania, on behalf of the young Emperor, though supported by the Papal Legate, was treated as on the previous occasion. But Nicephorus sustained the dignity of his station, and his negative was conveyed in the most courteous and respectful form.

Vices of
the Greeks.Nice-
phorus
refuses.

After allowing an interval of about a year to elapse, Otho resumed the war in Apulia vigorously, but he sustained many reverses, and the military skill and valour of Nicephorus might lead him to anticipate formidable resistance. The swords of Zimiskes and his confederates delivered Otho from this perplexity, and revived his hopes. The younger Theophania was an Imperial Princess, but the intrusive Zimiskes, unlike the fellow intruder whom he expelled, did not cling to etiquette: and Theophania's mother, condemned to a life of penance but not of penitence, cast an ugly shadow upon her lovely daughter. Otho was again in the field: he recommenced hostilities, whilst, at the same time, Gero, the Archbishop of Cologne, a better man and better principled than the clever Bishop of Cremona, was despatched, amicably and in due form, with a noble and reverend cortège to Byzantium.

After the
death of
Nice-
phorus,
11 Dec.,
969, Otho
treats with
Zimiskes,
who
assents.

Otho's perseverance succeeded. Zimiskes consented; and, after a decorous delay, the Porphyrogenita started upon her Bridal journey, accompanied by a brilliant escort, bearing rich gifts, such as Byzantine taste and opulence could alone supply.

973—
Peace
between
Zimiskes
and Otho.

954-987 The peace, between the two powers, negotiated at Constantinople, was ratified, and Theophania was welcomed by Otho and the
 970-973 Bridegroom at Rome.

972—
 14 April—
 Marriage
 of Otho II.
 and Theo-
 phania.
 Autumn
 972.

The marriage was solemnized by the Pope himself, and the Supreme Pontiff performed the coronation. According to the good old German custom, the "Morning-gift" followed the bridal eve. The Diploma was produced securing to Theophania a fitting dowry; Istria and Pescara in the South, and an ample provision of domains in the North though singularly dispersed, including, amongst other territories, Walcheren, not yet an Island, and Nivelles, and Boppart on the Rhine.

§ 57. After his long continued trials and triumphs, Otho had attained the highest degree of worldly prosperity. All the objects for which he had striven, won; a heavy yoke imposed upon the Wends of the Marchlands; Germany loyal; Italy, secured and tranquillized; his son, by Adelaide, his darling son, King of Germany, King of Italy, and his fellow Emperor; that alliance concluded, which, according to Otho's long indulged theory, would sustain his pre-eminence, and perpetuate his dominion: and, having made the circuit of Lombardy, he returned to his German home.

Spring 973
 —Otho
 returns to
 Germany.

973—
 March—
 Otho at
 Quedlin-
 burg—His
 splendid
 court
 there.

He opened his Court at Quedlinburg with ominous and, to him, afflicting splendour:—The representatives of Rome and Apulia, Magyars and Sclavonians, Bulgarians and Russians were there, tendering their tributes of friendship or tokens of subjection. Yet, heavy and sad was Otho at heart; for, whilst hastening homewards to meet that dear old mother, she had been taken away. His friends, fast dropping off. None present in the Hall save Herman the Saxon¹, oldest and most valued amongst them, and he, being awfully stricken by sudden death during the festival, the meeting was immediately dissolved.

793—
 6 May—
 Otho
 arrives at
 Memleben.

Otho departed from Quedlinburg for the purpose of visiting the newly founded Cathedral of Merseburg², and thither he was followed by a Saracen deputation; so widely extended was his renown. He then went on to Memleben, a place hallowed by the recollections of the lost parent. On the day of his arrival, the feast of Saint John Port Latin, Otho felt himself fatigued, but he would not desist from any exertion or duty, which, during his long life, he had been accustomed to make or use.

On the morrow, he, quitting his couch at midnight, assisted in the service appointed for that solemn hour, when the nocturnal hymn was sung. And again he was roused at the next watch,

when the glorious hymn of praise and thanksgiving saluted the renewed day.

959-987

Fulgentis Auctor ætheris
Qui lunam lumen noctibus,
Solem dierum cursibus
Certo fundasti tramite.

970-973

Laudes sonare jam tuas
Dies relatus admonet,
Vultusque cœli blandior
Nostra serenat pectora¹.

Otho then again sought rest, but brief were his slumbers, for he rose and heard Mass, and, before he broke his fast, he greeted the Beggars who had assembled, waiting for the alms, always expected—always bestowed.—The Divine commandment, that the Christian shall never turn away his face from the poor man, was not obsolete during the dark ages; for, in guiding the way to all the works of mercy, Gospel-light shone undimmed. If righteousness exalts a people, the Monk might have asked through his cowl, whether, in the long run, the Mendicant may not contribute more to the real wealth of nations than the Millionaire. In those times, when simple faith contended earnestly against sin, they realized the blessing given to the blind, the lame, the halt, who thronged the pool of Bethesda and the Beautiful gate of the Temple; whilst the precepts, no less than the examples, of Him and Those who became poor, or blessed the poor, forbade their hoiking away the unsavoury crowd, encumbering the Church door, whom we now should loathe as standing between the wind and our gentility.

973-7 May.
The course
of Otho's
dying day.

Otho, tired out, returned to his couch, slept soundly, and awoke refreshed. At the mid-day meal, he was cheerful, and enjoyed the repast. He then attended Vespers in that Sanctuary where he had last embraced his Mother; and, it must be borne in mind, that the Congregation continued standing throughout the whole of the Office, a usage then universal throughout Christendom, and still retained by the Greek and all other Anatolian Churches.—Weakness, and feverish heat came on, the Nobles around him brought a chair and compelled him to sit down. Fainting, he spake his last words in a request for the Holy Communion, which, having received, he bowed his head and breathed his last breath.

Never was any accession accomplished more tranquilly and under happier auspices than the second Otho's. Otho Fitz-Otho,

973-
9 May-
Accession
of Otho II.

959-987

970-973

Detriment
resulting
to the
French
interest by
the
changes
ensuing in
the Ger-
man Court.

did not need election, or unction, or coronation. Full King, full Emperor, on the following morning the people crowded in, tendering their homages, and he entered upon the full exercise of his power.

As the general state of political affairs should be viewed by us with peculiar reference to France and Normandy, we must direct our attention to the fact, that all the mutations and changes in the Court party, affected Lothaire disadvantageously.

Since the death of Louis d'Outremer, the two Realms, Germany and France, had been governed virtually as one family. Otho the elder, Gerberga's brother, had always acted faithfully in protecting his nephew, and with as much unselfishness as could be reasonably demanded.—Like proverbial charity, a Monarch's patriotism must begin at home. Lothaire had been already deprived of Gerberga's benign companionship. But, at first, the whole weight of the blow was not felt. So long as Matilda lived, her age, her ability, her earnest affection towards her children, and children's children, that affection, pervaded by her humble piety, imparted an influence which all obeyed, smoothing any asperities which might arise.

Jealousies
between
Adelaide
and Theo-
phania.

Undisturbed, unalloyed harmony, had always subsisted between Matilda and Adelaide. The dispathy between the Mother-in-law and the Daughter-in-law is a catholic proverb, and such proverbs are melancholy, though veracious, exponents of human nature. The mutual love and concord uniting the two Empresses offered a rare exception to the general rule, an exception probably based upon their cognate virtues. But, when Matilda died, then Adelaide and Theophania followed the normal principle of opposition. Theophania's modes of thought and action were thoroughly national; thoroughly a Greek, thoroughly a daughter of Hellas, light, cheerful, ready, witty, enjoying the elegancies to which she had been born, and very proud of the intellectuality and the cultivation, and the valour of her compatriots and native land. Adelaide, sad, sober-minded, prayerful, and devout. Therefore the characters of the Empress Mother and the Empress Consort heightened their mutual aversions.

For a brief while, Adelaide was called into council by Otho, but Theophania very soon acquired that ascendancy over her fond husband which she retained during the whole of his life. Adelaide quitted her son's Palace, and found a temporary home

in the dominions of her kinsman, Conrad the Pacific, King of Burgundy and of Arles. Ere long, a reconciliation ensued : Otho was attached to his mother, and his wife conquered her inimical feelings, or made believe. But there are kinships whose contact produces combustion, and the flames broke out again.

959-987

970-973

When the pacification had been effected between Theophania and Adelaide, then Otho's half-sister, Adelaide's daughter, Lothaire's Queen, the Italian Emma, became the object of Theophania's inveterate dislike. Both the witty Ladies had sharp tongues, and it is possible, though not certain, that Theophania, whose reputation as a woman was spotless, may not have been satisfied with Emma's moral character, and therefore excusably, if her suspicions were true, became more alienated from the half-sister-in-law.

Theo-
phania and
Emma
mutually
alienated.

§ 58. But now, a new and far more energetic agency began to operate ; emanating from a planet sometimes unseen, sometimes very evident, often scarcely discernible, yet felt to be constantly attracting and repelling ; accelerating and retarding the course of the orbs ; now invisible, and now bursting out with portentous effulgency. This was Gerbert, who, having returned from the Saracen lands,—his fame always proclaiming him, became most conspicuous in Germany and the Gauls.

Gerbert of
Aurillac—
his influ-
ence in the
German
and
French
Courts.

Some say that Otho, who warmly encouraged scientific knowledge, had been previously placed under Gerbert's tuition. Any how, this renowned Teacher was much patronized by the Monarch, through whose gift or influence he obtained the important Abbey of Bobbio. Gerbert had naturally many enemies amongst his compeers. Ottric the Scholasticus of Magdeburgh stood pre-eminent. He contested Gerbert's estimate of the relations between Physics and Mathematics. The Saxon challenged the Frenchman to a disputation. The literary Tournament was fought before Otho ; but the growing bulk of this volume warns me to delete the interesting incident. In consequence of the opposition thus raised against Gerbert, his reputation naturally spread more and more. Otho's favour encreased. Theophania's friendship was also gained. Such was Gerbert's adroitness, that he wormed himself into connection with Emma, and yet escaped committing himself to her party. We trace him in the pestilent character of a house-friend, a married woman's confidential adviser, whilst at the same time he enlisted himself silently and secretly as a powerful partisan on the Capetian side, and thus in his heart—if figuratively

Gerbert
patronized
by Otho II.

959-987

Gerbert can be said to have had any—he was almost equally opposed to the Carlovingian interest ; as will more fully appear.

977-980

967 to 978
Chasm in
all primary
authorities
of French
history.

§ 59. After Lothaire's marriage with Emma, we are stayed in our work by a yawning chasm in French history. An interval of about eleven years comes before us, during which, Frodoardus, dead, Richerius maintains an obstinate silence, and we are enabled to resume our narrative, only by turning out of our way, till we find a footing beyond. All the information we possess during this period concerning the events and fortunes, personal or national, of the French King and the French Commonwealth, are collected from casual notices in a few meagre annalists.

969—
Death of
Odalricus,
Arch-
bishop of
Rheims.

970—
Adalbero
promoted
in his
place.

Upon the death of Odalricus, Adalbero was raised to the See of Rheims, and Asceline promoted to Laon. Hugh Capet was steadily advancing in his career ; his followers and adherents multiplying, and his station during the rapid progress of the feudality which his father had created, was defined. The confederacy between Hugh and Richard became firmer ; and, at length, the third Dynasty was really founded through Hugh's espousals. It is somewhat unaccountable that Hugh Capet, so consistently and sagaciously ambitious, had not, long previously, resolved upon this step, by which alone his destiny, as the founder of a new Dynasty, could be satisfactorily fulfilled : until then, his weird was only inchoate.

969-970—
Marriage
of Hugh
Capet with
"Adelaide," or
Adela,
probably
either the
daughter
or the
grand-
daughter
of Guil-
laume
Tête-
d'étope.

The circumstances attending this match, exemplify the collapse of historical evidence during this perplexed era. A letter from Gerbert is extant, probably written from Bobbio, in which he enquires whether the "Abbacomes" had yet taken a wife. Whether or no the wedding had been actually solemnized we cannot ascertain ; but the Count-Abbot of Saint Denys had found, or did find, a proper consort—one fit to become a Queen,—much about the time when the matter had excited Gerbert's curiosity.

Again, however, we labour under strange difficulties. Unquestionably the Lady was of illustrious birth, yet no certain information can be discovered identifying her lineage ; at least none which genealogists admit to be certain¹. On the whole, we incline to the conjecture, that Adelaide, for so we must call her, was the daughter either of our old acquaintance Guillaume Tête-d'étope, or of Guillaume Fier-à-bras, his son ; and, therefore, closely related to the Capet's firm friend, the Norman Richard ; either the daughter or grand-daughter of his aunt Adela, whose wooing by Tête-d'étope we may remember in

the Forest of Lions. According to the one supposition, she must have been rather aged, according to the alternative, rather youthful: but, be that as it may, Robert, afterwards King of France, was the only son born of the marriage.

959-987

977-980

§ 60. So long as Lothaire was destitute of any lawful issue, or issue acknowledged as lawful, Charles, his only brother, was a personage of importance in the Community: but the births of Louis and the forgotten Otho having taken place, as far as we can calculate, about two years previously to Gerberga's death, Charles then lost his political value. Placed in a very difficult and invidious position, worse off in the world than the meanest vassal, not being master of a Mansus which he could call his own; he was literally without the means of subsistence. Charles was therefore taken into the Palace, an act of ambiguous kindness, adopted as the performance of duty under compulsion,—a case in which the fulfilment of the obligation, often occasions more pain than the refusal.

Unhappy
situation
of Charles,
the brother
of Lo-
thaire.

Flesh and blood could not be otherwise than discontented. The younger, dissatisfied; the elder, suspicious. That, upon the death of Louis d'Outremer, the Kingdom, according to antient constitutional principles, ought to have been divided between the brothers, was decided by a comparatively recent precedent—the conjoint reigns of Louis and Carloman. Probably, on account of extreme youth, no reservation was made in favour of the infant Charles, when Lothaire became King. If not admitted to the share of the Kingdom, then an appanage was his right. This claim may have been conceded theoretically; but small good could be got by such an acknowledgment,—there were no assets. Why should not Charles have received an adequate provision as the Lay-incumbent of some well-endowed monastery?—Alas there were now none in the King's gift.—The Abbacomes, Hugh Capet occupied them all.

Extreme
distribu-
tion of
Charles.

Throughout the whole of these most instructive but deplorable annals, we have seen, generation after generation—how the worm at the root was working the decay and dissolution of Charlemagne's doomed Empire.—Much censure has been passed upon the young Prince by his ill-wishers whilst living, and these exaggerations have been subsequently heightened by the contempt of the unfortunate, natural to all mankind. All the Chroniclers after the accession of the Capets, conjoin in defaming Charles. It was then of no consequence, he was quiet in his grave. In Capetian times he was recollected only as a rebel against authority,

Charles
unfairly
depreci-
ated.

959-987 unlegitimated by success ;—unpopularity is a crime in popular history. He is represented as rude, boorish, disregarding the needful courtesies of society. The only example adduced of his roughness, though great stress is laid upon it, does not possess much relevancy. Possibly, however, there may have been some foundation for the charge. Adversity is rarely so profitable a teacher as represented in our great Dramatist's fallacious verse ; rather the contrary. Misfortune often hardens the heart more than prosperity.—When the cold blast falls upon the youthful branch, the fruit is usually soured.

Charles faithful to Lothaire until provoked by Emma.

In after life, Charles could appeal to the fidelity with which he had served Lothaire, when his aid was required ; and if Lothaire failed, or perhaps was forced by want of means to fail, in rendering justice to his younger brother, yet he never shewed any ill-will against him.

Charles quits the Palace and seeks his fortune.

Not so, malapert Emma. She fully manifested the disgust which the poor relation gave her. Humiliated, even stinted in food, Charles was drenched with the bitterness of dependence and poverty. Life became a burden to him, and truly did the future Pretender to a lawful inheritance,—Pretender because unlucky,—feel the crushing weight of another's roof, giving grudging shelter. Emma's insolence became intolerable. Charles delivered himself from his persecutrix by breaking away and seeking his fortune. Charles's history has descended to us only in fragments, but, though unable to track him distinctly in his career, we can sufficiently appreciate his courage, activity, versatility, and adventurous spirit.

He gained influence. Some may have joined him from sympathy ; others impelled by enmity against the Carlovingians, vassals of Hugh Capet for example : Eudes also, the son of Herbert of Vermandois. The times were promising to the Adventurer. Germany and Italy much disturbed. An insurrection broke out in Lorraine. Rainier, the expelled Count of Hainault, assisted by his brother Lambert, endeavoured to recover Mons, otherwise Bergen. Charles seized the opportunity. No appanage had been reserved for Charles. He determined to win one.

Lorraine was an antient Carlovingian inheritance. Lothaire had lost the "*Regnum Lotharii*," and Charles planned to acquire a compensation in that Realm, so influential from its position between Germany and France. After various evolutions, he became the staunch adherent of the Emperor. He now stood

in his proper place. Charles and Theophania were united by their common antipathy against Emma. Good haters keep together more steadily than fond lovers. To earn Theophania's favour, was to command Otho's; and Charles was encouraged by a brief dawn of prosperity.

959-987
970-973

Cutting our way through a most obscure, perplexed, and litigious passage, we will arrive at the results. Otho distinguished the one Cousin by an act the most offensive to the other. He granted to Charles the "Duchy of Lorraine." The nature and extent of this same grant has been the subject of elaborate critical enquiry; but, for our purposes, it is sufficient to know, that Charles is accepted by all the historical disputants as first amongst the hereditary Dukes of the "Basse-Lorraine"; and, having received investiture, he became a Vassal of the Emperor.

Lorraine granted to Charles by Otho, as a fief of the Empire.

Charles had already encreased his authority by matrimony, for he obtained the hand of Bona, who, (here again turning away from a thorny field of genealogical controversy,) we believe to have been the daughter of Godfrey the elder, Count of the Ardennes, and sister of the second Godfrey, the latter appointed by Otho as Duke, or rather Governor, of Brabant. Three children were born to Charles, of this, his first marriage. A second union was contracted with the affectionate Adela, the daughter of the Vermandois Count Herbert, who piously shared in, and comforted her husband's misfortunes.

§ 61. And now, we are suddenly startled by the fearful though dim apparition of Emma and Asceline shrouded in guilt. Whether really culpable or not, no human being will ever be able to tell. A popular excitement arose, founded either upon foul depravity or fouler calumny, such, as in France, has so repeatedly sounded the tocsin of civil war and revolution. It was universally believed that Asceline and Emma had committed adultery. None but the Husband could touch the Queen. The Husband moved not.—No Accuser stood forward.—No specific charge had been made.—The reports, nevertheless, were spread loudly and universally: and the Bishops of the Province felt it their duty that so grave an imputation against a Prelate, should become the subject of judicial investigation.

977—
Bishop Asceline and Queen Emma accused of adultery by common report.

Archbishop Adalbero convened a Provincial Synod, to be held in the Abbey Church of Sainte Maere, at Fismes. Many important affairs having been discussed,—"*et postquam Metropolitanus*"¹ * * * * * and then! What then? We know not—we never shall know: Richerius,—roused

Synod convened to enquire into the accusation.

959-987 from his long silence, commences the record, but, in the midst of the paragraph, he cuts the parchment away.

978

§ 62. The proposition that affection descends from the elder to the younger,—from parent to offspring—is fairly certain. The ascent, from offspring to parent,—more doubtful.—Between kindred on the same level, that is to say, between brothers and sisters, reasonably probable, though not to be predicted confidently,—between collaterals in the next remove,—a mere chance—what you please.

Otho the Uncle entertained much regard for Lothaire. Otho Fitz-Otho and Lothaire, the Cousins, envied and hated each other. Lothaire was enraged by the Emperor's assumption of the superiority over Lorraine : and, if Lothaire did not include Theophania in his enmity, he assuredly neglected the consideration due to her sex and dignity. Otho had openly called and proclaimed a Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, the meeting to eventuate in the pleasant summer season—Midsummer bright,—St. John the Baptist's day. And he stationed himself there, and Theophania accompanied him. She was in a condition which might have excused her journey. But Otho clung closely to the lovely woman.

978—
Lothaire
prepares to
insult Otho
and Theo-
phania.
Conven-
tion of
the nobles
at Laon.
Hugh
Capet
agrees to
join
Lothaire
against
Otho.

Lothaire determined upon hostilities. The Duke of the Franks, Hugh Capet, was, in the first instance, summoned specially.—Lacking his assistance could Lothaire expect to succeed ? The Capet and all the other Nobles of the Kingdom, were convened at Laon.

Lothaire came to a full agreement with the Duke, a most important, nay indispensable preliminary—King and Duke, (or we may almost say, Duke and King,) ratified an alliance. It was agreed that Otho should be treated as their common enemy. Otherwise than by joint assent, neither of the contracting parties was to make peace with him.

This private conference concluded, the Nobles were introduced. Not merely (as Lothaire addressed them) had the Saxon Emperors usurped a large portion of the Kingdom, but Otho had now insulted France, menacing the frontier. Lothaire appealed for support to their sense of national honour. They expressed their patriotism by acclamation. A very large army speedily assembled. Skilfully organized, each Battalion mustered under its peculiar banner, each Century headed by a Centurion. Their line of march was towards the Meuse.

978—
Lothaire
marches
against
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

The French army crossed without opposition. Rumours of

the intended invasion had reached Otho. He would not believe the intelligence, but comforted himself by the persuasion, that Lothaire would never dare. A reconnaissance convinced him of the truth, and he determined to abandon Aix-la-Chapelle. But the enemy's advance was so rapid, and Otho's forces so scanty, that he could not hazard the collision; and, with the burdened Theophania weeping and wailing, fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Cologne.—Sharp work.—But a few hours later, and had not Lothaire been impeded by the baggage, the Emperor and the Empress would have surely been captured.

959-987
978-980

Flight of
Otho and
Theo-
phania.

They evaded in the evening:—early the following morning Lothaire was in possession of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Halls of Charlemagne swarmed with the soldiers. The banquet tables, overturned; provisions and good cheer, rejoicing the rascallions of the army; the royal jewel-house, plundered. Having thus humiliated his adversary, some unexplained motive induced Lothaire to sound a retreat, and he evacuated the hallowed Pfaltz without any benefit from the enterprise, unless we construe as such the fancy that he had avenged an insult, which the French supposed they had received by the position of the Eagle crowning the structure.

The Pfaltz
plundered
and aban-
doned by
Lothaire.

This Imperial bird, planted according to tradition, had been placed on the summit by Charlemagne, looked Westward, and was construed to be an hieroglyphical token signifying that Germany claimed the Continent as far as the land extended; or that the Germans would always drive the French before them. In all probability, Charlemagne never dreamt of any such allegorical meaning; and the aspect assigned to the antient symbol, was either accidental, or suggested by the direction of the building whose axis necessitated an entrance at the Western end. An imaginary offence was effaced by an equivalent reparation. The French whirled the Eagle round, pointing his beak eastward, as an omen that, by France, Germany should be ruled. Lothaire and his troops occupied the city during three days. No advantages had been gained, save and except the practical refutation of an hypothetical practical joke and the vexation given to Otho and his consort: yet, so highly did the inglorious victor exult in this silly triumph, that he dated the Charters he issued during the then current year, as of the year in which he had chased away the Emperor.

Charle-
magne's
Eagle.

The Raid of Aix-la-Chapelle wears almost a ludicrous aspect, but the instigating causes were deep seated. A bitter, because

959-987

978-980

contemptuous rivalry existed between Germany and France, and the national dispathies were becoming personal enmities on the part of the two kings. Possibly Lothaire expected co-operation from the party opposed to Theophania, and was disappointed.

Otho's
chivalrous
challenge
to Lo-
thaire.

If, however, he intended to anger his Compeer, he obtained his end. Otho invited the Lieges to assist him in revenging the degradation brought upon them by Lothaire. The German Nobles responded unanimously, rivalling the French in zeal. Thirty thousand Saxons and Bavarians and Suabians obeyed their Emperor's call. But, before commencing hostilities, he despatched a Herald, authorized to make the declaration of war.—Otho, as the message imported, had been perfidiously attacked in the midst of peace, yet he would not retaliate. He gave warning to Lothaire that on the first day of the then next month of October, he would encounter the son of Charlemagne face to face, and put an end to his government: or, in other words, depose him from the throne. In this attitude of the Challenger, we may discern the dawning spirit of conventional honour gilding the ockamy¹ shield of Chivalry: but neither then, nor at any time, did Chivalry actually and conscientiously forbid any tortuous conduct which the *ragione di stato*² might dictate. The manifesto did not exclude, or rather was intended to conceal, the secret machinations between Otho and Lothaire's subjects. The invasion may not have been directly instigated by the profound politician, Archbishop Adalbero, but the course was pursued according to the information he gave.

978—
Lothaire
retreats
beyond the
Seine.—
Hugh
Capet
occupies
Paris.

The ardour which Lothaire evinced whilst he was Otho's assailant, cooled. His retreat was simultaneous with the progress of Otho's invasion. Disregarding the recreancy, and, taking refuge at as great a distance as he could, Lothaire passed over the Seine, seeking assistance from the only supporter who could really aid him, Hugh Capet. They met at Estampes, and the Duke acted cautiously but resolutely.

Otho, on his part, advancing, proceeded vigorously. It was for Lothaire to take up the gauntlet or not: if not, upon him, the disgrace of faint-heartedness would fall.

Otho's line
of march.

In the first instance, Otho directed his march towards Rheims, which he occupied. His gifts testified his veneration for Saint Remigius, and his gratitude to Adalbero. Churches and Monasteries were mostly spared. But the royal domains and demesnes fared otherwise. Compiègne, which had recovered

some portion of her antient splendour, was pillaged again : and how Otho enjoyed the blaze, whilst famous Attigny was flaming !

959-987

The German troops expanded themselves over the country all around.—Otho came up to the Seine, and encamped before Paris. Lothaire disappears.—Hugh Capet had continued for a short time beyond the river, but, collecting his forces, he then shut himself up in Paris, where he unfurled his standard. Paris becomes henceforth more and more prominent in French history. The island, protected by the walls and the water, seems to have been viewed by Otho as impregnable, and he therefore determined to draw Hugh Capet out of his stronghold :—more easily said than done.—The Capet never leapt his horse till he came to the hedge. Careful consideration and astuteness characterised the Capet ; he never exposed himself to any danger he could avoid ; never disdained any expedient by which he could steal away from peril, but worked out his plans by brain and tongue.

978-980

Otho en-
camps
before
Paris.—
Lothaire
disap-
pears.—
The Capet
raises his
standard.

Otho was perplexed by this calmness, and sought to give such a provocation as the Capet could not tolerate. Lothaire had proved craven, but the challenge stood. The Germans, teased by the delay, and agreeing with their Sovereign, determined to test the enemy's pluck in right chivalrous fashion. A full armed Ritter rode forth forward alone, and affronting the well-known gate of the Châtelet Bridge, so strongly secured by bars and chains, he defied the enemy.

The
Parisian
garrison
challenged
by a
German
Knight.

He hooted and hallooed, bullying the garrison. The Edeling scene was enacted again. Hugh and his captains were stung to the quick. The shame must be effaced : but the steady senior knights sagely avoided exposing themselves to danger, and exhorted the younger Bachelors to vindicate their honour. Ivo accepted the challenge. Who Ivo was, or whence Ivo came, we know not, and, if Richerius, besides marking his sense of Ivo's prowess by writing the young hero's name in capitals, had given some information which would identify the Warrior, we should have been more satisfied.

Ivo ac-
cepts the
challenge.

The bolts were drawn, the chains clattered, the draw-bridge dropt, the portal opened, and out galloped the Champion. The contest was carried on unhandsomely. The Combatants abused and vituperated each other. The German fell. Ivo stripped the corpse, and presented the dead man's weapons and armour to the Duke as a trophy. The draw-bridge drew up, the gates closed, the bolts shot, the keys turned, and matters remained as before.

959-987

§ 63. Winter drew on: Saint Martin's brief snatch of autumnal summer had faded away:—Paris, provokingly silent.

978-980

No overtures from the French. Otho, therefore, inspired by that odd combination of bravado and jocularly, not unfrequently displayed during the florid and renaissance periods of Gothic Chivalry, resolved, if possible, to incense the impassive Hugh, taunting him with the threat, that Paris Streets should ring with the German Hallelujah; implying that the chaunt would celebrate the City's subjugation. Hugh, however, moved not, and why should he? Otho made and continued making preparations for retreat, but, in the meanwhile, a bevy of Clerks and Priests congregated upon Mont Martre, as leaders of the chorus. They were accompanied by a very numerous vocal band of soldiers, and they raised the solemn Hallelujah hymn, so sonorously, so bravely, that, as the story goes, their rich full-toned German voices were distinctly heard within Paris walls. Having thus indulged his humour, Otho carried his determination into effect. No blood had been shed, except that of the unfortunate Champion. The season was lowering. Sickness had broken out. But, before the imperfect blockade was actually abandoned, Otho took leave of Paris, and most characteristically galloped up to the Châtelet and pinned his quivering lance in the door-valve as a remembrance of the bootless enterprise; and about the third week in November, he began his retrograde movement through the Rhemois towards the Aisne, the weather becoming coarser and coarser.

978—
Oct.—Nov.
The Halle-
lujah of
Mont
Martre—
The pre-
lude to
Otho's
retreat.

Lothaire of whom we have heard so little, had, nevertheless, been doing much. Satisfied that Hugh Capet was sufficiently able to defend Paris, he had re-assembled his army for the purpose of surprising Otho in the rear, exactly following the enemies' route. In order to understand an important passage of this narrative, it must be noticed that Geoffrey Grigonnelle, Count of Anjou, had joined the King, and they reached the Aisne at the very end of dismal November, Saint Andrew's day. When Otho came up, the water was spreading and rising, and the transit threatened difficulties. Count Godfrey of Verdun, chief in the German army, Archbishop Adalbero's brother, therefore advised Otho to cross the yet fordable river, as speedily as possible: but it became needful to leave, on the other side, a portion of the troops and all the baggage.

978—
30 Nov.—
1 Dec.—
The battle
of the
Aisne.

Well as Otho might have become acquainted with the country, Lothaire knew it better. He had caught up to the enemy by

availing himself of short cuts and bye-ways; and the larger number of the Germans, left with the baggage and surprised by Lothaire, and trying to escape by swimming, were drowned. Otho was exceedingly mortified and enraged by the difficulty of encountering his opponents. Soon as the water could be navigated, he again sent forward his Heralds in a tiny boat, inviting the French King to a fair battle in open field.—Let the war be decided by that one combat. Unto whom God shall give the Land, to him shall the Land belong.—By all means, shouted Geoffrey Grigonnelle, repudiating any pretensions to loyalty or military glory. Why should so many of us be exposed to danger, for the sake of those two men? The Kings must fight it out with their own swords; we will look on. Whichever of them may be vanquished, we will follow the victor.

959-987
 978-980

Tepidity
 of Geoffrey
 of Anjou
 contrasted
 with God-
 frey of
 Verdun's
 chivalry.

Had Lothaire proposed the duel, there cannot be any doubt but that Otho would gladly have accepted the defiance: but this cool cowardice excited the indignation of the Germans, and the Verdun Count Godfrey returned a contemptuous answer. We have always heard, quoth he, how vilely you Frenchmen despise your King, now we know it. Never will we allow our Emperor thus to peril himself whilst we can serve him by our own blood, though your own King would assuredly fall.

Neither party attempted any further military operations. Each consoled himself by shaping the intelligence so as to look best. Lothaire, according to the French authorities, chased Otho until he found shelter in the shades of the Ardennes. The Germans recount how Otho returned victoriously to his dominions; but the Sovereigns were so evenly matched, that neither party risked the conflict again.

§ 64. We are now opening the last scenes of the tremendous drama.—The intentions of Hugh Capet were as well known as if he had claimed the throne by manifesto, though the extreme caution of the Chieftain restrained him from committing himself either by word or deed until the appointed time.—A strange story had been floating in the Gauls, that Saint Valery, appearing in a vision to the Capet, had promised the kingdom of France to him and his heirs until the seventh generation. The condition annexed to the gift was easy enough.—The Duke must cause the Saint's relics and those of his companion, Saint Riquier, to be translated from Flanders into France, and the Realm shall be his reward.

979-980—
 Approach-
 ing catas-
 trophe of
 the Carlo-
 vingian
 race—
 anticipa-
 tions of the
 Capetian
 revolution.

This, amongst idle legends the idlest, deserves to be quoted

959-987 only as shewing that the acquisition of the Crown by the Capet
 was distinctly anticipated. We have a confused report that
 978-980 Arnoul the younger, now governing Flanders, refused to sur-
 render the relics until compelled by force, whereupon the Capet
 attacked Montreuil.

General
 anxiety
 prevailing
 in France.

Throughout the Realm, much discontent was prevailing. Emma, who appeared fully justified in her husband's opinion, was becoming more and more unpopular. The mephitic mists which blasted her reputation, were curling and rising densely from the ground. Hugh Capet's partizans were multiplying; numerous, powerful, ready at a moment's call.

Adalbero the Archbishop of Rheims, he, whose vote might determine the succession, was wholly alienated from the Carolingian line. In the secular Estate, Hugh possessed one adherent, not less influential in his position than the Archbishop—Richard of Normandy,—Hugh-le-Grand's liege-man, Hugh Capet's liege-man, whose antipathy to the freckled Lothaire was connected with the boy's earliest recollections, aggravated by the inveterate enmity which he had experienced from him as a man.

Lothaire's
 precarious
 situation.

Theophania's jealousy against Emma continued unabated. She, therefore, held with the Capet; and, in the background we may discern mysterious Gerbert, soon to rejoice in diffusing the intelligence that Lothaire reigned only in name. Lothaire's situation was truly perilous. Hugh Capet continued in nominal alliance with him; but though no one talked about the future, every one felt what that future threatened. Clear-sighted Otho could not be outwitted; powerful Otho could not be beaten. Hugh Capet might be bought or won over to the Imperial party; and, difficult as the process of obtaining Otho's amity might be, on account of Theophania's adverse influence, yet Lothaire's main chance of safety was by gaining his cousin over. Circumstances facilitated the measure. Rome, as usual, was in a state of chronic rebellion. Lothaire acted prudently, consulting those whom he could trust. They advised him to resume his connection with the Emperor. Could Otho's co-operation be secured, not only might it be possible to put down the Capet, but all the other dissatisfied Nobles, brought into due subjection.

Lothaire therefore despatched able ambassadors to Otho. They represented on his behalf, that the quarrel had been fomented by fraudulent advisers. Otho and Lothaire, kinsmen, ought to unite in mutual defence: Lothaire would watch Otho's

interests, whilst the latter should defend the more distant Provinces of his Realm.

Otho met Lothaire at La Marlée on the Cher, the frontier station common to France and Lorraine. The French King was supported by a numerous assemblage of Abbots and Prelates, Princes and Nobles, just as when he met Richard of Normandy at the Fosse-Givolde. Otho was accompanied in like manner. The two Sovereigns exchanged their promises of enduring peace, embraces ensued, and hand joined hand. The particulars of the pacification are imperfectly known: their general tenor, unquestionable. Lothaire, King of the Gauls, abandoning all his rights and pretensions over Lorraine, openly and solemnly renounced the dominions, and granted the same to be held without let or interference from the French, and be subjected for ever to the German Empire. The oaths of the French Prelates and Nobles, confirmed the cession.—These transactions relating to Lorraine constitute one of the most vexed questions in early French History, and were not without diplomatic importance in the age of good Queen Anne and Louis Quatorze.

Lothaire returned to Laon, carefully watching the adverse parties, for he fully expected that some movement would soon be made. Otho departed with Theophania to Aix-la-Chapelle. He was preparing for a Rœmer-zug¹, but an anxious, though joyous, expectation delayed him. From Aix-la-Chapelle, he and Theophania proceeded to Nimeguen, where the then celebrated sanctuary probably rivalled the world-renowned Aix-la-Chapelle, in architectural symmetry, though not equally magnificent.

Nigh Nimeguen there was a fine forest. The forest lodge afforded a pleasant residence to the Imperial family, and here its number was encreased. Theophania brought forth her only son,—the third and last Otho. Hence the happy father journeyed to distracted Italy; and, during four years did various most urgent affairs detain Otho beyond the Alps. Otho entered Rome without opposition, and, if the narrative be veracious, a fearful punishment was inflicted upon those who had rebelled against him,—tremendous yet not politically useless, as he thereby consolidated his power.

§ 65. Meanwhile, France was all in a ferment. The terms of the compact between Lothaire and Otho became speedily known. It is a proof of Lothaire's political vitality, that his combination with Otho excited great alarm amongst the Capetian party. They loudly expressed their anger. Not so, their sedate

959-987

978-981

980—

Conference
between
Lothaire
and Otho
at La
Marlée.Lothaire
cedes all
his rights
over
Lorraine.

980—

June—
July.
Otho and
Theo-
phania at
Nimeguen.981—
Agitation
in France,
—the Cape-
tian party
alarmed.

959-987

978-981

Hugh
Capet
assembles
his
Vassals.

Chief. Hugh did not hurry himself, and the measures which he adopted were decided by solemn deliberation. He summoned his Vassals. All who had taken the oaths of allegiance to him and had placed their hands between his hands, attended. We have heard, long since, how clearly and cogently Hugh-le-Grand had expounded the advantages of "Commendation." It was, according to his elucidation of social doctrine, a duty which every Land-owner owed to himself, and to the State. The Capet adopted his father's traditions, and worked them out most successfully.

A very large and influential body of Feudatories acknowledged him as their Suzerain. So widely had the Capetian interest extended, that Burchard of Montmorency¹, the nephew or grand nephew of the Anglo-Saxon King Edred, was necessarily entered upon the roll. Richard of Normandy who, in his Charters, so carefully quotes the consent given by the "Principes Francorum" his Suzerain, was assuredly present. It was the boast of the Normans that he was Hugh Capet's most useful and powerful ally, counsellor, and adviser.

Par le conseil del grant Barnage
E par la force de Richart,
Par son conseil et son art
Fu Hugon Chapes recéu,
Et en France pour Rei tenu.
Par Richart e par sa valor;
Ki eu avait sa seror
Par son conseil e par s'amur
Fu de France, Huon Seignur².

981—
Hugh-le-
Grand con-
sults his
Vassals,
who advise
him to
detach
Otho from
Lothaire.

Hugh, in this memorable assembly, preferred grievous charges against Lothaire, intimating that his life was endangered. He inveighed bitterly against Otho's duplicity and treachery, and urged the Lieges to afford counsel and aid. A cautious and well considered answer was returned. Sympathizing with the Capet, they nevertheless felt their own responsibilities. However greatly the monarchy power had waned, the regal prerogatives were still respected and dreaded. They were reluctant to appear in the character of rebels against the King. That ghastly head which rolled round the block, before the gates of Dijon, had made a forcible impression upon the national mind. A war against the united Monarchs would be perilous. Lothaire, supported by Otho's Germans, might desolate the country. They therefore suggested that subtlety should be opposed to craft; and, it

would be more advisable to detach the Emperor from his new-formed alliance, by quiet means.

959-987

978-981

An embassy despatched to Otho was very favourably received. Otho entertained the overture joyfully, and replied that he was most ready to re-accept the Capet as a friend. But Otho's courtesy did not exclude the proud assertion of his Imperial dignity.—Such a treaty could not be properly concluded, otherwise than by the contracting parties in person, but if the Capet repaired to Rome, due honour should be rendered to him.—“*Tutte le strade vanno a Roma*,”¹ was the adage of the Empire.

The Capet proceeded accordingly on his southward road, accompanied by the eloquent and energetic Arnoul, Bishop of Orleans. Otho received his illustrious visitant in the Palace of the Cæsars: but when Hugh and the Bishop were introduced to the Imperial presence, the attendants quitted them at the portal, and they, entering the vaulted Hall, found Otho alone. There sat he in solitary magnificence. By his side, a curule chair, such as was afterwards treasured in the Abbey of Saint Denis, and reputed to be famous King Dagobert's antient throne; and, lying, upon that chair, the Sword of state. Otho, according to the etiquette of the Imperial Court, addressed the Bishop in Latin, the language of Church and State, and also of diplomatic intercourse, until almost recent times.

981—
Hugh
Capet
repairs to
Otho at
Rome.Interview
between
Otho and
the Capet.

Otho was very gracious.—No recrimination, not a complaining word,—and he kissed the Duke, welcoming him in the character of a friend. After a lengthened conversation, Otho rose, as about to quit the chamber; and, whilst rising, his eye glancing at the sword, Hugh Capet, thrown off his guard by the awfulness of the Imperial dignity, stepped back with the intention of taking up the ensign of power, so that he might be distinguished by bearing the consecrated blade. Now this was the very reason why Otho had left the Sword upon the chair, expecting that when he went forth to join his Courtiers, Hugh would, by the force of habit, go after him as an inferior; exhibiting himself in the character of a vassal, comparatively of low degree.

But Bishop Arnoul, a man of ready wit,—perceived the artifice: and, snatching the sword from the Duke's hand; he reverently followed the Emperor. Though baulked by the Bishop's prudence and acuteness, yet Otho admired his cleverness exceedingly, and was accustomed, when he told the story, to praise him highly, for his wariness in preserving his own Sovereign's honour. And the negotiations having been thus happily

Otho
agrees to
become
Hugh's
ally
against
Lothaire.

959-987 concluded, Otho caused the Capet to be conducted with great worship to the Alpine Passes.

978-981

Hugh
Capet's
Alpine
journey.

§ 66. In the meanwhile, during the absence of Hugh, his intent being easily conjectured, Lothaire and Emma were equally on the alert. Each discerned the threatening danger; and Emma, in the restoration of friendship between Otho and Hugh, could not fail to trace her rival Theophania's influence, and they planned accordingly. Conrad's Transjurane kingdom, that kingdom of rocks and forests and torrents, green pastures and glaciers and perpetual snow, afforded the only available exit from Italy. Though Conrad could not be called a kinsman, yet he was a close connexion of the French royal family. Conrad helping, Hugh could be easily caught.

Emma and
Lothaire
invite King
Conrad to
intercept
the Capet.

A Burgundian King might entertain some jealousy against any Duke of Burgundy. But, whether or no, Lothaire put himself into correspondence with the Court of Arles. In the epistle addressed to Conrad by Lothaire, he presents himself as a confidential friend, and urgently prayed him to exert himself for the purpose of intercepting the threatening and potent enemy on his route to France. All the practicable Alpine Passes were included within Conrad's picturesque realm. Emma communicated concurrently with her Imperial Mother, then at Pavia. Her vehement epistle is singularly remarkable. Dolefully did she inveigh against the Capet's treachery, and his endeavour to turn her brother Otho against them. She therefore earnestly entreats Adelaide to unite in the efforts which would be made for arresting their enemy.—And in order that the crafty traitor might not evade by his wiles, Emma transmits a full description of his person; his eyes, and his ears, and his lips, and his teeth, and his nose, and whatever particulars were observable in his limbs and stature, nay even his mode of speech.—A veritable police posting bill of Hue and Cry¹.

Hugh was really in great jeopardy. Emma spake more openly than Lothaire. Had Hugh Capet been captured he would have been chained and fettered and dropped into the pit;—may be, blinded;—hatchet or halter would then put him completely out of the way, and out of misery. Under any circumstances, the Duke of France bearing within himself the strongest testimony against himself, could scarcely pursue his journey without apprehensions of danger.

It is more than probable, that the Capet had obtained knowledge of these important letters, before they were received by

the royal correspondents to whom they had been respectively addressed. The copies are included amongst Gerbert's documents, and the extent of his wiles is incalculable. Hugh therefore hastened his departure, and, when he approached the hills, he put off the Duke, and put on the groom. Hugh attired himself in the varlet's garb;—Hugh handled the curry comb,—Hugh loaded the baggage,—Hugh cracked his whip at the horses,—Hugh appeared as the meanest of the train, obedient to everybody's bidding, kick and call.

Emissaries and agents were watching for their prey in the defiles; but his good fortune guided him safely through; although when the party halted for the night in the rough Alpine hostelry, his precautions nearly failed him. The travellers had retired to the rest-chamber. Soon as they were alone, or thought themselves alone, the scrubby hind stood forth as Lord and Master. The Capet's attendants vied with each other in performing their duties; they knelt before their Sovereign, drew off his boots, chafed his chilled feet, changed his coarse garments, and spread his bed with the utmost care. But, either the suspicions of the Host had been roused, or perhaps simply yielding to professional inquisitiveness, he had crept close up to the door; and, his eye at the chink, watched the proceedings. The ear was sharper than the eye. The Duke's servants had heard his movements. Dashing out, they hauled the fellow in; and, unsheathing their swords, threatened him with instant death, if he cried for rescue. Straitly they bound him neck and heels, and so secured him in store until the earliest twilight illuminated the mountain summits, when they started: and, having corded the curious-impertinent upon a horse, they kept him tight till they had advanced beyond the risk of immediate pursuit, when they dropped the moaning bundle on the road. Yet Hugh was not entirely safe. Conrad had zealously entered into Lothaire's views. Spies and emissaries were stationed to dodge him, but Hugh Capet successfully eluded their vigilance, and arrived safely home.

§ 67. Neither Lothaire nor Hugh had gained any advantage by their respective negotiations. The arduous task of governing Italy, the troubles in Germany, and the well deserved hostility of the oppressed Slavonian nations, prevented Otho from taking any share in French affairs. Not merely were the dealings with Otho profitless, but they made matters worse. Lothaire had affronted Hugh Capet, by the breach of the alliance: and

959-987
981-986
Hugh escapes in disguise.

981—
Great disturbances consequent upon Hugh's return.

959-987 Lothaire's dread of the Capet, and consequently his antipathy
 against the Capet, acquired greater intensity. On Hugh's return,
 981-986 a state of complete anarchy ensued.—No bloodshed, no fighting,
 but so many dissensions amongst the nobles and great men,
 such plots and counterplots, that all the powers of government
 were paralysed. Great oppressions were inflicted upon the
 common people. And, many of the clergy, the class who usually
 maintained good order during civil dissensions, peace-makers,
 where no magistrate could reach, were unfortunately implicated
 in the troubles, particularly Adalbero and Asceline. Political
 doctrines inspired the lofty minded Primate in favour of the
 Capets. The base Asceline was stimulated against the Carlovin-
 gians by profligacy and personal antipathy.—Hugh's time was
 coming. But the time had not come. Men feared to wield
 the sword against the sceptre : and Hugh concurred in a step
 apparently detrimental to his own interest ; but Hugh knew
 better.

Louis, the
 Son and
 Heir of
 Lothaire,
 his char-
 acter.

§ 68. Save and except when describing the young Prince's
 portraiture limned in his Mother's Psalter, we have never found
 the means of mentioning Louis, Lothaire's only surviving legiti-
 mate son. Hitherto, wholly unnoticed by all historians, he now
 suddenly becomes very prominent in the character of a youth,
 as yet untaught by experience, but shrewd, observant, and
 fully possessing the qualifications which might render him an
 efficient Sovereign. His father therefore became anxious that
 the succession should be forthwith secured to Charlemagne's
 descendant. Two opponents, however, threatened to thwart
 the parent's reasonable desires. Charles had never waived his
 reversionary claims to the sovereignty ; and that all but declared
 rival, the Capet, was still more to be dreaded.

981—
 He is pro-
 claimed as
 King.

Hugh however entered with apparent cordiality into Lothaire's
 schemes. The Nobles were convened at Compiègne, the Palace
 assigned to the *Fils de France* as his residence. The proposition,
 that Louis should be elevated to the royal dignity, was accepted
 by acclamation. On the following Pentecost, he was proclaimed
 by Archbishop Adalbero, but though he received the royal title,
 the rite of consecration was withheld.

How were the Father and the Son to govern ? Were they
 to be coparceners ?—May be, rivals ? It was therefore judged
 expedient, that, according to the antient Carlovingian precedents,
 (the first examples having been given by the great Emperor
 himself,) each should reign over a separate Realm. But where

could an adequate territory be found ? Lothaire had assuredly none to spare.—Complicated intrigues followed.—It was hinted by the procurers who haunted the Court, that a wealthy widow was waiting for a wooer ; and Emma yielded to the suggestion, that the readiest mode of advancing her son, would be managed by his marriage with the relict of Raymond Pons, Count of Toulouse, (long since deceased,) who had been the first to acknowledge the authority of Louis d'Outremer.

959-987
981-986
Circumstances attending the Marriage of Louis.

No clue has been found conducting the genealogical enquirer to the ancestors of this Dowager Countess, and four names are ascribed to her.—Constance, Blanche, Blandina, and Adela¹. The first name, not uncommon in the Languedoc, was probably the babe's Baptismal designation ;—the second and third, were, we apprehend, derived from the once tender damsel's fair complexion :—the last, seems to be the epithet so often assumed or bestowed as a token of dignity. Constance Adela was very opulent ; could the young King obtain her hand and her possessions, which extended into Auvergne, such an establishment might enable Lothaire to follow Charlemagne's example, and bestow upon his son the Aquitanian Kingdom.

The scheme promised great political advantages. It was argued that the Capet, shut up, between France on the north and Aquitaine on the south, would be effectually restrained by these Carlovingian positions. Hugh's vexation, when the speculation came to his knowledge, testified that these reasonings were not groundless : but he held his tongue ; and, indeed, a wise man, an old statesman, and an old soldier, could easily anticipate that such a union of Spring and Autumn, January and October, was not likely to produce either fruit or flowers.

Full royally did the two Kings, the senior and the junior, proceed to Brioude on the Allier, where Constance resided ; bearing with them from Charlemagne's Treasure House, the Aquitanian Diadem. The parties were strangers to each other, but the marriage came off without difficulty and without thought. There may have been traditions of the Queen's beauty, though reckoning according to the data deduced from what we know concerning her first husband's death, more than half-a-century must have elapsed, since she was rocked in her cradle ; nor had her advancing age sweetened her temper, or matured her principles. As for Louis, the exuberant stripling ran riot.

Unfortunate result of the marriage.

At this era, the Aquitanians constituted a distinct nation, much richer, and consequently more profligate, than the

959-987

981-986

Miscon-
duct of
Louis—
His
quarrels
with his
wife.

comparatively sober inhabitants of the Languedoc. The vile immorality of the Troubadour age was already in course of development; Lothaire's Louis yielded to the contagion, like Louis-le-Débonnaire's unhappy Pepin. Seduced by the example and society of his merry rampant subjects, and following unhappy Pepin's precedent, he adopted the Aquitanian costume, much to the offence of the French, who considered this compliance as derogating from the dignity of his antient lineage.

During the Honeymoon—alas! occasionally the lamentable introduction to the wasp's nest,—the faded Queen fondled her young husband. But desperate quarrels broke out between them. After very brief cohabitation, they divorced themselves *a mensa et thoro*, without troubling Pope, Archbishop or Bishop. One house could not hold the two. They would not even meet under the same roof: and, when it became needful that they should confer with one another on public affairs, their interviews were held in the open air.

Louis wasted the royal revenues. His Household broke up. His troops did not wait to be disbanded. Lothaire re-called the young King. Louis would not hear the call. His father therefore advanced to Aquitaine, supported by a large body of cavalry, and brought the turbulent young Prince away. Louis was sent back to Compiègne. Here, recovering from the intoxication of youth, his sagacious conduct showed that he had become an acute observer of the world. He learnt to appreciate his advantages, and still more his dangers: and he fully qualified himself to escape, when the time should arrive, from the tantalising situation of a nominal King. As for Constance, still worth having, she separated herself effectually from her second husband, by taking a third, Guillaume Count of Arles.

981-982
Within the
year Louis
and his
wife
separate.

§ 69. About this period, Otho's fortune turned. Greeks and Saracens defeated him before Squillace¹, and by a most humiliating flight, he saved his life, but forfeited his honour. A vile affront given by Teutonic protervity to the noble Mistewoi, the King of the Wends, lost Otho the Slavonian Marches; and, at least two centuries elapsed, ere that frontier bulwark was reunited to the Empire.

The young Emperor's strength yielded to bodily fatigue, and troubles of mind. Mental and corporeal diseases, aggravated by his own rashness, terminated his earthly career. When on his death-bed, the Pontiff, the Bishops and the Priests entered the chamber, and he, raising his voice, repeated the Creeds in

the Latin tongue, and expired. They erected his tomb within Saint Peter's Atrium. The superstructure has perished, but his sarcophagus was preserved, and you may see it in the crypt below.—Thus has the second Otho departed ; and the third and last, a boy who had scarcely emerged from infancy, appears on the throne.

959—987
981—986
983—Dec. 7.
Death of
Otho II. at
Rome.

Pursuant to his father's testament the Coronation of the child was effected without opposition at Aix-la-Chapelle. This tranquil accession however, only preluded great troubles and disturbances throughout the Realm. The Archbishop of Cologne was empowered to act as Guardian by the late Emperor, until Adelaide and Theophania could return from Italy. But Theophania was very unpopular : her foreign manners had always displeased the Germans ; and still more offensive were the bitter words which, after the massacre of Squillace, escaped her in depreciation of Teutonic valour.

983—
Accession
of Otho III.
Troubles
in Ger-
many.

Moreover, the people were wearied out by the long continuance of female influence. The worthy Teutscher, like John Knox, could not abide the " regiment of women," and, according to popular opinion, that opinion supplementing the law, the civil state of the female sex in Germany approximated to perpetual pupillage. Henry the Quarreller¹ assumed the Regency ; but, other parties arose, and the Empire was involved in great confusion.

Henry the
Quarreller
Regent.

Lothaire immediately availed himself of the opportunity offered by these dissensions ; and Henry was not unwilling to purchase Lothaire's alliance, or at least his forbearance, by surrendering the superiority of Lorraine. But he either retracted his promise, or could not dare to perform it. Lothaire commenced hostilities. The Lotharingian Nobles, Godfrey Count of the Ardennes at their head, raised the country against him. The Lotharingians responded heartily.—Lothaire advanced with his forces as far as the Vosges. But the boors and peasantry sturdily defended the land,—trees felled,—dykes cut,—fields flooded,—roads blocked up,—detachments hurrying and scurrying amongst the rocks and hills,—ambushments stationed,—bolts and arrows darted incessantly,—but the assailants invisible ;—never could the French get sight of the enemy.

983—985
Lothaire's
unsuccess-
ful attempt
to regain
Lorraine.

Lothaire returned home, baffled but not disheartened,—not even by the distressing rumours resounding throughout France. All the former charges against the profligacy of the Court were revived ; and, again people jeered or groaned at the names of

Emma's
ill fame.

959-987 Queen Emma and Bishop Asceline. But Lothaire, whether acting cunningly; or confiding in Emma's innocence; or fascinated by her charms, never altered his conduct towards her. She however was much troubled, and another passionate letter addressed to her mother, speaks the language of calumniated innocence.

Lothaire steadily adhered to his plans of regaining the invaluable border-land of Lorraine. He bought over the Vermandois family, Eudes and Herbert, by granting to them the lands of an Uncle, who had lately died childless; a transaction shewing how stiffly the King held the royal fiefs; and they, advising with Lothaire, it was agreed that another Lorraine expedition should be commenced by attempting Verdun.

985—
Continu-
ance of the
war in
Lorraine.
Verdun
taken by
Lothaire.

Verdun, though a place advantageously situated for defence, and well fortified, held out only for eight days: and, the City thus gained, Lothaire gave a singular proof either of deserved confidence or absolute dotage. He left Emma in command until he could resume operations. But a transient reverse ensued. Emma was driven out, and we soon find Godfrey of the Ardennes holding the City against the King; Lothaire immediately re-assembled his army, and, furnished with a large train of artillery, stormed the place, and Verdun became entirely his own. Winter compelled the cessation of warlike movements; but the season of activity would come round, and he prepared for the active spring-tide, collecting troops, and considering plans and measures for extending his realm, and encreasing his power. Such was his energy, that even the Capet might fear him, and wish to be rid of him.

986—
Lothaire's
strange ill-
ness and
death,
and March.

Spring broke out early; the weather genial, perhaps prematurely so. Lothaire, who hitherto we have never met otherwise than in fairly good health, suddenly fell ill. Some said the weather was unhealthy. Richerius who had studied medicine, minutely describes the symptoms of the complaint. Lothaire sent for Louis, who came to him without delay; and, receiving his father's advice and counsel, returned to Compiègne. The disease was attended with great distress and suffering; and on the feast of Saint Sulpitius, Lothaire died in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

A very awful impression was created by this event; loud the lamentations, much grief, much horror. A universal belief prevailed that Lothaire had been poisoned.—Who, the Murderers?—Two were publicly charged with the crime.

Unprecedentedly solemn, nay almost ostentatious was the funeral. Clad in the royal robes, the corpse was covered or concealed by a purple pall, richly embroidered with gems and orfray. The chiefest Nobles bore the bier ; Prelates and Clergy led the procession, bearing the Gospel books and Crosses, and intoning the dirge. The Crown and other royal Insignia followed the deceased Monarch, and very lengthened was the lugubrious train.

959-987
981-986
His remarkable funeral.

Upon his death-bed, the child of Louis and of Gerberga, had directed that he should be interred by the side of his father and his mother, and the cortège proceeded slowly to Rheims. He was deposited in the Abbey Church of Saint Remigius, according to his desire. But where was Lothaire's wife ? and where Lothaire's son ? Did Emma nurse him during his last sickness ? or was she present when he died ?—No—Nor was Louis in his place at the interment, ready to join as Chief mourner, when the corpse was lowered into the grave, and perhaps receive the hinted congratulations given under the breath. Louis, however, could exonerate himself from all charges of dishonouring his father's memory. He had obeyed the call of his dying parent, and had received his advice ; and we shall find him at his proper post.—As for Emma, we meet the miserable woman but once again.

Affairs had now reached that point, when Hugh Capet might, without farther difficulty, have ascended the throne. But he abstained from any violent usurpation, and concurred with the other Nobles in proclaiming the young Louis as his father's successor. Louis was universally recognized. The Lieges flocked in, tendering their fealty : and now, the two Parties which divided the aristocracy, surrounding the King, perplexed him by discordant suggestions. The Legitimists urged him to exercise all his royal rights, reside in his own Palace, seek no Protector, and present himself as an independent Sovereign. The Revolutionists attempted to shake the young man's confidence in himself. Their language verged upon disrespect. He must accept the Capet's tutelage. He would profit by this submission. Unless supported by the Capet, the Moderator of the Realm, could he stand ?

987—
The accession of Louis.

Louis listened attentively to these advisers, heeding none. He had fully resolved upon his course : and rendering all due honour to Duke Hugh, displayed equal courage and activity. Having first consulted privately with the Capet, he then publicly

Louis acts resolutely—throws off the Protectorate of Hugh, and accuses Archbishop Adalbero of High Treason.

959-987

981-986

summoned the Duke of France and a select number of the Nobles, and required them to co-operate with him. He unhesitatingly and boldly accused the Archbishop of Rheims, as his father's worst enemy. It was Adalbero who had aided the Germans in their designs.—It was Adalbero who had conducted boastful Otho to the gates of Paris.—It was Adalbero who had afforded him the means of a safe retreat.—And Adalbero must be punished for his misdeeds.

Hugh and his party remonstrated against the King's determination, but none dared disobey. Powerful as they were, they cowered beneath the royal authority, and dreaded the penalties of treason.

Adalbero
being con-
tumacious,
Louis
besieges
Rheims

Had Gerberga been living, she might have rejoiced in her grand-child's vigour.—Louis having been enabled to raise a large army, invested Rheims. Hugh conjoined his forces, probably comforting himself with the persuasion, that, by protesting against the impeachment of the Archbishop, he had exonerated himself from complicity with the King. Messengers were despatched to the Prelate. If Adalbero would answer the charges preferred against him, and clear himself, giving mainpernors in the meanwhile to secure his appearance before the Court, the King would accept his submission. Otherwise, he must expect to be treated with the utmost rigour.

—The
Arch-
bishop
gives bail
for his
appear-
ance to
answer the
charge.

The Archbishop behaved proudly, paraded his loyalty; rebuked Louis as one who gave credit to accusations which were neither proved nor susceptible of proof. If Louis required a judicial examination, was it decorous that his obedience should be extorted. Why should this attendance be enforced by menaces? But the bail was produced and a day appointed at Senlis for the Session of the Tribunal,—the third week in May.

987—
Assembly
of the King
and Nobles
at Senlis
for the
Arch-
bishop's
trial.

Adalbero duly repaired to Senlis, for the purpose of making his defence. The Nobles composing the Court, in which the successor of Clovis was to arraign the successor of Saint Remy, thronged the City. But, during that third week in May, the trial before the King and Nobles being close at hand, Louis went forth to hunt. His foot slipped.—How and where, and in what manner, we know not.—This trivial accident is said to have occasioned a severe internal injury. But Louis sickened also, a raging fever attacked him, and, just when the Archbishop was about to be brought to the bar, he, the King, expired in great agony.

Strange
death of
Louis, 22
May.

It was immediately reported that Louis had been poisoned;

and the murder was strangely imputed to an individual who had neither any reason for the crime, nor any opportunity of perpetrating it; Constance,—his divorced wife,—the Countess of Arles. Suspicions engender suspicions. In all cases where our powers of investigation are completely at fault, it is very difficult to avoid indulging in counter-conjectures which cannot be strengthened by any evidence. Yet we might be inclined to suppose that Constance was named in order to divert public attention from some other prominent personage.

§ 70. Hugh and the Nobles who assumed the powers of Government, conducted themselves with indecent haste. During his last agonies, Louis had expressed the wish that he should rest by his Father's side at Rheims. But the Capetian Managers would not separate, until they had fully settled their course of proceedings: and, Archbishop Adalbero officiating, Louis was interred at Compiègne.

Louis
hastily
buried,
contrary to
his direc-
tions, at
Com-
piègne.

A strange mutation of positions now ensued. The Throne being vacant, the powers of election devolved on the States of the Realm, but, Adalbero, their lawful President, laboured under a charge scarcely distinguishable from high treason. It was in order to stand his trial as a criminal, that he had taken up his residence at Senlis, nor could he be rehabilitated in the exercise of his constitutional functions, until cleared from the impending accusation. The Nobles also, had been specially summoned for the peculiar occasion of Adalbero's Trial, and not as a constituent assembly.

Hugh Capet, taking the lead, explained the situations of the respective parties. Louis was dead: but the suit had been instituted, and it must be terminated in legal form. Notwithstanding the demise of the late King, the Court was open to any Prosecutor. Let such a one come forward fearlessly: yet, bearing in mind, that should a false charge be preferred, the calumny would be visited with condign punishment.—This merciful warning of the danger which might befall an accuser, produced due effect. Proclamation was made. The Appellant was called once;—no answer.—Twice;—no answer.—Thrice;—no answer.—Hugh Capet accordingly gave judgment forthwith, that the suit had abated: and the Archbishop having thus received a plenary absolution in the eye of the law, asserted his constitutional pre-eminence as President, and addressed the Convention.

Adalbero
is put, *pro*
forma, upon
his trial.

No Appel-
lant ap-
pearing,
Adalbero
is dis-
charged
from accu-
sation.

Without any great strain of principle or palpable unfairness,

959-987

circumstances enabled Adalbero to give Hugh great advantages.

981-987

The attendance of members was scanty : he therefore intimated the propriety of postponement, until a proper *Cour Plénière* could be held. But, at the same time, he moved that they should pledge themselves to abstain from any proceedings in the nature of an election, until re-convened. They entered into the required engagement, and separated, appointing a day for the meeting of the Prelates and Nobles, the national representatives. This was a needful precaution for the prevention of cabals : nor, considering Hugh's acknowledged pre-eminence, could it be considered as very unfair that the oath of obedience should be given to Adalbero and to Hugh Capet ?

Convention ad-
journed upon the
proposi-
tion of
Adalbero.

Charles
rebuffed by
Adalbero,
retreats to
Lorraine.

Charles¹, virtually disinherited, conducted himself prudently. Under this great strait, appearing before the Archbishop, whom he acknowledged in the capacity of President, he presented his claims as grounded upon his lawful rights, whilst, at the same time, he tried to interest the Prelate's feelings. Adalbero's language was scurrilous. He was insolently obstinate. Charles did not waste any further time in discussion, but hastened to Lotharingia, where his strength was principally to be found. The sympathies of the Nobles were generally with him. Many adherents joined him ; the ball increased as it rolled on, and no small proportion of those now quiescent, were waiting to favour his cause as soon as fortune should favour him.

May 987—
Assembly
of the
States at
Senlis.

But, in the meanwhile, the Throne was filled. The Estates assembled at Senlis, and all who acknowledged fealty to Hugh, or espoused his cause, were there.

First and foremost, the most powerful, the most obedient, the most affectionate amongst his liegemen, Richard, Duke of Normandy, so emphatically recorded as pre-eminently aiding his brother-in-law to ascend the Throne. Archbishop Adalbero addressed the Assembly. Sixty years since, the constitutional theory of the French Monarchy assumed that the supreme authority, though not strictly grounded upon hereditary right, was nevertheless vested in the Carlovingian family. But public opinion was now modified. The absolute necessity of Monarchical government was maintained as firmly as ever ; though the principle of indefeasible right was repudiated.

987—
Assembly
of the
States at
Senlis.
Adalbero
asserts the
rights of
the people.

Adalbero substantially preached the doctrine of the "*gros vilain*," adopting as a fundamental principle that the people's voice is the real source of power. But he argued soberly. The

privilege of the Nation was to be exercised judicially, and not arbitrarily, nor called into action otherwise than for just cause. The Chief of the Commonwealth should be qualified by bodily vigour, superadded to nobility of the soul.—Bold, wise, faithful, magnanimous.—What were the lessons taught by the history of the World's Masters? How many Emperors of illustrious race forfeited their power by their unworthiness, and had been succeeded, sometimes by their inferiors in rank, sometimes by their equals?—nor did this latter circumstance impugn the popular franchise. Birth and blood, though accidents, are important accidents: nay, needful for the benefit of the Commonwealth. And thus was Adalbero employing the accustomed political device, of applying the general argument to the special case you advocate; and he turned his reasonings at once in favour of Hugh, who, though he might depend upon his personal merits, was, as Adalbero insisted, singularly distinguished by his descent and nobility.

959-987

986-987

Compare, continued the Archbishop, the wise and active representative of Robert-le-Fort with Charles, the contemptible Pretender. Slothful, untrustworthy, so dull and fatuous, that he had unreluctantly disgraced himself by becoming the vassal of a foreign king, nay worse, espoused a subordinate vassal's daughter. Could Hugh Capet endure that a woman of such low birth should become a Queen; and, as Queen, rule over him?—Could the Duke of France and Burgundy condescend to walk in the train of one whose father had kissed a Sovereign's knees, and placed his hands beneath the soles of a Sovereign's feet?—The rejection of Charles was a punishment earned by his offences and follies. If they sought the ruin of the Commonwealth, let them choose Charles, if the Commonwealth's prosperity—Hugh Capet.

Arch-
bishop
Adalbero's
address in
favour of
Hugh.

Hugh was accepted by acclamation; and, on the first day of June, his Coronation, the Archbishop officiating, was solemnized at Noyon. A great Council was convened, those whom we may call Peers, received a regular writ of summons, and representatives attended from all the Southern and Eastern provinces of the kingdom. French, Armoricans, Danes, Goths and Gascons, nay, from the Spanish marches. But the rites were maimed. Some say that a second coronation took place at Rheims. It is doubtful where Hugh received the royal unction, or even whether the Crown was ever placed upon his brows. The oaths constituting the compact between the king and the people were

987—
1st June,
Hugh
crowned at
Noyon.

987-991 omitted. We are told by modern writers that the Capet, peculiarly courting the Clergy's favour, granted to them a special confirmation of their privileges. But the statement is unsupported by evidence: the documents from which this inference is drawn, being the usual declarations in favour of particular monasteries. But he who had been raised to the throne by the disclaimer of hereditary right, now peremptorily demanded, that by virtue of that very right, the succession should be secured to Robert, his only son and heir.—The King must be the father of a King.

June, July,
987—
Hugh re-
quires that
his son
Robert
shall be
raised also
to the
throne.

The Nobles assented to Hugh's instant request,—not so, Adalbero, who demurred. He hesitated upon the ground, that, according to an antient constitutional rule, two Kings could not be created within one and the same year.

If such a rule really existed, it may have been motived with the intent of securing a distinct precedence to the senior, thus obviating the difficulties which might arise, were an entire parity of title claimed by or for the occupants of the throne. But Hugh was prepared to give a ready answer. He produced a letter from Borell, Count of Barcelona, whilom Gerbert's patron, supplicating aid against the Saracens. These Miscreants were extending their ravages throughout Spain: and, unless sufficient help were speedily given, the whole Peninsula would pass under the Mahometan yoke.

Hugh intimated that France was bound to take her share in this defensive war; and he therefore represented that the urgencies of the State required a departure from the constitutional rule quoted by Adalbero. Robert must be associated to his father, in order that if either fell in the fight, a Commander-in-chief should remain to the Army. Moreover, were Hugh slain, dissensions and disturbances might arise, and desolation fall upon the entire kingdom.

Yielding to these arguments, the Metropolitan assented, but not immediately. During the following winter, a Convention of the Nobles assembled at Orleans. On the Feast of the Nativity, Robert appeared in the Cathedral, clad in purple; and was proclaimed as King from the Meuse to the Ocean; or in other words, from Eastern Lorraine to Western Normandy and the dependent Armorica:—an unusual style, but very significant of the pretensions raised by the Capet. The Crown was placed upon Robert's head. The cheers of the people ratified his accession. And now, the chimes of the Nine, the

25th Dec.
987.
Robert pro-
claimed,
and
crowned.

Eight, and the Seven had completely run out.—HIC DEFECERUNT
REGES DE STIRPE KAROLI¹.

987-991

988-989

AND THUS was the third Dynasty founded, destined to reign until their domination should be subverted by the operation of the doctrines, the principles, nay the very vices, out of which their power arose. But the strife had not concluded. Charles forthwith appealed to his friends and connexions, the Vermandois princes, not merely for his own sake, but for the sake of his children. The new Carlovingian party encreased; high and low joined him, probably from his Belgic dominions, where the military and the industrial arts were already flourishing, doughty warriors and skilful artillerymen, bowyers and fletchers², and trained arbalisters. And, in this last convulsive struggle, the Duke of Lorraine, displaying a spirit worthy of his ancestry, resumed the contest with unbroken energy.

Charles
prepares
vigorously
for the
contest.

As yet, the Capets had not advanced beyond their Duchy, they were Kings of Paris and of Orleans, but no more. Charles determined to be King of Laon. The antient seat of royalty was in the possession of the Count-Bishop Asceline, who, dwelling in the Tower, assumed the state appertaining to his episcopal and temporal authority: and should we, or should we not, marvel to learn, that he had for his companion the dowager Queen of France, the Widow of Lothaire, Emma?—Was she displaying the undaunted confidence of innocence? or, did she brazen out her infamy?

Asceline in
possession
of Laon.

Emma
lives with
Asceline.

Laon defied assault, but an easier way of entry was opened by the dissensions prevailing between Asceline and his flock. He had infringed the rights of the Citizens, seizing their communal property, or demanding rents and services for the same. Charles felt his way among the malcontents. Through his agents, he promised, not merely to remedy their wrongs, but to enlarge their possessions; and the compact being confirmed by oath, Charles prepared to act like his father before him, and win the place by stratagem.

When the autumnal season had fully turned, the grapes ripening, and the twilight shortening, Charles and his detachment paced slowly up the rock, and approached the City, murk night having come on. But the Sentinels were on the alert, they heard the neighing of the horses, and the rustling of the armour. They challenged the advancing party, and, no answer being made, they began to send their missiles in that direction.

988—
Sept. Oct.
Charles
takes Laon
by sur-
prise.

987-991 But the Carlovingian partisans were ready, and, opening the gate,
 Charles and his forces rushed in, galloping furiously, doing their
 988-989 best to heighten the confusion, clashing their weapons, shouting,
 hooting, pealing their horns.

Asceline
 escapes,
 but is
 caught
 again.

The inhabitants unknowing of the plot, were scared out of their wits, fled to the Churches, hid themselves in the holes, and the nooks, and the corners.—Many leapt from the walls, and amongst them Bishop Asceline, who, dropping to the ground lightly, scampered down the rock and made for the vineyards, leaving Emma to her fate. But the fox was tracked out by his trail. Caught,—brought before Charles,—and clapped into confinement. If any one ever deserved to be bucketted into the pit, and not drawn up again speedily, it was he. But his tonsure was respected, and, though locked up in the royal Tower, he did not sustain any other duress.

988—
 Charles in
 possession
 of Laon.

As for Emma, confined to her chamber, severe was the treatment bestowed by Charles upon his wretched sister-in-law ;—a close prisoner, deprived of her attendants, guards placed at the door.—She made lamentable appeals to Theophania's generosity ; equally did she seek help from her mother's compassion, earnestly entreating Adelaide to intercede on her behalf ; but, after a time, she was not worth the trouble of keeping, and she utterly disappears from history.

Charles now had Laon.—What he had he would hold ; and he prepared for defence.—Ample store of provisions collected, stone and timber brought in, the battlements heightened, fosses dug, and palisadoes planted. The smiths set to work upon the ordnance : much reliance, placed upon the arbalisters : their sight so sharp, and their aim so steady, that, as men parabled, the bolt they shot would thread through two opposite loop-holes, or bring down the bird on the wing.

Ineffectual
 negotia-
 tion
 between
 Charles
 and the
 Capet
 kings.

Charles having attained a position which gave him a right to speak with confidence, he attempted a negotiation with the Capets, probably for a share in the kingdom. Amongst Gerbert's enigmatical correspondence, we find a note addressed to Charles by Archbishop Adalbero. We collect, though very obscurely, from this document, partly written in cypher, that some such proposal had emanated from him : and Adalbero, after disclaiming any hostility against the Carlovingian race, intimated that, if an important personage, designated by certain capital letters which baffle interpretation, would repair to Rheims, the matter should be fairly considered. But the overture came to nought.

Exceedingly troubled were the Capets, and with sufficient cause. In such a contest, not to advance is to recede. But they acted resolutely. Hugh Capet summoned his lieges from the Marne to the Garonne. A Council was then held ;—a Council of State and also a Council of War. Some were inclined, if Charles would sue for peace, to confirm him in all the territories he occupied. The greater number of the Lieges, however, urged active measures. The Pretender's success provoked them, and they were determined on vengeance. Hugh Capet was heartily supported ; his cavalry mustered to the amount of six thousand ; and with these forces he invested the City. But the brumal season had advanced, winter approached, the troops uncomfortable, and particularly distressed by the long night watches. Apprehending a sortie, the Capetians retreated : the two Kings, with all the power of France at their command, were shamed by the Pretender. Thus ended the first year's campaign.

987-991

988-989

988—Nov.

Hugh
Capet
having
summoned
his army,
lays siege
to Laon.

Hugh
Capet and
Robert
retreat—
end of the
first cam-
paign.

Upon the departure of the enemy, Charles prepared to give them a warm reception, should they visit him again. He, himself, surveyed the City, searched out all the deficiencies and weak points, walled up the posterns, explored the holes and the corners and the venelles, erected further outworks, and restored the old ramparts.

Carefully as the Prince had made his examinations, and secured all the entries, there was one way out of the Tower, which remained unguarded. Bishop Asceline's chamber looked down upon the pleasant country ; that prospect which no one can forget who has been at Laon. The window was neither closed nor grated. An accomplice was always to be found for any body, when engaged in any plot or intrigue. A rope had been furnished for him, by which he swarmed down. A horse was ready. He rode away : and, seeking Hugh Capet's protection, was received into high favour.

Espace of
Bishop
Asceline.

§ 71. The second campaign being opened, Hugh Capet recommenced operations with great shew of vigour, such as implied that he would never desist until Laon should be won. The wide-spread royal Camp was encircled with ramparts and fosses : and two thousand Cavalry had been added to the last year's army ; eight thousand in all. It was determined to win the City by assault and storm, and, according to the Capet's directions, a piece of ordnance was constructed, such as the Masters boasted could vie, and more than vie, with the machines of Charles.—The stupendous battering-ram, slung between four

989—
Hugh and
Robert
open the
second
campaign.

989—
Hugh
Capet's
battering-
ram.

987-991

very tall and massy beams, connected at the top by four spars of corresponding strength, was the pride of the Capetian camp.

988-989

The battering-beam required a great number of soldiers to work him : and the whole erection was fixed upon a triangular base, furnished with three wheels, cunningly contrived for the purpose of ascending the steep zig-zag narrow rock-path.

But, in their calculations, the engineers had forgotten to take proper account of their favourite's ponderosity. When they tried to put Aries in motion, he could not be persuaded to mount ; so he remained below, the laughing stock of the enemy. The Capetian troops became sluggish, maintaining only a slovenly and tedious blockade. Many skirmishes, but no conflicts of any importance. Archbishop Adalbero continued in the Camp with the other Nobles, he probably also sent his contingent ; but no encrease of activity appears. The Dog days came on : then, in due time, followed the vintage. The Capetian troops enjoyed the liquor, and when the jolly fellows retired for the night, they were usually dead drunk. The knowledge of this circumstance encouraged the besieged ; and Citizens and Soldiers concerted a sortie. They surprised the Camp whilst the sentinels were sleeping, and fired the bivouacs. The infantry cheered and hallooed ; the cavalry sounded their trumpets ;—Hugh Capet and his troops, panic struck,—fled away.—Thus did the second Campaign close.

The Carlo-
vingians
break up
the Ca-
petian
camp.
Close of
the second
Campaign.

Charles, probably aided by the Vermandois Princes, now prospered most encouragingly. He acquired Montaigne, and much honoured Soissons. But a little more, and who would dare to call him a Pretender. Adalbero was compelled to return home. Fatigue and anxiety had brought on a fever. During his illness, the ruling passion manifested itself. He sent his imperfect copy of Boethius¹ to Abbot Thietmar, at Mayence, in order that the portions deficient might be supplied by transcription. His malady was incurable : some say he became insane for want of sleep ; and he died about the beginning of the new year.

989—
Illness and
death of
Adalbero.
(23 Janu-
ary.)

At Rheims, the canonical right of election subsisted in full vigour. The modes of exercising this right, which will hereafter require examination, were diversified, yet these varieties were always consistent in the main principle, which, when contested, invariably degenerated into a quarrel, more or less angry, between Church and State. We usually consider the matter as being purely an ecclesiastical concern, but, at Rheims the question

possessed high temporal importance, for the Archbishop may be termed a spiritual Lord elected by the Community ; a Pontiff Peer ; a Municipal Magistrate ; and a popular Representative, at one and the same time. According to the antient usages of Rheims, the elective franchises were vested in three Orders, that is to say, the Bishops, Prelates, and Clergy of the Archdiocese ;—the “ Milites ” who perhaps replaced the “ Curiales ” of the Roman era ;—and the Citizens at large.—Two candidates presented themselves. Gerbert, designated as successor by his late Patron, the deceased Adalbero ; and Arnoul, then a Canon in the Cathedral, the son of Lothaire by the repudiated Lotharingian Lady. Papal authority had legally removed the disqualification consequent upon Arnoul’s dubious legitimacy. Popular opinion, more efficacious than any judicial absolution, had wholly effaced whatever stain might have been supposed to attach to him.

987–991

988–989

Candidates for the See of Rheims, Gerbert, and Arnoul, Lothaire’s son.

King Hugh was perplexed. Gerbert, under some aspects, appeared favourable to the Capetians, but Hugh seems to have distrusted, nay, dreaded this most serpentine intriguer. Gerbert’s influence was magnified by imagination ; and his attachment to the German Court, notorious. But, to place Arnoul, the son of Lothaire, in the highest station which a subject could hold, might seem to be a dangerous venture. Arnoul had friends at Court ; and, through them, he sued for the great preferment. Professing his devotion to the new Dynasty, he, as he declared, wholly abandoned the cause of his Uncle Charles.—Laon,—he promised, should speedily fall into the Capet’s power. Gerbert’s interest however was very potent : the Prelates and Clergy advocated the pretensions of the late Archbishop’s right-hand man ; very many of the Knights or Curiales also ;—but the Citizens had not, as yet, declared themselves in favour of either party.

Prelates, Clergy, and Knights of the Diocese, support Gerbert.

Great as might be the Sovereign’s influence, the Capet had not fully gained the good-will of the antient Merovingian Arch-metropolitan Capital, nor could he deal with the Electors off-hand, like less powerful Communities. We have seen how closely the Rhemish Citizens stuck to the Parvulus ; how sturdily they adhered to him as the object of their choice.

Subtle caution was Hugh Capet’s inherent qualification, never losing any opportunity, never displaying any haste ; calm and imperturbable, the smoothest of the deep waters. Immediately upon the death of Adalbero he visited Rheims :

987-991

the Citizens swore fealty, and he, granting to the latter a *Congé d'Elire*, retired to Paris.

988-989

Hugh
Capet's
dealings
with the
Citizens.

They therefore had ample opportunity for discussion : and, when they had deliberated, then Hugh returned ; and, either feeling confidence, or seeking to inspire confidence by a demonstration of confidence, he, not consulting either Clergy or Curiales, submitted the whole question to the Citizens. Their answer was guarded ; sincerity and artifice combined. They fenced against their examiner.—If, said they, the words of Canon Arnoul were to be trusted, he, albeit Lothaire's son and the Pretender's nephew, might prove a faithful Pastor, and a loyal subject.—Yet they arrived only at an inconclusive resolution.—Let the King on his part,—they continued, advise with his Ministers, and the Citizens would respectfully weigh and consider such counsel as they should receive.

Equivocal
answer of
the
Citizens.

Hugh directed them to hold a Communal meeting. Again was the subject diligently debated ; again the resolve ambiguous.

“ If Arnoul kept his promises,—then he would be worthy of the Mitre.” Arnoul was called before the King, and interrogated closely.—Would he really and truly be faithful to the Capet ?—Arnoul responded meekly, and gave the promise. But Hugh would not rely upon his own judgment, and he removed his

Hugh con-
sults with
the Nobles.

Court to Saint Remi, beyond the City walls. Hugh then consulted his Nobles, and desired them to give their opinions severally. On the whole, the answers were favourable to Arnoul, and yet, like those of the citizens, they were perplexed and hedged in by imperfect reasonings.—Arnoul must engage to act as a true man, defend Rheims, and repudiate all connexion with the enemy. Hugh assented, but insisted upon a mode of obtaining security for Arnoul's good conduct, by a process in which the technicalities of feudal law are curiously united with the devotional spirit of the age. Arnoul was to become Hugh's liegeman. He must enter into a chirograph-covenant, and the instrument was also to contain a terrific imprecation. The document, which was prepared in duplicate, is presented before us textually, and we can scarcely doubt but that it was drawn by the Royal Feudalist. Clear and pertinent, containing the normal form of homage, but with especial additions, intended to bind the Vassal's conscience.—If Arnoul failed to keep his promise, let his days be cut off, every blessing turn to a curse, and every friend become his foe. Hugh also executed the deed, to the intent that the “ parts ” might be exchanged ;

Arnoul's
special
covenant
of allegi-
ance

just as would be practised in a Solicitor's office at the present day. 987-991

We furthermore possess the "Decree of election," whereby the Bishops and Clergy of the Province, elected Arnoul as Archbishop, the people acclaiming. This wording is worthy of remark, because it conveys the idea, that the multitude concurred only by their cheers, whereas in truth, the Citizens were real, though not sole, electors. But the Bishops doubted whether the parchment covenant, or the obligation of the oath, would suffice to ensure Arnoul's fidelity. With pitiable inconsistency, they imposed a further religious sanction; but, in the form of an ordeal, strictly prohibited by Ecclesiastical authority. A custom prevailed, (not obsolete even now in England,) that a person whose mere declaration on oath was not thought sufficiently credible, (such as the case of a married woman charged with adultery,) should, to use our vulgar or popular expression, "take the Sacrament upon it."—Such a profane abuse, was, and is, strongly condemned by the Church. Yet the Bishops did demand that Arnoul should submit to this test, imprecating that the bread of life might work the condemnation of his soul, should he violate his promise.—The act was exceedingly reprobated throughout France; but the deed was done. 988-989

Decree of election by the Bishops and Clergy.

Arnoul receives the Sacrament of the Altar in confirmation of his engagement.

Arnoul was duly installed; and, not long afterwards, the Pope transmitted to him the Pallium, the confirmation of his Archiepiscopal dignity. But Carlovingian France was a Luegenfeld to the very last.—Whilst Arnoul's lips were pronouncing the Oath; whilst his hand was signing his name; and, above all, whilst receiving the oblation of the Altar, his mind was occupied with schemes for effecting the violation of his vow. Affectionately attached to his Uncle Charles, he deeply lamented the wrong perpetrated against his father's brother. During the whole time, since he started in labouring for the Archbishoprick, he had been organizing his schemes for fulfilling the duties which he considered as imperatively claimed by consanguinity and loyalty, though not to be brought about otherwise than through fraud and perjury.

Arnoul's secret understanding with Charles.

Having settled the plot with Charles, Arnoul convened an assembly of the Diocesan Baronage and Clergy, to be held in the Palatial Castle, the ostensible cause being the consideration of important affairs. Only one coadjutor had Arnoul, whether in concerting the scheme with Charles, or in carrying it out, a dignified Priest, Adalger.

987-991

989-991

Arnoul
surrenders
the Town
of Rheims
by
treachery.

The convention took place upon the appointed day: and, at the appointed hour in the night, Charles had stationed his forces before the Castle gate. Archbishop Arnoul, as was the custom, kept the Castle's big keys beneath his pillow. These keys he transferred to Adalger, who crept down and unlocked the doors, and Charles, heading his troops, galloped in.

Extreme was the consternation. None apparently more terrified than the Archbishop. Upon his suggestion, the Nobles took refuge with him in the Dungeon tower.—The Tower was very defensible, but the Archbishop had taken good care that there should be no means of holding out,—no provisions in store, no arms in the guard-room.—The Governor of the fortress having thus disqualified his garrison from resisting the pressure which he had invoked, was compelled to a voluntary surrender. In order to conceal the collusion, a sham altercation ensued. Charles vituperated Arnoul as a traitor, and Arnoul upbraided Charles as a usurper. But it was not worth while to continue the farce. Arnoul swore fealty to Charles, who triumphantly occupied the City: and a period of about three years ensued, during which the brother of Lothaire, Lord of Rheims and of Soissons and of Laon, and supported by numerous enthusiastic adherents, might be considered as scarcely inferior, if at all inferior, to the Capet.

991—
Hugh
Capet lays
siege to
Laon, but
without
effect.

§ 72. Hugh now deemed himself brought to utter shame. But his courage rose with the provocation. He determined, for the third time, to renew his attempts upon Laon, which had hitherto refused him. But the wooing was not pursued strenuously. He did not make any impression. The antient Carlingian stronghold was a teasing locality to the Capets. Hugh's huge Aries stood meek as a lamb. The troops dared not file up the rock, and thus expose themselves to the heavy bolts showering from the arbalests, and the Capet limited his operations to the desolation and plunder of the surrounding country. This portion of his work, Hugh performed completely; and the Historian sums up by lamenting or exulting in the fact, that there was not a hut left, which could house a bed-ridden old woman.

Trium-
phant
position
of
Charles.

At length Charles marched out, but when the armies faced each other, both halted. Neither dared further. The forces of Charles were out-numbered by the Capetians.—Hugh, perhaps, for the first time, absolutely lost heart, and the elated Charles returned to Laon.

The Capet endeavoured to enlist additional allies, and applied

to Eudes of Chartres. Eudes named his price ;—Dreux, town and castle. But the contest began to languish. Every day, and month, and year, detracted from Hugh's influence. Doubting whether he could succeed by force, he felt his way about, and, under his auspices, a plot was organized for quieting Charles and his pretensions, through an agency of exquisite villany.

Asceline, though at liberty, was practically ejected from his Bishoprick. We know not where he was working, but he put himself in communication with Archbishop Arnoul, professing his earnest desire to accomplish a reconciliation with Charles, and at the same time he offered his mediation between the last Carolingian Prince, and the first Capetian King. Perhaps it was not until the vile conspiracy was matured, that Asceline sought the countenance of Hugh. However, the whole contexture of the transaction leaves little, if any doubt, but that Hugh, from the first commencement, was art and part in the perfidy. All the parties concerned in the conspiracy, had abjured every principle of faith or truth. Negotiations were opened by Charles, through Asceline and Arnoul, with Hugh Capet. Arnoul was received with favour and placed at the Banquet on the King's right hand, whilst Asceline was seated on the Queen's left ; and Hugh promised that Charles should retain antient Laon, provided he would acknowledge the City to be held of the King.

Charles having permitted Asceline's return to Laon, there seemed to be a crazy revulsion of feeling on the Bishop's behalf. The fugitive, the rebel, the stigmatized adulterer, was greeted by Clergy and by Laity, welcomed by Charles, and received into a degree of intimacy scarcely to be distinguished from high favour. Asceline, as ordered by Charles, took the oath of fealty, and the Bishop was created Count of Laon. The oath was sworn upon the shrine, filled with relics of Saints and Martyrs : but a fancy now fell upon Charles, that the breach of this oath might not sufficiently alarm the Bishop's callous conscience, and he, therefore, required that Asceline should submit to some adjuration of even greater stringency. There was no difficulty in the matter :—every form of oath was alike to Asceline,—he would swear to anything which was asked.

It was now the holy season of Lent. On the evening (not the eve) of Passion Sunday, Charles and Asceline supped together, and the Prince, addressing the Bishop solemnly, reminded him that on that same day, he, Asceline, after bestowing his benediction upon the people, had administered the Communion to

987—991

989—991

Decrease
of the
Capetian
influence.

991—

Arch-
bishop
Arnoul and
Bishop
Asceline
offer
them-
selves as
mediators
between
Charles
and the
King.Asceline
returns to
Laon,
where he
is received
with great
favour.

18th April,

989—

The Sacra-
mental
Supper at
Laon.

987-1030

991

Charles. Charles then having filled the golden cup with bread and wine, presented it to Asceline.—Drink, said he, the contents, as a token of fidelity, but if you cannot be assured that you will keep your promise, abstain, lest you should prove another Judas. Willingly, replied Asceline, will I receive the cup. Then, continued Charles, repeat the words, and say,—“I will observe my plighted faith, and if I do not, may I die the death of Judas.”—And Asceline repeated the words accordingly.

Night came on. Charles and Archbishop Arnoul and Asceline, all retired to the one long dormitory. All wore their swords during the day. They unbuckled their weapons and retired to rest. Charles, according to custom, deposited the big keys of the City gates under his pillow. An Usher watched the door. Asceline sent him away on a fool's errand, and secured the swords. His accomplices rushed in. Charles and Arnoul who were sleeping heavily, startled up dismayed, they searched about for their blades ; but vainly.—Asceline, grinning with spite, shouted his vituperations against his victim.—You drove me out, now it is my turn ! You shall be served after a worse guise ! I became my own master. You shall fall into servitude !—Charles infuriated, threw himself upon Asceline, but the soldiers grappled him, flung him on his bed, kept him down by main force, and carried him off into the dungeon. The women shrieked, the children screamed, the noise of the turmoil alarmed the vicinity, and the disturbance spread throughout the City. Adela and the children were detained in prison with the unfortunate father : and the intelligence of the happy success being dispatched to King Hugh at Senlis, he entered Laon, and, having demanded the oath of fealty from the Citizens, returned to Senlis with his prisoners.

991—
Charles
entrapped
by Asce-
line's
treachery.

Charles,
his wife
and
children
delivered
over to the
King.

King Hugh
advises
with his
Nobles as
to the dis-
posal of
Charles.

He assembled his Council. In the opinions given by the Nobles, we trace the abiding fear of falling into danger of treason. Many advised, that the children being detained as hostages, Charles should become the King's liegeman—swear that he never would attempt the kingdom,—and, by a solemn instrument, exclude his descendants from the succession. This done, they suggested that Charles should be liberated. But others, grounding their advice upon the same premises, to wit, the illustrious origin of Charles, opined that he should not be immediately released, but kept in captivity until it appeared whether his partisans were sufficiently numerous, sufficiently important, and sufficiently united, to deserve to be dreaded

really as adversaries of the King. Should they prove few and in small number, then let the prisoner be abandoned by the Nation. But, if numerous and powerful, then it would be expedient to yield to circumstances and set him free.

987-1030

991-1004

Charles, therefore, and his wife Adela, and his sons, and his daughters, (the latter were infants,) became prisoners at Orleans. Demonstrations were made beyond the Loire in favour of Charles, and testifying against the Capet's usurpation; but they evaporated in words: and Charles,—his faithful Adela being his companion,—breathed his last as a captive: but, some say, that having renounced all rights to the Crown, he was removed from Orleans to die at Maestricht.

Charles
imprison-
ed.994—
Death of
Charles.

The twins, Charles and Louis, were received and educated by Guillaume Fier-à-bras Count of Poitiers¹, who, though the brother-in-law of King Hugh, had refused to acknowledge him. Guillaume protested against the Capetian Dynasty, by conferring the title of Kings of Aquitaine on these two young Princes: they probably died very young, for we hear nothing more concerning them. But Charles's children prospered. Otho, his eldest son by Bona, was re-instated in the Imperial Duchy of Lorraine, or rather Lorraine and Brabant. Charles had made Brussels his capital, and Otho followed his father's example. He died without male issue. The Duchy was bestowed upon Godfrey the First, Count of the Ardennes and Verdun; but the ample allodial property was divided between the sisters, Gerberga and Ermengarda, the daughters of Bona. They married as befitted their station. Gerberga espoused Lambert, Count of Hainault, who, having received his dignity from Charles, became the stem of a new Dynasty; and she received for her portion Brussels, and the very field of Waterloo. Ermengarda was espoused to Albert of Namur. Both were the ancestresses of subsequent branches of the Capetian Line; and, such was the honour still rendered to the name of Charlemagne, that this very distant and scarcely noticeable connexion, is spoken of with pride by the courtly Capetian Chroniclers.

Establish-
ment of the
children of
Charles.1004—
Otho, Duke
of Lor-
raine and
Brabant,
his death.

§ 73. We must now bid farewell to the three sad Prelates, who stand forth so prominently in the latter portion of this history. There was a moment when it seemed as if the share which Archbishop Arnoul had taken in the surrender of Rheims, might have escaped detection; but his clever and villainous competitor, Gerbert, turning informer, became the most energetic supporter of the Capetian kings.

987-1030

991-995

991—
Council of
Saint
Baseul.

Hugh appealed to Rome, then distracted by a schism between the Emperor Otho's Pope, and the Nobility's Pope, the latter patronized and supported by the great leader of the aristocracy, Crescentius¹. Hugh Capet therefore resorted to a domestic tribunal. A Provincial Council was held in the Abbey of Saint Baseul, not far from Rheims, and Gerbert appears in the triple character of Informer,—Manager of the Impeachment,—and Secretary or Scribe of the Tribunal. It was he who noted and compiled the voluminous and detailed Acts of the Council. Although it cannot be affirmed that he reported them unfaithfully, yet his taking this position against a rival was singularly indecent.

The "Libel" (this proceeding, in the ecclesiastical Courts, answers to a Bill in Chancery, or the like,) was grounded upon the Canons of the Council of Toledo, promulgated for the punishment of Prelates who had violated their allegiance to their Sovereign.

Arnoul's guilt was clearly proved by witnesses. Adalger's equally so, despite of his hard swearing.—Although the sinners—whether accusers or accused, have passed away,—yet it is still very painful to read of their baseness and degradation.—The Primate Arnoul confessed his guilt in private before the Bishops: but the public surrender of his dignity was extorted from him. The two Kings, Hugh and Robert, entered the Council. Arnoul prostrated himself on the ground, "*ad modum crucis*," the attitude of the greatest humility, earnestly imploring that life and limb might be spared. The latter supplication, not made as a matter of form, for in the course of the proceedings his accusers threatened to pluck out his eyes.

Arnoul
resigns
and his
election
annulled.991-995
Gerbert
Arch-
bishop of
Rheims.

To obviate all doubts concerning Arnoul's resignation, his title was formally annulled. It was declared in the Act, that though Arnoul had been elected by acclamation, yet "*vox populi*" was not always "*vox Dei*," and Gerbert was chosen by the Kings, Hugh and Robert, and the better-most part of the Clergy and Citizens. The various accounts of these scandalous proceedings are confused and contradictory. But, at every turn, we are brought in face of further reasons for compelling us to doubt Gerbert's truth and honesty.

Gerbert had now scrambled up the first step, noticed in his uncouth self-laudatory verse; but he was soon toppled down, though to be forthwith pitched upon the second. His promotion was challenged. Complicated proceedings ensued. Pope

John the Fifteenth¹ revoked Arnoul's deposition as well as Gerbert's election. Gerbert was in full activity, moving heaven and earth to maintain his position. The Pope threatened an interdict. Gerbert, self-convicted, resigned Rheims, and Otho forthwith appointed him to Ravenna.

On the death of Pope Gregory the Fifth², Otho, exercising his paramount authority, nominated Gerbert to the Popedom, and directed him to assume the name of Silvester the Second³, evidently that he, Otho, might figure as another Constantine. The Imperial diploma of creation is motived. Otho appoints him, *propter summam philosophiam*⁴, a singularly inadequate qualification (if standing solely and taken in the human sense) for the universal Pontificate, and thus, the third and highest step was attained. Gerbert's brief Popedom was chiefly employed in political intrigues: and, after filling the Papal See four years, one month, and ten days, the Demon's bruited prognostication was fulfilled.

Asceline brazened through all the ignominy attached to his name. His versatile talent, wealth, and unshaken self-confidence, effaced all his stains in the eyes of the world. Political pamphlets, so to speak, had long since become popular in France, as we have instanced in the earlier time of Charles-le-Chauve. The fashion became national. One of Asceline's squibs is extant, a poem in Latin Hexameters, addressed to King Robert, in which he scourges his enemies, and, possibly, his friends. Gerbert is designated as Neptanabus; whilst an Opponent retorts in a counter-satire, by bestowing upon Asceline the appropriate name of Achitophel. But those may laugh who win. Asceline, despite of all his misdeeds and batterings, held his See, during three and fifty years, and then died in great honour;—his epitaph testifying in due form to his sanctity, munificence and liberality.

§ 74. Ere closing this most varied Epos, we must review the fate of Henry the Fowler's Dynasty. The youngest Otho's authority having been restored, Theophania governed as her Son's coadjutrix, displaying great worth, talent, and resolution: with all her faults, true to her trusts, undefiled before the world despite of her mother's example, and her own charms. But she died when Otho was about fourteen years of age, in the place where she had given birth to him,—Nimeguen.

Adelaide, soon after, followed her step-daughter to the grave, leaving the third Otho without any adviser or comforter, who could support him in his troubles, or encourage him in his high

987—1030
991—1030

Gerbert resigns Rheims, and is appointed by Otho to Ravenna.

999—1003
Otho appoints Gerbert Pope, and directs him to assume the name of Silvester II.

1003—
Gerbert's death.

993—1030
Continuation and conclusion of Asceline's career.

1030—
Death of Asceline.

Deaths of Theophania and of Adelaide.

987-1002 } anticipations. Otho combined the most thorough and sincere
 991-1002 } conviction of the vanity of human wishes, with the highest
 Otho's } worldly aspirations. He was contemplating the full restoration
 aspira- } of the Roman Empire, not to gratify his own ambition, but
 tions and } for the Divine honour and glory. Hard were his conflicts at
 trouble. } Rome, where the Patrician Crescentius, for a brief occasion,
 usurped the Imperial purple. The rebel perished on the scaffold ;
 and Otho, dwelling in the Palatine, persevered with encreasing
 energy and constancy. Assuming the title of Augustus Cæsar, his
 graven portraiture appears on his seal, encircled with the laurel
 Crown, whilst the inscription on the reverse, "*Roma renovata*,"
 fully spake the sentiments by which he was inspired.

He opens
the tomb of
Charle-
magne.

His bodily powers were, however, yielding to the influence of the climate in which he delighted : the air of Rome being most deleterious to his health. His strength sunk, and he revisited Aix-la-Chapelle. A strange thought occupied his mind. He would see with his own eyes his great Predecessor. The pavement was broken up, he descended into the sepulchral chamber. As the vault was opening, a strong and suffocating aromatic odour arose. Otho entered, and entering, beheld the dead Emperor sitting upright on his throne, and clad in his Imperial robes.

1002—
Otho dies
at Rome,
extinction
of the
Saxon
Line.

As a relic, Otho reverentially removed a portion of the garment. Certainly no profanation was intended. Yet the act was much censured. He was warned in a dream, as men reported, that his days should be soon cut off. He returned to Rome and died. It was reported that he had been poisoned by Stephanina, the widow of Crescentius ; but this supposition appears to have been unfounded. There were adequate natural causes to account for his death, without invoking crime. One son he had, an only child, but that son was dead.—Henry, Saint Henry¹ as he is termed, the grandson of Henry the Porphyrogenitus, succeeded his Uncle ; but he also died issueless. The noble Saxon line became extinct, and Conrad the Salic² ascended the throne.

996—
King Hugh
dies of the
Small-pox.

§ 75. There are two more graves which we must visit.—The remainder of King Hugh's tranquil reign is enveloped in obscurity : and he died of the variolous contagion, so destructive at this era,—his body entirely covered with pustules. He was attended, like his predecessors, by Jewish physicians—and

Richerius, (who had taken up the study of medicine) therefore says, as usual, that they poisoned him.

987-1002

987-996

With the Capetian Revolution, in which he had been the most efficient mover, Richard-sans-Peur's external political life may be said to have ended. Richard had fought his fight. The remaining period of his long reign discloses few facts except the tranquil incidents of personal and domestic history. Ethelred perhaps troubled Normandy, but I must reserve the discussion of this passage till the next reign, there being some uncertainty as to its era. One public event, however, is recorded, in which Richard presents himself as a peace-maker. Albert, Count of Vermandois, became very obnoxious to the Capetians by reason of the support he had given to Charles the Pretender. Hugh Capet marched against him, determined upon revenge, and Albert, unable to resist the royal power, implored the aid of the Norman Richard.

Summary
of the
conclu-
sion of
Richard-
sans-
Peur's
reign.

Richard
mediates
between
King Hugh
and Albert
of Verman-
dois.

The Ambassador, whom he despatched, was the Herodotus of Normandy, Dudo, Dean of Saint Quentin. Duke Richard received the Clerk respectfully and kindly. Accepting the mediatorial office, the Duke, repairing to Hugh Capet, executed the business in person. Richard's supplication stayed the impending warfare; Vermandois was spared, and Dudo, having won Richard's favour and his family's, was received in the Court of Rouen. Dudo was a diligent enquirer: he had a fluent gift of versification, and was absolutely overwhelmed with scholastic learning. He, upon the solicitation of Richard-sans-Peur, and of Richard's son and successor, Richard-le-Bon, collected the Danish traditions, from the first incursions under Hastings, as introductory to the history of Rollo and Rollo's progeny. Had Dudo not preserved these recollections, the whole personal history of the three first Norman Dukes would have been completely lost¹.

Dudo of
Saint
Quentin—
his *Acta
Normanno-
rum*.

Such was the origin of the *Acta Normannorum*, our primary authentic source of information concerning Carolingian Normandy. Dudo dedicated the production, as we have already noticed, to Asceline of Laon, soliciting his corrections; but he, nevertheless, composed the narrative under the special inspection of Raoul, Count of Ivri, Richard's half-brother. The work exhibits so much originality, that we may be certain we possess it unaltered; but this does not exclude the supposition, that some portions may have been expunged by the corrector.

987-1002

991-996

Richard's
children.996-
Richard-
sans-
Peur dies
of apo-
plexy.

Emma, as we have before noticed, died childless. But Richard nevertheless had a very numerous progeny. Eight (including our English Queen Emma and Richard, his first-born) were the issue of Guenora, a concubine of Danish blood whom, after a lengthened cohabitation, he espoused: and others by various sweethearts; and from these children—of whom I hope to render a full account—and the nieces and nephews of Guenora, descended the most illustrious amongst the Norman nobility. Richard's character, as I shall have to tell, softened and improved with age. Richard and King Hugh died in the same year, and he was buried after a strange fashion under the roof, and yet not under the roof, of Fécamp Abbey. The scanty French authorities, avoid or evade any notice of Richard or of Normandy as much as possible. The Duchy of Normandy arose under the Capetian domination, and though bitter political jealousies prevailed, yet the dispathy of race was forgotten. But no community of language or religion, no sentiment of friendship or feeling could conceal from the Carlovingian eye, the stain of the black Danish blood. Living or dead, the Dane stunk in their nostrils. And when Richerius was employing himself on the last unfinished page of his imperfect autograph volume, the last words he utters are the demonstrations of invincible antipathy,—*Richardus Piratarum Dux, apoplexia minore periit*¹.

*

AUTHORITIES.

*

AUTHORITIES¹.

FRODOARDUS REMENSIS² and Richerius³ (see Vol. I, pp. 420, 421) furnish the main staple of French history, during the period which this volume comprehends. An account of the remarkable recovery of the last-mentioned work has already been given (Vol. I, p. 421), and he and his ingenious father, from whom he receives his traditions, have been repeatedly introduced in the text of the preceding pages. Both these Annalists were either actors in the transactions to which they bear record, or witnesses thereof: consequently, they are historical personages, and as such the reader has already made full acquaintance with them. Frodoardus departs at the commencement of a very eventful era, the year 966, when Lothaire espoused the Italian Emma. But Richerius, or Richer, the survivor, continues with us to the end—you hear his dying words.—My concluding chapter closes with the line extracted from the last passage Richerius penned.

Richerius alone discloses the complication of fraud, and treachery, and misfortune, which established the third dynasty upon the throne. He completely dispels the theory rendered so popular by Thierry's⁴ talent, and countenanced by another imaginative investigator. I allude to the hypothesis representing the Capetian Revolution as resulting from a resuscitation of the Celtic races, against the descendants of their Teutonic Conquerors, instigated by the antagonism between German and Gaul, which has now become the orthodox dogma—and (unless a total change has recently ensued) is preached as such in all the Manuals and Epitomes which form the opinions of the rising generation.

From these two texts, that is to say, from Frodoardus and Richerius, I have mainly told the story throughout the volume. Their chronology is substantially adopted, save and except as to Norman affairs, concerning which their information is grudging, scanty, and inaccurate. Nor can it be doubted, but that very much matter concerning Normandy was slurred over by them, as opposed to French national feeling. Any reader desiring to test my narrative, may compare, page by page, my text with these Annalists as he proceeds. Nevertheless, it must be recollected that the writers do not impose upon themselves the necessity of arranging the transactions governed by each Calendar date, in strict sequence of time under that date. Moreover, years occasionally overlap each other, and we encounter many anachronisms, especially with respect to foreign transactions. Bouquet's chronological tables will give a ready reference to any passage quoted from the French historians by me. These same tables afford the only compensation for the excellent Benedictine's elaborately defective plan, upon which subject I have enlarged elsewhere (*Ed. Rev.* April 1841)⁵.

Amongst the minor, though important, sources of French history, as it advances, we must include Aimar or Adhémar de Chabannes⁶. He was born at the commencement of the Capetian era (in the year 988), and belonged to a very distinguished family. His father, Count Raimond, was illustrious amongst the nobles of his era—and not less so his maternal uncle, after whom he was named. His *Historia Francorum* contains some curious reminiscences of the last Carolingian times: and he is the only writer who records the diffidations of Charles-le-Simple, by the casting of the hawlm⁷; but it is principally for Aquitaine that Adhemar, whose work was never printed in entirety until included by Pertz in his collection, is very valuable.

Another subordinate writer who, though principally concerned for Germany, gives us much matter for the history of France, is Baldericus Cameracensis¹, identified by his first Editor with Balderic, Bishop of Tournay, who flourished in the concluding era of the Carolingian monarchy. We learn much from his *Chronicon Cameracense et Atrebatense*, concerning the warfare in Lorraine, between Lothaire and Otho II., as also concerning the fortunes of Charles in that country. Balderic is not by any means favourable to the Pretender.

Antient Norman history², that is to say, from the youth of Rollo to the death of Richard-sans-Peur, rests entirely upon Dudo of Saint Quentin's³ *Acta Normannorum*. You may abandon the history of Normandy if you choose, but if you attempt the task, you must accept Dudo, or let the work alone. I have completely incorporated Dudo with the French and German authorities:—they absent, we should not have any dates;—Dudo deserted, we are destitute of facts. Dudo's personal history becomes an important incident in the general history, and as such I have treated it in the body of my text. The work is supposed by his first editor to have been completed between 1015 and 1026. The extent of the "corrections" made by Asceline cannot be ascertained, but anyhow, the *Gesta* passed through at least two recensions, there being a manuscript in the Cottonian collection, which does not contain the poetry constituting so conspicuous a feature in the published text. Duchesne's edition (Rouen, 1619) is the only one, and very rare; and the liberality of the French government would be well employed, were the Ministre de l'Instruction publique (who, we believe, directs the "Monumens Inédits") to reprint the same.

From Dudo originated the *Historia Normannorum*, composed by Guillelmus Calculus, commonly quoted as Guillaume de Jumièges⁴. He dedicates his work to the Conqueror, a fact which tells the era in which he flourished, and the influences under which he composed.

A Monk of Jumièges, and unquestionably profiting from the traditions of the House, Guillaume grounded his work upon Dudo. His text of the *Acta Normannorum* was probably somewhat more ample than that published by Duchesne: and in the same manner that Dudo is in fact our only authority for the biography or history of the first three Dukes, to wit, Rollo, Guillaume Longue-épée, and Richard-sans-Peur, so is Guillaume de Jumièges our only, or almost our only guide for the history of the three next, Richard-le-Bon; Richard the Third, distinguished by not having any epithet; and Robert-le-Magnifique, or le-Diable, the Father of William the Mamzer, or the Conqueror.

The first four books of Guillaume de Jumièges' work, which contain the history of the first three Norman Dukes, are mere abridgments from Dudo's text.

Guillaume de Jumièges speaks with great respect of Dudo as his predecessor; and singularly enough, he completes his fourth book by a Colophon which he has transcribed literally from Dudo's Colophon, at the termination of his work, though such Dudonian Colophon is not found in Duchesne's text, the same being to the following effect,—"*Hucusque digesta, prout a Rodulpho Comite 'hujus Ducis fratre magno et honesto viro, narrata sunt collegi, quæ scholastico 'dictamine scripta, relinquo posteris.*"⁵

This same brief compendium has practically superseded the *Acta Normannorum* of Dudo, amongst all modern historians without exception. None of them meet Dudo except to scold at him. And the judgments passed upon both these victims of prudish criticism, may best be answered in Guizot's words as prefixed to the version of Guillaume de Jumièges published under his auspices:—

"Les érudits ont amèrement reproché à Guillaume, moine de l'abbaye de Jumièges, d'avoir reproduit dans les premiers livres de son 'Histoire des 'Normands,' la plupart des fables dont son prédécesseur Dudo, doyen de 'Saint-Quentin, avait déjà rempli la sienne. Si Guillaume n'eut ainsi fini, 'cette portion de son ouvrage n'existerait pas, car il n'aurait rien eu à y mettre; 'il a recueilli les traditions de son temps sur l'origine, les exploits, les aventures 'des anciens Normands et de leurs chefs; aucun peuple n'en sait davantage, 'et n'a des historiens plus exact sur le premier âge de sa vie. A voir la colère 'de dom Rivet et de ses doctes confrères, il semblerait que Dudo et Guillaume 'aient eu le choix de nous raconter des miracles ou des faits, une série de victoires

“romanesques ou une suite d'événemens réguliers, et que leur préférence pour la fable soit une insulte à notre raison, comme si elle était obligée d'y croire. Il y a à quereller de la sorte les vieux chroniqueurs une ridicule pédanterie; ils ont fait ce qu'ils pouvaient faire; ils nous ont transmis ce qu'on disait, ce qu'on croyait autour d'eux: vaudrait-il mieux qu'ils n'eussent point écrit, qu'aucun souvenir des temps fabuleux ou héroïques de la vie des nations ne fût parvenu jusqu'à nous, et que l'histoire n'eût commencé qu'au moment où la société aurait possédé des érudits capables de la soumettre à leur critique pour en assurer l'exactitude? A mon avis, il y a souvent plus de vérités historiques à recueillir dans ces récits où se déploie l'imagination populaire que dans beaucoup de savantes dissertations.”¹

Out of these two prose Chroniclers, Dudo and Guillaume de Jumièges, arose two poetical, or at least, rhythmical chronicles, which are as important as their originals; both nearly coevals, and both encouraged by the first Plantagenet's munificence. The earliest of these compositions bears the following title:—

“Ci commence l'estoire e la genealogie,
Des Dux qui unt este par ordre en Normandie.”²

Benoit³, the writer, thus names himself at the conclusion of the “Fitte” containing the History of Guillaume Longue-Epée, and thus he is denominated by his imitator and successor, Robert Wace⁴. The worthy Abbé de la Rue first disinterred this very valuable composition. The work exists only in a single manuscript till then slumbering in the British Museum, which, after he had described it, was again left to enjoy repose until roused by the French government, 1836. The Abbé de la Rue has identified Benoit with his namesake, the author of the *Roman de Troye*, one of the best poems amongst the productions of the Trouveurs.

But this is a mere conjecture. We know nothing of Benoit, except what he himself discloses. He experienced the liberal patronage of Henry the Second, as we learn from his own words. So far as Dudo extends, Benoit's poem is with few exceptions based upon the *Acta Normannorum*; though there are many passages showing that the text upon which he worked was somewhat more extensive than that which has been rendered accessible by Duchesne's industry. Benoit abounds with vivid descriptive passages. Local knowledge and local traditions also assisted him. But Benoit rarely departs from the substantial narrative of his original, and for all historical purposes, that original and the version should be treated as one; and this I have done, amalgamating the texts.

Robert Wace, or Wacce, or Waice, or Waze, or Gasse, or Guace,—I shall spare the other variations of his name,—a cotemporary, a disciple, a translator, a successor, and to some degree a rival of Benoit, but also in many respects an original writer, runs nearly parallel with his teacher.

He lived under three Henrys, Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England. Henry Beauclerc, the junior Henry⁵, and Henry Plantagenet, his peculiar patron. All we know of him is derived from his own report. He was a Royal “Clerc lisant,” an expression which has led to the conjecture that he was a Clerk, or as we now should say, a Master in Chancery. He devoted his talents and researches almost exclusively to poetical history; and the *Brut*, a free paraphrase of Geoffrey of Monmouth, constitutes the introduction to his metrical chronicle of Normandy and Anglo-Norman England.

This poem consists of two books. The first book contains the history of the Northmen anterior to Rollo, very brief, and written in the eight syllable measure. The second book commences with the peculiar history of Rollo,—“Ci commenche à parler de Rou,”⁶ and this epigraph is the title given by the author. He adopts Alexandrine assonant verses in this portion. This metre extends till the reign of Richard-sans-Peur, when the narrative breaks off with the transactions at the Fosse Givolde. This portion is mainly taken from Dudo. But here again we find very many facts collected either from a text somewhat differing from Dudo's printed text, or from local or other traditions. Such is the case with respect to the battle of the Fords, and Thibaut's invasion of Normandy. Subsequently, Wace depends mainly upon Guillaume de Jumièges, but also upon

his own personal or traditionary knowledge. It is sufficient to observe that his narrative gains exceedingly in value, as it approaches to the conclusion, the whole being quoted as the *Roman du Rou*.

So much with respect to the primary sources of French and Norman history. It is now needful to indicate the aids and collections which may lighten the student's labour. As in my first volume, p. 411, I must make a general reference to the Benedictine and other historians of the French Provinces¹. For the present section of this work, those by Lobineau, and Morice, and Talandre, are peculiarly valuable, inasmuch as they contain the Breton Chronicles, properly so called, *in extenso*. Whenever Armorica is mentioned in my text, the reader will find in these works the warranty of my narrative. Daru (*Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1826) may be convenient for those who wish to gain a cursory knowledge of Breton affairs.

With respect to the antient geography of Normandy, of which a knowledge is most essential, in consequence of the prominence of the numerous individuals who are localized by their possessions, I have found the best general aid in the late Mr. Stapleton's *Introductions to the Norman Exchequer Rolls*. These invaluable records, preserved amongst our own Archives, were published by the Society of Antiquaries (London, 1840—1842), and republished by the "Société des Antiquaires de Normandie." Mr. Stapleton's map of antient Normandy is peculiarly useful—and the historical topography of the Pay de Caux and the Vexin—the Pagi of Normandy to the North and East of the Seine, is laboriously and clearly elucidated in an anonymous work of the last century, *Description Géographique et Historique de la Haute Normandie* (Paris, 1740).

Many special Histories concerning Normandy are very serviceable. A successor of Dudo, though separated from that dignitary by many centuries, has supplied an ample Chronicle of the Vermandois. I allude to M. Louis Paul Colliette, Dean of St. Quentin, who in his three quarto volumes, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Civile, et Militaire de la Province du Vermandois*, (Cambray, 1771), has employed not merely the written authorities, but local traditions, such *e.g.* as the account of Mont-Herbert.

For the County of Ponthieu we have much assistance in the work of M. Louandre (*Histoire d'Abbeville et du Comté de Ponthieu*, Paris, 1844). Amongst other local historians, we have good histories of *Evreux*, City, County, and Diocese, by Le Brasseur, (Paris, 1722), and of *Laon*, by Dom Nicolas le Long, (Charente, 1783). But amongst all local historians, the Abbé de la Rue stands pre-eminent—*Essai Historique sur la ville de Caen*, 1820. Besides much minute information concerning that most interesting city, we obtain from him many data relating to the alterations which the shores of Normandy have sustained.

The Forests of Normandy, equally important in connection with the constitutional History of Normandy as with her topography, are minutely described in the *Etudes sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole et de l'Etat de l'Agriculture en Normandie au Moyen Age*, by M. Delisle (Evreux, 1821), a work exhibiting much industry.

Amongst the numerous special biographies of individuals eminent in France and Normandy, two, not generally known, may be noticed, as bearing upon this work; and both relating to a personage whose merits and failings require that which they never can now receive, a satisfactory elucidation,—Gerbert of Aurillac². The character of Gerbert, in all its aspects, whether as a political adventurer, or as a man of science, or Pontiff, is very ably elucidated by Dr. C. F. Hoek—*Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II. und sein Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1837). Very much information concerning Gerbert is given in this work, but as usual the biographer ascribes over-much merit to his hero. Gerbert's letters, translated into French, with a very ample commentary, have been published in his own country by a compatriotic enthusiast, Louis Varse (Riom, 1847). Holding the station which Gerbert does in the history of mediæval science, it is to be regretted that so little attention has been paid in this country to his unquestionable talent.

I have elsewhere (Vol. i, p. 402) noticed the many excellent works which the French Archæologists have contributed for the elucidation of that branch of knowledge furnishing the most important aid to the historian, or rather being

history itself in a most profitable form—Genealogies.—To those before quoted (Vol. I, p. 402) I must add the valuable *History and Records of the House of Gurney*, which Mr. Daniel Gurney has compiled from original documents, mostly printed by him as vouchers for his text.

On a former occasion I omitted to call attention to the great assistance which every historical enquirer will receive from the *Gallia Sacra*¹, one of the many works, which, so far as unwearied diligence, judgment, and accuracy are concerned, put us to shame. Here the historical student or enquirer will find every particular which he may require for the succession of the Prelates, and Heads of Houses of Religion throughout the ecclesiastical provinces of France, and put together in the most usable form.

For the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, we have, moreover, the excellent history of Marlot (Lisle, 1666). This work contains many original documents, which I have employed.

The Benedictine Houses of Normandy are copiously illustrated by Mabillon (*Annales Benedictini*). Whilst Mabillon's attention is never diverted from the main object of his work, this most diligent and conscientious writer furnishes numerous historical and biographical notices illustrating civil history. I am not aware that any particulars are known concerning Otto or Otho, Lothaire's son, except those given by Mabillon (Tome IV, p. 33), who adds an engraving of the miniature in Queen Emma's psalter.

For Normandy we have in addition to *Gallia Sacra*, the *Neustria Pia* (Rouen, 1663), in which will be found all the details which are necessarily excluded from a work concerning the whole kingdom; and also the *Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciæ* (Rouen, 1717), a work which gives us the outline of Norman ecclesiastical history.

Monumental Archæology, as such, is beyond the legitimate sphere of history, but it is always useful to refresh the imagination by visible objects. The student would do well to turn over Cotman's² *Views in Normandy*, which, together with Mr. Dawson Turner's *Letters from Normandy*, 1820, include engravings of large numbers of antient buildings demolished within the last thirty years. Nearly two-thirds of the structures engraved in these works have been demolished. Amongst others, the Hall at Lillebonne, where the Conqueror assembled his barons previous to the embarkation at Saint Valery.

For the history of Flanders, the principal source which I have employed is the *Chronicle of Saint Bertin*, compiled by Johannes Iperius, the Abbot of the Monastery. It is professedly the chronicle of the House, but inasmuch as the Abbey was held in commendam by Arnoul and other Counts, the work becomes a chronicle of Flanders. It is Iperius who gives that remarkable statement of the death of Count Baldwin from the small-pox, calling the disease by its modern name. In the next place I have used Lesbroussart's edition of *D'Oudegherst's Annales de Flandre* (Ghent, 1779) as to language. It is a pleasant specimen of the vieux Gaulois, and his numerous chronological mistakes are corrected by his editor; and having requested a very competent authority to point out to me the best standard work on Flemish history, he recommended this to me. Oudegherst carries his history down to Philippe-le-Bon³. Furthermore, I have employed Gheldolf's translation of *Warnkœnig's Histoire de la Flandre* (Brussels, 1836), in which the original is enlarged and improved. Curious and interesting also is the anonymous *Chronyke van Vlaendraeln*, printed at Bruges without a date, but printed, as may be collected from the preface, about the beginning of the last⁴ century. It is an illustrated work, and the illustrations are amusing, if not authentic.

For German history⁵, I have as before, profited by availing myself of Luden's guidance: but in this volume I have been aided to a far greater extent, by working much in the wake of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs*, now in course of publication, under the direction of Ranke⁶. The plan of the work is singular; it is composed under Ranke's direction, by his pupils or disciples; each writing independently. The volumes or parts of volumes which I have consulted, are respectively composed by Köpke, (936, 951), Dönniges, (951, 973), Giesebrecht, (973, 983), and Wilmans, (983, 1002). They are accompanied by various dissertations, and give an accurate and specific reference to the sources—mostly

to the older editions which preceded the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* of Pertz; also to some not included in that valuable collection, e.g., the *Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium* of Leibnitz¹.

The German Chroniclers concern themselves to no inconsiderable extent with the affairs of France and of Normandy, and much more so with Italy.—At their head stands Widukind², or Wittikind, of Corbey, who affords us an ample and authentic history of the Saxon line, from its foundation to the death of Otho I. He is a writer of the highest importance. Honest, able, spirited—Wittikind's account of the battle of the Lech, terminating with the salutation of Otho as "Imperator" after the victory, may be quoted as a magnificent poetical picture.

Thietmar³, or Dietmar, of Merseburg, whose work embraces the same period, abounds with anecdotes which we do not find elsewhere, at least, not so fully—such, for example, as concern Liutgarda's persecutions, and the notice of her silver spindle.

From Liutprand⁴, whose name has been rendered familiar by Gibbon's notice of him, we have a very valuable history of the Othonian period, in which his Embassy holds so conspicuous a station; but, perhaps, the historical pride of the period consists of the compositions which I have termed the Othonian memoirs.

To a Clerk of the Palace, probably a Clerk of the Chancery, we owe the very interesting *Vita Mathildæ Reginæ*, written at the request of the canonized emperor, Henry the Second, Matilda's great grandson, and with whom the Saxon line closed. The line began with a Henry and ended with a Henry. Henry the Second was the son of Henry the Quarreller, the son of Henry the Porphyrogenitus, the son of Henry the Fowler, or Henry the First. The anonymous author is an able writer, displaying a thorough acquaintance with the best models, and a pleasant narrator. It is he who has presented us with that agreeable family picture,—the account of the conversation between Matilda and Adelaide (when the latter tried to make up the match between her little Emma and some one of the young princes, who were playing about the room). One of the boys was Henry the Quarreller, who clambered up and begged a kiss of his grandmother; and this anecdote affords a clue to the manner in which the family traditions were communicated to the writer, as well as a general voucher for the accuracy of the narration.

The *Gesta Othonis Imperatoris* are commemorated in the elegant verses of Roswitha⁵, whose imitations of Terence, however creditable to her talents, are as discreditable to her sex and her calling. The work seems to have proceeded slowly. Prefixed is an epistolary dedication to Gerberga. It exhibits all the authorial courtesy of modern times. This is followed by a dedication in verse to the great Otho, and a third dedication to the second Otho. Otho's deeds in Italy are carefully recorded, but there is a passing touch of compassion for Liudolph.

Odilo, the canonized Abbot of Clugni, has given us the *Epitaphium Adelheidæ Imperatricis*⁶, a quaint though not unprecedented application of the term, epitaph. It follows the Epitaphium (in the popular sense) of Otho the Great. The writer notices, with some bitterness, the inimical influence exercised by Theophania.

The last of these biographies possesses the same character of authenticity as the others. It is the *Vita Sancti Brunonis Archiepiscopi*⁷, composed by a Clerk of Cologne, Ruotger, Bruno's peculiar friend. He was charged by Folkmar, Bruno's successor in the see, with the task of commemorating their common friend. The work is highly important, whether for Bruno's political history, or his personal character.

The principal Magyar chronicles are collected by Schwarzdtner, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Veteres ac Genuini* (Vienna, 1746). But the only one whom I have had occasion to consult is the very singular history ascribed to the Notary or Chancellor of King Bela. He gives us all the traditions about the Hetumogors.

With respect to the subject of German chivalry and German heraldry, into which I have digressed, the account given of the *Turnier-Buch* is extracted from Panzer (*Annalen der älteren Deutschen Litteratur*, 1788), a most useful and

consultable work, as far as it extends, but left imperfect by the author. Græsse (Vol. III, p. I, p. 153,) has furnished a very full and complete list of the works in which the *Turnier-Buch* is discussed.

The statutes ascribed to Henry the Fowler are printed by Goldastus in his *Constitutiones Imperiales*, (Vol. I, p. 211). That these statutes are unauthentic, in the strict sense of the term, there can be no doubt. At the same time there can be as little doubt but that the published constitutions overlay a reality, like the restoration of an antient church by a pupil of Batty Langley.

The influence of the German ethos in England, during the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, is clearly discernible. Possibly Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans¹, may have first introduced the feeling. It appears from the handwriting of some of this nominal Sovereign's charters, that he employed German clerks in his *Kanzlei*. The architecture of the choir of his church at Oppenheim, bears a strong affinity to the nave of York. And in York alone, of all the English churches now existing, have we examples of the double window tracery so often found in Germany.

It appears from the books and accounts of the royal wardrobe, amongst our Exchequer records, that Edward the Third had many Germans amongst his musicians; and German mottoes were embroidered on his robes.—It is only a Cambro-Briton who can deny that *Ich Dien* is German. The Black Prince employed his motto, *Hoch Muth*, as a signature to his letters instead of his name, and both the German mottoes are upon his sepulchre.

Moreover, amongst the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, is a work upon Geomancy, which belonged to the third Edward's unfortunate successor, exhibiting the playful interlacement which converts the motto of the Prince of Wales into a token of conjugal love.—The whole subject of German heraldry is full of interest, and as yet has not received sufficient examination. The heraldry of the Teutonised Slavonian tribes is peculiarly singular. The very strange and queer Italian blazonry is for the most part German, and derived from Imperial concessions, in the same manner as most, if not all, the titles of the higher nobility. Count Litta's *Famiglie nobili d' Italia*, a work which has but one defect—its magnificence—which puts it quite out of the reach of ordinary purchasers, shews this fact clearly.

With respect to the absence of any States-general in Normandy, during any period when Normandy was under her Norman or Anglo-Norman Dukes, we possess the strongest negative evidence. How the Channel Islands obtained their semi-Anglo-Saxon organisation is a perplexing problem. The examples given by Houard—*Dictionnaire de la Coutume de Normandie*—(Tome I, p. 170), as proving the existence of the States under the Dukes, are not sufficient. Such assemblies as the Convocation of the Prelates and Nobles at Lillebonne, are needed under the most absolute governments. Dom I. L. Le Noir, a successor of Montfaucon, and also working under the direction of the congregation of St. Maur, made very large collections of *pièces justificatives* illustrating Norman history. But the Revolution prevented the prosecution of the work, and his collections have been probably dispersed. At least the Abbé de la Rue thought so. The Abbé de la Rue kindly gave me Le Noir's curious book, *La Normandie ancienne Pays d'Etat* (Paris, 1790). In this work Dom Le Noir has fully established the position that all the examples quoted from historians by Houard, are insufficient; and that the earliest document, and that very obscure, which affords any approximation to the existence of the States, is the treaty, 1338—1339, between Philip of Valois on the one part, and fifty Nobles, “des plus distingués de Normandie,”² on the other part, whereby the said Nobles “revêtus des pouvoirs et procurations des prélats et gens d'église, des nobles, des citoyens habitans des villes, et de tout le commun peuple du pays et duché de Normandie, s'engagent à fournir, à leurs frais et dépens, dans l'espace de dix semaines, quatre mille hommes d'armes et vingt mille hommes de pied pour lui aider à faire, au nom et profit de Jean son fils, duc de Normandie, la conquête du royaume d'Angleterre.”³

It does not appear that the usage of keeping any record in writing of any public proceedings, save and except of ecclesiastical synods, subsisted during the reigns of the first three Dukes. Nor is there any example, as far as I am

aware, of any charter previous to the one granted by Richard-sans-Peur. This Charter, by which Richard confirmed Bretteville to the Abbey of Saint Denis, is the earliest and most remarkable document of its kind, affording more insight into the political position of Richard than can be obtained from any history ; and it is a singular circumstance that this one document brings before us some of the most important individuals of the age as living witnesses.

This Charter is contained in the *Recueil des Historiens* (Vol. ix, p. 731), but, as far as I know, has never been quoted, probably in consequence of its not being noticed in the table of contents.

The following is the testing clause :—Actum Britnevallis jussu domni Ricardi incliti Comititis, xv Cal. Aprilis, anno xiv, regnante Hlothario Rege, Indictione xi. (968).

Signum Hugonis Archiepiscopi. Signum Hugonis Francorum Ducis. Signum Ricardi Normannorum Principis. Signum Osmundi. Signum Rodulfi. Signum Aganonis. Signum Turistingi. Signum Ivonis. Signum Walteri Comititis. Signum Toraldi. Signum Alberedi. Signum Osberni. Signum Theobaldi Comititis. Signum Waleranni¹.

EDITOR'S NOTES

The dates enclosed in brackets placed after names are those of birth and death. When the length of reign of a King or Emperor is indicated, the letter r. is placed before the first date; when the tenure of office of a Pope or Bishop etc. is given, the title is inserted within the brackets except in those cases when no further information as to the life follows. d.=died, r.=reigned, c.=circa. *E.g.*

Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832).

Walter, Hubert (d. 1205).

John Lackland. King John (r. 1199–1216).

Aurelian, Lucius Domitian. Emperor of Rome (r. 270–275 A.D.).

Hildebrand. Gregory VII. (Pope, 1073–1085.)

Anselm. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093–1109.

p. 2. 1. “Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”—S. Matt. v. verse 3. “Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the kingdom of God.”—St Luke vi. verse 20. “For the poor ye have always with you; but me ye have not always.” S. John xii. verse 8.

—2. “This foolish king.” “This dull-witted king.” “Of such dull wit.”

—3. “Charles the Simple.” “Charles the Fool.” On the injustice of the epithet applied to Charles see Eckel, *Charles le Simple*, p. 140 ff. (du Surnom “Le Simple” attribué à Charles III).

p. 4. 1. *Fifth of November*, 1688. The date of the landing of the Prince of Orange (William III) at Torbay to oppose James II.

—2. *Soissonnais*. A district of Champagne, now forming part of the Department of Aisne. The name was derived from the Gaulish tribe of the Suessiones and from the 10th to the 18th century it formed a county.

—3. *Clachduin* or *Clochdun*. A Celtic word meaning “the rock-fortress.”

—4. *Saisine* or *Seisin*. Possession of freehold land under the feudal system. (See reference to “Confirmation of legal acts”—p. 16 of this volume.)

p. 6. 1. *The tradition as to Rollo's marriages*. See Appendix A, note 7.

p. 7. 1. *Lancaster*. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and father of Henry IV (r. 1399–1413) who founded the Lancastrian dynasty, was the fourth son of Edward III. The true hereditary right to the crown of England, after the deposition and murder of Richard II, belonged to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, great-grandson of Edward III's second son, Lionel of Clarence.

—2. *Braganza*. The House of Braganza which reigned in Portugal (1640–1853) took its name from a city in the North-East of Portugal. This family was descended from Alphonso (d. 1461) a natural son of John I, King of Portugal (d. 1433). When the Portuguese threw off in 1640 the yoke of Spain, to which they had been united since 1580, the House of Braganza ascended the throne in the person of John II, though he did not possess the best hereditary right.

—3. *The great refusal*. The reference is to Dante, *Inferno*, Canto III, line 60. Most commentators think that Dante intended to refer to Pope Celestine V who resigned the Papacy in 1294 through timidity, and was succeeded by Pope Boniface VIII who had driven him to do this.

—4. *Witiking* or *Widukind*. A monk of Corbey in Saxony (fl. c. 940–980). His only extant work, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*. (ed. Waitz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores*, T. III, pp. 416–467), is the chief authority for the early history of the Old Saxons. (See pp. 504 and 540.)

p. 7. 5. *Dithmar of Waldeck*. Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg (975–1018), son of Sigefrid, Count of Waldeck; he wrote a chronicle in eight books [ed. Lappenberg, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historiarum Scriptores*, III, 733–871], based largely on Widukind and the Quedlinburg Annals. (See pp. 504 and 540.)

—6. *Weissenburg*. A town of Alsace-Lorraine. A famous school grew up here round the Benedictine Abbey founded in the 7th century, and in it the monk Otfried completed (circa 868) his Gospel Book, one of the earliest specimens of Old High German poetry.

—7. "King Louis died and Conrad succeeded to him." Ann. Weissenburgenses 912 [Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historiarum Scriptores*, III, 53].

p. 8. 1. "The Hungarians in their ravages penetrated as far as Fulda." Ann. Weissenburgenses 915.

—2. *Hünengrab*. Megalithic monuments in Denmark and North-Western Germany connected only by popular tradition with the Huns. They consist of three or more large stones set up on edge, a fourth being laid across them; the chamber so constructed either stands above the level of the ground, or has piled up against its outer walls a mound of earth or stones, but never in such a way that the roofing-stone is covered. The whole is surrounded by a series of boundary stones, enclosing a circular, oval or rectangular area some 60 metres by 10. [See Kauffmann, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. I, p. 83; and Forrer, *Reallexikon*, plate 53.]

—3. *Walloon*. "Le pays wallon où les gens de Lille, Douai, Arras et St Omer parlent un dialecte contracté et dur, la forme la plus septentrionale et la plus altérée de l'idiome français." [Luchaire, *Histoire de France*, ed. Lavisse, II, 2. 43.] ("The walloon country where the people of Lille, Douai, Arras and St Omer speak a clipped and harsh dialect, the most northerly and the most degenerate form of the French language.")

The word *Walloon* is to be derived from the name of a Celtic people called the Volcæ, which came to be used as a generic term for Celts in most of the early Teutonic languages, e.g. O.E. *wealh* (whence *wilisc*, Welsh). O.H.G. gloss. *Gallia*: uualholant.

p. 9. 1. "Rainier with the Long-neck." Believed to be the son of Hermengarda, daughter of the Emperor Lothair (see Gen. Tables IX and XIV), who married a certain Count Gislebert or Gilbert.

—2. "In the nineteenth year of the reign of the most glorious King Charles, the fourteenth after his restoration and the first after he had received the fuller inheritance."

p. 10. 1. *Gilbert* or *Gislebert* (d. 939) of Lorraine. Son of Regnier, or Rainier, Count of Hasbey and Hainault, who is called by the chronicler Reginon "Duke of Lorraine." During the struggle of Charles-le-Simple and Raoul of Burgundy for the throne in 923, Gilbert strove to win Lorraine for himself. On Raoul's death he swore homage to Henry I, King of Germany, and married his daughter Gerberga, thus transferring Lorraine from French to German suzerainty. He was made Duke of Lorraine, and on the accession of Otho I joined Everhard of Franconia in a revolt against the young King. Otho defeated the rebels at Andernach 939, and Gilbert was drowned in escaping over the Rhine.

—2. *Hatto*, *Atto* or *Otho*. The 10th Archbishop of Mainz (Mayence).

p. 11. 1. *Hildebranda*. Daughter of Count Robert of Paris, was wife of Herbert II (902–943), Count of Vermandois. (See vol. I, ch. II, § 35.)

—2. *Richard-le-Justicier* or "Justiciar." Count of Burgundy. (See vol. I, ch. II, § 38 and Gen. Table V.)

—3. *Boso*. King of Provence (d. 888). (See vol. I, ch. II, § 38 and Gen. Table II.)

—4. *Raoul*, *Rodolph* or *Rudolph*. Afterwards King of France (c. 923–936). (See vol. I, bk. I, ch. I, § 33, ch. II, § 59, ch. V, § 4 and Gen. Table II.)

—5. *Hermengarda* or *Ermengarde*. Queen of Provence (born 855). (See vol. I, ch. II, § 38 and Gen. Table II.)

—6. *Bradamante*. The heroine of the *Orlando Furioso*, the great poem of Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533). Her wanderings and sorrows and their happy termination are related with extraordinary vigour and grace in this poem which the author continued to work upon and correct for more than 30 years, the complete edition being only published the year before his death. The admiration

expressed for it in Italy is reflected in the title of "Divino Lodovico" given to the author by his contemporaries. There have been three translations of the poem into English, the latest and best being that of Mr Stewart Rose in 1823. Sir Francis Palgrave had considerable knowledge of Italian poetry, and a great admiration for Ariosto.

p. 12. 1. *Hathburga*. Concubine of Henry I (the Fowler) King of Germany and mother of his son Thankmar. She was repudiated, and Henry married Matilda who bore to him Otho, afterwards Emperor, and Henry.

p. 14. 1. *Tartars*. The first half of the 10th century saw Europe terribly scourged by the raids of the Hungarians or Magyars, a Tartar tribe, who had established themselves on the Danube. [See notes, *Scythian Bow-Bearer*, vol. I, p. 452 and *Scythians*, vol. I, p. 493; cf. E. H. Minns, *Greeks and Scythians*, Cambridge, 1913, for an exhaustive survey of the subject.]

p. 16. 1. *Auto da fé*. Refers to the cruel burning alive of heretics practised in Spain and Portugal for many years after the 15th century.

— 2. *Kilmarnock and Balmerino*. Two Scottish peers executed in Aug. 1746 for their complicity in the Jacobite rising of the previous year. They were, with Lord Lovat who had also joined in the rebellion, the last persons to suffer death by decapitation in the British Isles. The block used at their execution is still (1913) exhibited at the Tower of London.

— 3. *Symbols of Investiture*, etc. See *English Commonwealth*, ch. IV.

— 4. *Stipula*. A stalk, stem or blade, which was handed over by the seller to the purchaser, or by the person who alienated or bequeathed land. Hence the word stipulation, etc.

Festuca. Apparently a rod or staff, a symbol of possession, presented to the donee when he was invested in land or goods. Cf. *per festucam commendare*, *ex festucare*, to betray or reject.

Culm or *culmus*. Another word implying the same symbol.

Hawm. A stalk, stem, or blade, i.e. the English equivalent of stipula (word still used in Suffolk and elsewhere in England).

The act of *diffidation* is described in one MS. of *Adhemar de Chabannes*, ed. Chavanon (Paris, 1897), p. 142 n.

"The princes of the Franks, being gathered at the Campus after the usual fashion for the transaction of public business, unanimously resolved to repudiate the king's authority by casting 'stalks' with their hands on the pretext that he was of a slothful disposition." [See *Festuca* in Du Cange's *Glossarium* (Niort, 1883-1887).]

p. 17. 1. *Hervé*. Archbishop of Rheims (died 2nd July 922). He was consecrated in 900, and in 910 Charles-le-Simple chose him as his chancellor and first minister. He was an able administrator in his arch-diocese, where he restored or established many churches, he laboured also with some success for the conversion of the Normans, and fortified and strengthened his province to defend it against the attacks of the Northmen and other foes.

— 2. *Regnald* (d. 921). This king whose Norse name is Rögnvaldr invaded Northumbria in the days of Edward the Elder and defeated Ealdred of Bamburgh at Corbridge-on-Tyne in 918. His name in the Anglo-Latin Chroniclers is Regenwaldus, while in the Irish Annals he is known as Ragnall, King of the Black Foreigners. He captured York in 919 or 920 and divided the lands of St Cuthbert among his followers.

— 3. *The patrician of Rouen* was Rollo himself. (Cp. vol. I, ch. I, § 23.)

p. 18. 1. *Gurmhallion*, Count of Cornouaille in Brittany.

— 2. *Conan Meriadec* (d. 421). Breton prince. In 409 Armorica, now called Brittany, revolted against the Emperors, and Conan, a Roman official of Gaulish origin, governed it like an independent prince. The story of his life and reign is however rather shadowy and legendary.

— 3. *Mathuedoi*, Count of Pôher in Western Brittany. The father of Alain III, Barbe-torte. (See Gen. Table XV.)

— 4. *Hoel*, *Cledauc* and *Idwall*. See *English Commonwealth*, Part II, *Proofs and Illustrations*, "Summaries of Anglo-Saxon History," "Wessex" under Edward the Elder.

p. 19. 1. See Appendix A, note 7.

p. 19. 2. *Raoul and the Burgundians*. Raoul afterwards King of France, son of Richard-le-Justicier, Count of Burgundy (see p. 11, note 4), must not be confused with Raoul or Rudolph II (r. 911-937), son of Rudolph I who in 888 founded the kingdom of Trans-jurane Burgundy. Rudolph II disputed the crown of Italy with Hugh of Provence but finally abandoned his claims in exchange for the ancient kingdom of Provence. The kingdom of Burgundy remained in the hands of his descendants till the death of Rudolph III (r. 993-1032). [See Gen. Table V in vol. I and Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, Appendix, Note A.]

p. 21. 1. *Chor-Episcopus*. The Canons of Nicæa define a Chorepiscopus as being "in the place of a bishop over villages and monasteries and priests of villages which are under his power." Chorepiscopi were appointed by bishops that they might be vicars or deputies for them in villages and country places, and might discharge episcopal functions of lesser moment. [See Du Cange, *Glossarium medicæ et infirmæ Latinitatis*.]

— 2. *That Pontiff*. Hildebrand (Gregory VII, Pope, 1073-1085).

— 3. *William of Auvergne*. William II (918-926). Count of Auvergne and Duke of Aquitaine, the son of Aefred I, Count of Carcassonne, and Adelinda, sister of William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine (d. 918). (See Genealogical Tables VI and VI A, in vol. I.)

— 4. *Raimond of Toulouse* (919-c. 924). This was not the famous Raymond of Toulouse (1093-1105), one of the leaders of the First Crusade, but his ancestor Raymond II, Count of Toulouse, grandson of Raymond I, Count of Quercy, who in 851 succeeded his brother as Count of Rouergue and Toulouse. (See Gen. Table XVIII.)

— 5. "The rightful King."

— 6. "The actual King."

p. 22. 1. *Harold the Dane*. Probably to be identified with Harold Bluetooth, King of Denmark, r. 940-986. (See note, p. 514, and vol. III, Gen. Table XX.)

p. 23. 1. *Brise-sur-Sarthe*. In Oct. 866 a battle was fought between Robert-le-Fort, father of Robert I, King of France (r. 922-923) and an army of plundering Northmen and Bretons under the famous Hasting, at Brise-sur-Sarthe, or Brissarthe, near Le Mans, at which Robert was killed. (See vol. I, p. 269.)

p. 27. 1. *Foresta de Leonibus*. The Forest of Lions. (See ch. II, p. 69.)

— 2. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 28. 1. *Aldelelm, Count of Arras*. Arras was a separate countship from the 10th to the 13th century

p. 29. 1. The district surrounding Bayeux.

p. 30. 1. *Baudouin* (d. 989). Called *Bras-de-Fer* (Iron-arm). The first ruler of Flanders of whom we have any record. He married Judith, daughter of Charles-le-Chauve, and was finally created by the latter Margrave of Flanders (*Marchio Flandriæ*). He was succeeded by Baldwin II (*Baudouin-le-Chauve*), on whose death in 918 Arnulf or Arnoul succeeded to the county of Flanders. (See vol. I, bk. I, ch. IV, § 1 and Gen. Table XIV.)

p. 31. 1. "The little monastery by the sea," Montreuil-sur-Mer.

p. 32. 1. *Kemper*. This is an anglicised form of the O.Dan. *kempe*, a warrior or knight. [Cp. O.E. *cempa*, and the Ballad, *Kemp Owine*. See note *Kiæmpe-Viser*, vol. I, p. 508.]

p. 33. 1. See Appendix A, note 7.

p. 35. 1. *Bernard of Clairvaux* (1090-1153), born at Fontaines near Dijon, joined, with about 30 friends who were guided by him, the community of reformed Benedictine monks at Cîteaux, the first foundation of the Cistercian monks. The extraordinary development in importance and prestige of this celebrated community was due to the personality and influence of Bernard who was made Abbot of Clairvaux, one of the daughter monasteries then established, soon to become the foremost house of the order. Though desiring to devote himself solely to the inner life of the monastery, the fame of his wisdom and of his eloquence attracted the attention of men in high places and he reluctantly found himself involved in the great political movements of the 12th century. In papal elections, in Imperial as well as in ecclesiastical affairs, in the quarrels and jealousies of German leaders, and of Italian cities, his advice and mediation were solicited and implicitly followed. He contended vigorously with heretics

though an enemy to persecution, and preached the second crusade with fervent eloquence, experiencing in its failure a crushing disappointment.

It is however through his moral qualities that St Bernard's fame has endured. His deep and submissive study of the Bible fostered the development of his holy and devout spirit and placed him as an ideal example of the Christ-like character at once noble and humble, while it enabled him to avoid many fatal errors of the mediæval Church. His marvellous eloquence as a preacher is well-known, his many letters and treatises are interesting and helpful to the student of history, but both those who value and those who ignore the influence he exercised in his day are grateful for the still more enduring fascination of his hymns, many of which have been translated and used in the English Church. The well-known group "Jesu the very thought of Thee," "O Jesu, King most wonderful," and "Jesu, Thou joy of loving hearts" are drawn from his hymns *Jesu, dulcis memoria, Jesus Rex admirabilis, Jesu decus angelicum*, and the hymn on the Passion, "O Sacred Head once wounded" from his *Salve caput cruentatum*.

p. 36. 1. *The Protector*. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).

— 2. *Lely, Sir Peter* (1618-1680). Of Dutch birth, a famous portrait-painter patronised both by Cromwell and Charles II of England.

— 3. *Greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind*. Francis Bacon, so described by Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle iv, l. 282.

p. 39. 1. *Guillaume's Mother*. See Appendix A, note 7.

— 2. *Malahulch*. Malahulch (Hirc or Hulc) was Rollo's uncle and standard-bearer. (See vol. III, bk. II, ch. iv, § 10.)

p. 41. 1. *O'Neale*. *Charles Henry St John O'Neill*. Second Viscount and first Earl O'Neill (1779-1841). Grand Master of the Orange Order in Ireland, a society which represented the successors, with regard to political views, of those who had sided with the Prince of Orange (William III) against James II.

— 2. *Lord Edward Fitzgerald* (1763-1798). Son of the Earl of Kildare (afterwards 1st Duke of Leinster and Marquis of Kildare), took a prominent part in the conspiracy of the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland and was arrested by emissaries of the Government, in a struggle with whom he was mortally wounded. "The Geraldines" is a semi-poetic name for the Fitzgerald family who, in the Middle Ages, as Earls of Kildare and Desmond, owned enormous estates and wielded great power.

p. 42. 1. "In the third year after King Charles was deposed by the faithless Franks."

— 2. "The kingdom being under the direction of Christ, while a King was eagerly waited for."

— 3. *St Maurice*, and the Theban Legion. According to the legend, St Maurice was commander of the Theban Legion, so called because it was raised in Egypt in the Thebaid and was exclusively composed of Christians. Sent into Gaul to fight against the Bagaudes, Maurice and his troops refused to obey the orders of the Emperor Maximinian, who had commanded that sacrifices should be offered to obtain the assistance of the gods. The legion was therefore surrounded and massacred to the last man at a place in the Canton of Valais, near Geneva (286 A.D.), now called Saint-Maurice. Afterwards many of their relics were collected, and the head of St Maurice was for long possessed by the church of Saints-Machabées at Vienne. An earlier version of the legend relates that the Theban Legion formed part of the army of Maximinian stationed in North Italy. They were called on to join in the persecution of the Christians, and on their refusal to do this were twice decimated and the remainder massacred. Both versions are thought to be fabulous.

p. 43. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 45. 1. *Hatto or Atto, Bishop of Vercelli* in Lombardy (924-961), has left letters—*Epistolæ*, ed. Burontius, published at Vercelli, 1768.

— 2. *Hugonet*. Infant son of Count Herbert II of Vermandois (902-943).

p. 47. 1. *John X.* (Pope 914-928.) By the influence of Theodora (see below) he became Bishop of Bologna, Archbishop of Ravenna, and finally Pope. He governed with vigour, formed a league of Italian princes against their common enemies, and dislodged the Saracens from their stronghold on the Garigliano. On the death of Theodora, her daughter Marozia resolved with the aid of Guido of

Tuscany to overthrow a Pope whom she found too self-willed, and John X was seized and strangled or suffocated in prison.

p. 48. 1. *Theodora*. Wife of the Senator Theophylact, a Roman lady, all-powerful in Rome from 890 to 920. In 908 she occupied the castle of St Angelo and through her beauty and ability was able to play a very ambitious part in Roman affairs. She disposed even of the pontificate and was powerful enough to raise her lover John of Ravenna to the Papal throne as John X. (See above.)

— 2. *Marozia*. Daughter of Theodora, surpassed even her mother in beauty and power. Her life as related by Liutprand of Cremona is full of scandalous details, not always to be credited. Pope Sergius III, who began to reign in 904, is said to have been her lover. The whole power of Rome and the Papal States was concentrated in the hands of these two women, and their ring of adherents, during this shameful period of the Papacy. After John X's death, Marozia caused Leo VI, Stephen VIII, and finally John XI, said to be her son by Sergius III, to be raised to the Papal throne. She was married three times, first to Alberic, Marquis of Spoleto, by whom she had a son, the famous Alberic "Prince and Senator of the Romans" (932-954), in 925 to Guido Marquis of Tuscany (see below), and in 932 to King Hugh of Italy. Her son Alberic revolted against his step-father who escaped from Rome, but Alberic seized his mother and immured her for the rest of her life in prison. Alberic then governed Rome with John XI as his puppet, thus concentrating the highest ecclesiastical and temporal power in the hands of one family.

p. 49. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

— 2. *Saracens...advancing through the Alpine passes*. The Saracens coming from Spain had early in the 10th century established themselves at Fraxinetum (La Garde-Freinet), and from this stronghold ravaged far and wide. La Garde-Freinet is in the department of Var on the shores of the Mediterranean.

p. 50. 1. *Coke, Sir Edward* (1552-1634). A celebrated judge and writer on Law. His best known work is *The Institutes of the Laws of England* (Coke upon Littleton). He held the office of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, and was Chief-Justice of the King's Bench. The greatest lawyer of his day, he was distinguished for his independence and courage as a judge, though he exhibited much heartlessness and brutality both in public and private life.

— 2. *Guido of Tuscany* (born in latter half of the 9th century, died in 929). He was son of Adalbert II. In 925 he married Marozia of Rome, and with her concocted the plot which overthrew Pope John X. Guido himself died soon after.

p. 51. 1. "Peronne of the Scots."

— 2. *Fursus, Saint, or Fursa* (d. 650). An Irishman of noble birth. He went as a missionary to East Anglia, and dwelt as a hermit in a cell he built within the walls of Cnobresburg or Burghcastle in Suffolk. After this he went to France, and built a monastery in 644 at Lagny on the Marne. He died in 650 and was buried at Peronne, where a monastery of Irish monks was in existence till the 9th century. Fursa's "Visions" of the other world were put on record soon after his death, and are considered by some to have in part suggested Dante's *Divina Commedia*. (See vol. I, p. 472.)

— 3. *Constantinus Africanus*. A famous physician, born at Carthage (c. 1015), died at Monte Cassino (1087). He brought his knowledge of medicine to Calabria, and was welcomed by Duke Robert Guiscard. After lecturing at the medical school of Salerno, he finally retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he wrote many books of medicine. He is said to have revived the study of Greek medical art in Italy and introduced the flourishing medical knowledge of the Arabs.

p. 52. 1. *Gilbert*. Son of Manasses I de Vergy, Count of Dijon, was Count in the Autunois and Chaunois. In 955 he appears with the title *comes præcipuus* of Burgundy, and with that of *princeps Burgundionum* in the Annals of St Columba of Sens. His daughter married a son of Hugh-le-Grand, the Otho who became Duke of Burgundy on Gilbert's death in 956. [See vol. I, Gen. Tables III, IV and V, and Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV d'Outremer*, p. 252.]

— 2. *Avalon*. A town of Central France; in the Middle Ages the seat of a Viscounty dependent on the Duchy of Burgundy. (The name is sometimes applied in Welsh Mythology to the abode of heroes in the western sea, such as King Arthur departed to.)

p. 53. 1. *Saint Remi*. The Abbey of St Remi in the city of Rheims. The church attached to the Abbey is still one of the most important ecclesiastical monuments in France. The buildings are now used as a hospital.

p. 57. 1. *Leopards of Normandy*. The arms of William I, William II, Henry I and Stephen bore two leopards in fine gold on gules (red). Henry II added a third. These are retained in the Royal Arms of England but are called "lions." In mediæval heraldry any lion not rampant was called a leopard or "léopardé."

p. 58. 1. "In the Danish manner."

— 2. "He loved her much and held her dear;
But in the Danish manner
Would he have her, not otherwise,
So says the history which lieth not."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 8872.

— 3. *Sponsio*. The earliest form of contract known to Roman law. It was in solemn form "Do you promise to pay this sum?" "I promise (spondeo)." It had no relation to marriage in the Roman civil law.

p. 59. 1. "In the Christian manner."

p. 60. 1. *Hermengaud or Ermengaud of Rhodéz* (d. 940. The brother of Raimond of Toulouse (Raymond II). They were grandsons of Raymond I, Count of Toulouse and Quercy, and on their father's death in 919 the two brothers exercised joint sovereignty over Albi, Quercy and Narbonne. Raymond II died in 924 and was succeeded by his son Raymond III Pons (d. 950). This Raymond and his uncle Ermengaud submitted to Raoul in 932 and were recognised by him as Dukes of Aquitaine. Rhodéz or Rhodéz was a county included in the province of Rouergue, one of the old provinces of France, which lay between Auvergne and Languedoc. (See p. 510, note *Raimond of Toulouse*.)

— 2. *Lopé Aznar*. According to Degert, [*Révue des Questions historiques*, T. LXXII, p. 424], the Count of Comminges, perhaps under the suzerainty of his powerful neighbour, the Count of Toulouse. The story is taken from Flodoard [*Ann.* 932].

— 3. *Cellarius, Christopher* (1638–1707). Of German birth, wrote several works on Classical Geography.

p. 61. 1. *The planting of the drapeau blanc on the shores of the Saint Lawrence*. In 1534 Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), a native of Brittany, in command of an expedition sent out by Francis I (r. 1515–1547), sailed in search of a North-west passage to the East and discovered the Gulf of St Lawrence. In the following year he ascended the St Lawrence River as far as the Lachine Rapids where the city of Montreal stands. After the year 1516 Francis I began to construct a harbour at a small fishing village on the coast of Normandy to which he gave the name *Le Havre de Grâce*, there being a chapel in the village dedicated to Notre-Dame de Grâce. The *drapeau blanc*, a white flag powdered with *fleurs-de-lis* succeeded the Oriflamme of St Denys as the national flag of France.

— 2. *Castle of Hasdans*. The name of Hasdans has been regarded as the same as Hasting or Hastings. But this identification is exceedingly doubtful.

— 3. *Cairus*. More commonly known under the form Kay (or Kai in the *Mabinogion*, the Welsh version of the Arthurian legend), was King Arthur's foster-brother, as well as his seneschal.

— 4. *Duke Ansegisus* (early 7th century), also Adalgisilus or Anchis. Son of Arnolph, Bishop of Metz, one of the two founders of the Carolingian family. He was born before his father became bishop (612). Pepin I, the other founder of the family, had a daughter Begga, she married Ansegisus, and their son was Pepin II who became mayor of the Palace in the Provinces of Neustria and Austrasia. (See vol. I, Gen. Table II, *The Carolingian Dynasty*.)

The religious house referred to was founded to protect a drop of the "True Blood" which, it was then believed, had been miraculously brought thither from Palestine.

p. 62. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 66. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

— 2. *Barditus*. Tacitus (*Germania*, c. III) speaks of the custom which the Germans practised before battle of shouting into their shields so as to make a roaring noise.

p. 66. 3. *Wappentak* (O.N. *vápnatak*, O.E. *wæpengetæc*, whence the modern English *wapentake*). "The clashing of weapons," the method of expressing consent in the assemblies of the old Teutonic peoples, e.g. Tacitus, *Germania*, c. xi: "If the sentiment is agreeable to them, they clash their spears, which is the most honourable method of signifying assent." [Cf. also *Hist.* v, 17.]

Dudo, III, 45: "After the fashion of the Danes they clashed their weapons as a token of mutual agreement."

Sverris saga, c. xv (of Norway in the latter part of the 12th cent.): "At that meeting (of the Eyrathing) the royal title was bestowed on Sverrir at an 'assembly of eight districts' (the eight districts round Trondligem) and ratified by the clashing of weapons (*vápnatak*)." [See the dictionaries of Cleasby-Vigfússon and Bosworth-Toller.]

p. 67. 1. "The meadow of the battle was this place named.

The name still endures, nor can it be altered." Wace, v. 2263.

p. 68. 1. "Duke of the Pirates."

p. 69. 1. "The Grove of Lions." "The Glade of Lions."

p. 70. 1. *Nerva*. Emperor of Rome. r. 96-98 A.D.

—2. *Trajan*. Emperor of Rome. r. 98-117 A.D.

p. 71. 1. *Essarted*. Cleared. Essart implies a forest clearing.

—2. *Glazeul*. The French name for the *Gladiolus*, a plant belonging to the *Iridææ* or Iris Family, and so named on account of the sword-like form of the leaves. (*Gladiolus*, diminutive of *gladius*, a sword.) The name is, however, also colloquially applied to the Iris and it is probable that the latter flower is the one referred to here. The yellow Iris grows in great profusion in marshy ground while the usual colour of the wild *gladiolus* is crimson.

—3. "In the great forest of Lions

With his Princes, or his Barons,

Would he follow the chase to the river's brink.

* * * *

No earthly being, no one that lives,

E'er saw forest more teeming,

Than this one, with deer and with boars."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 4816.

p. 72. 1. *Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe* or "Tow Head" (d. 963). Son of Ebles (d. 932), called the Mamzer or Bastard, Count of Poitiers, who married Adela daughter of Edward the Elder, King of England. Guillaume took the title of Duke of Aquitaine which had been held by his grandfather and others of his family. (See vol. I, Gen. Tables VI and VI A.)

p. 73. 1. *Pré des Reculés*. The meadow of the routed.

A defeat suffered by Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, before the walls of Chartres which he was besieging, in 911. Richard-le-Justicier and Robert Count of Paris united their forces and repulsed the Northmen, forcing Rollo to raise the siege. A few months afterwards Normandy was ceded to Rollo by the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte. (See vol. I, ch. v, § 17.)

p. 74. 1. *Guillaume Fier-à-bras*. Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine (962-990). Son of Tête-d'étoupe. This was William IV whose sister Adelaide married Hugh Capet. William IV of Aquitaine must not be confused with his ancestor the earlier Guillaume Fier-à-bras, Count of Toulouse, Guillaume d'Orange. (See vol. I, ch. I, § 13 and Gen. Tables VI and VI A.)

—2. *Eleanor*. Daughter of William X, Duke of Aquitaine (1127-1137), married Louis VII of France (r. 1137-1180) in 1137, but, divorced from him, she married, in 1152, Henry Count of Anjou afterwards Henry II of England and so brought the vast heritage of Aquitaine to the English royal house.

p. 75. 1. *Livtgarda of Vermandois*. Wife of William Longsword, Duke of Normandy. Daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois (d. 943), and descended from Charlemagne through his son Carloman or Pepin, King of Italy. (See Gen. Table VII.)

—2. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 76. 1. *Raoul Count of Ivry*. Son of Espriota and Sperling the Miller whom Espriota married after having been repudiated by William. (See p. 172.)

p. 77. 1. *Harold Blaatand* (d. 986) or *Blutetooth*. A famous Norseman, son of Gorm

the Old (see p. 520). In 935 he succeeded to the government of a part of Denmark. About 945 he was cruising on the coast of Normandy, and again in 963 arrived on the coast of France. On this occasion he sent an army of Norsemen to the help of Duke Richard his ally, which committed fearful ravages along the Seine. M. Lair prefers to put his faith in Dudo who makes Harold King of Denmark. But it is probable that Harold was simply a chief of the pagan Northmen—perhaps a prince of the Danish or Norwegian royal house—of the Bessin and Cotentin. Flodoard (945) says merely *Hagroldus Nortmannus qui Baiocis praeerat* (Harold the Northman who ruled over Bayeux). [Cf. Ann. Nivernenses (954): *Hoc anno fuit Ugo dux Frantiae cum magno exercitu in Constantino pago super Araldum Normannum* (In that year Hugh Duke of the Franks was in the Pagus Constantinus [the Cotentin] with a great army against Harold the Northman). [Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 5.]

p. 78. 1. *Aurelian*. Emperor of Rome. r. 270–275 A.D.

— 2. Saint Columba near Sens.

p. 79. 1. *Raymond III*. Count of Toulouse (924–c. 950). Son of Raymond II. (See notes, pp. 510, 513 and Gen. Table XVIII.)

— 2. *Deen*. *Dîn*, the Arabic for the Faith.

p. 80. 1. *The Kingdom of France*. Philippe Auguste was King of France from 1180 to 1223. The English defeated the French in the Battles of Cressy, 1346, Poitiers, 1356 and Agincourt, 1415, and were in their turn defeated by the French at Castillon in 1453 when England lost all her possessions in France except Calais.

p. 81. 1. "All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgæ inhabit, the second the Aquitani, the third those who in their own language are called Celtæ, in ours Gauls."

— 2. "Belgian Gaul."

p. 82. 1. *States General*. (See vol. I, p. 478.) This Assembly was summoned, in response to the expressed wish of the French people, at Tours, by Anne of Beaujeu, the daughter of Louis XI of France, acting as regent for her brother, Charles VIII (r. 1483–1498), during his minority. For the first time the whole of the French nation was represented, there being about 280 members gathered together in the great hall of the Archbishop's Palace. The most striking feature of the Assembly has been described by M. George Picot as being the unanimous purpose which bound together the whole body. Their single desire was to bring about a great political reformation, to establish a government observing the law and securing the freedom of the people while retaining and respecting their ancient Monarchy. Each member was not, on this occasion, the exclusive representative of the clergy, of the nobility or of the third estate, but held his mandate from all three. The deputies, being all of one mind, appointed a commission of thirty-six of their number on which the three estates were equally represented and this commission appointed a single orator, Jean Masselin, to speak in the name of all. [See Guizot, *Histoire de France*, vol. II, ch. xxvi; George Picot, *Histoire des états généraux de 1355 à 1614*; and the *Journal* of Jean Masselin published by M. A. Bernier in the *Collection des documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France*.]

— 2. *The Council of Constance*, which sat from the 5th November 1414 until the 22nd April 1418, was convoked at the instigation of the Emperor Sigismund (r. 1410–1438) with the double object of putting an end to the great Schism of the West and of Church reform. Western Europe had, since 1389, been divided in its allegiance to three Popes who held the office simultaneously. The Council which secured the deposition of two of the Popes and the resignation of the third was attended by an enormous and varied concourse of people. Equality as regards the representation of the different nations was secured by the arrangement that each question should be deliberated and voted on in separate assemblies consisting of men of the different countries concerned. Thus each of the five nations (Italy, France, Germany, Spain and England) exercised exactly the same influence in the council as if their numbers had been equal, though Italy sent a much larger and England a far smaller number of delegates than the other countries. England appeared as a separate nation for the first time on this occasion having been always up to that time associated with Germany. [See Creighton, *History of the Popes from the Great Schism to the*

Sack of Rome, passim. The best short account is that given by Figgis, *From Gerson to Grolius*, p. 35 ff.]

p. 82. 3. *The Knights Hospitallers* or Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. One of the great Military-Religious communities founded in the Middle Ages. The order differed from its contemporary, the Knights Templars, in being primarily concerned with the care of the sick, the building and maintenance of hospitals, etc. Originally established at Jerusalem during the First Crusade (1096) it has continued, though with considerable modifications to the present day. The members of the Order regulated their life according to a Rule based on that of the Augustinian Canons. By the 14th century the members of the Brotherhood, which included a very large number of Brethren coming from all parts of Europe, were divided up according to their birth-place and sub-divided into smaller communities. The smallest of these sub-divisions were called "Commanderies" each with its Commander; groups of Commanderies were united as Priors each under a Grand Prior; and the Priors were grouped according to nationality. These largest groups were called *Langues* (i.e. "Languages"), and by the 15th century there were eight *Langues* of which England including Scotland and Ireland formed one.

— 4. *Quatre nations of Paris University.* This university was divided into four faculties of which three, theology, canon law and medicine, were described as "superior," and the fourth "arts" as "inferior." The professors and students attached to this last faculty were again divided into four "nations" according to the district or country of their birth, i.e. (1) the French which included Spaniards, Italians and Greeks as well as Frenchmen, (2) the Picard composed of Frenchmen from the north eastern districts and men from the Netherlands, (3) the Norman, (4) the English including men from the British Isles, from the French provinces under English rule and from Germany. A Proctor was placed at the head of each "nation." There was frequently great dissension between the nations which at times was serious enough to call for Papal interference.

The four "nations" still form part of the organisation of the Glasgow University, the Lord Rector being elected triennially by the students voting in their "nations," as the districts from which they come are called. *Glothiana* includes the natives of Lanarkshire, *Transforthiana* of all Scotland north of the Forth, *Rothseiana* of the Shires of Bute, Renfrew and Ayr, while *Loudonia* is composed of men from all other parts of Scotland.

— 5. *Saint Mungo.* The patron Saint of Glasgow.

— 6. Assembly (for elections).

— 7. "Hugh Duke of the Franks by the Grace of Almighty God."

p. 85. 1. *Harold Harfager* or *Fairhair*, King of Norway (c. 860-c. 933). He was the first to unite all Norway under his dominion. (See vol. III, Gen. Table XX.)

— 2. *Haco.* Hákon the Good, the first Christian King of Norway, was the youngest of the many sons of Harold Fairhair. He was educated at the court of Athelstane, King of England, hence the name *Aðalsteinsfóstri*. On hearing of his father's death he returned to Norway and expelled his brother Eric Bloodaxe (c. 940), afterwards reigning prosperously for many years until slain by Eric's sons at the battle of Fitje (961).

— 3. *Brunanburgh* or *Brunanburh*. This famous battle was fought in 937 between Athelstane King of England and a combination of Danish Kings from Ireland, the Welsh King of Strathclyde, and Constantine King of Scotland, who had sworn homage to the crown of England. The site of the battle is much disputed, the latest evidence would fix it at Burnswark on the coast of Dumfriesshire. [See Dr Hodgkin, *Political History of England*, vol. I, 1906.]

p. 86. 1. *Turris Ardens*, Flaming Tower, or *La Tour d'Ordre*. Some ruins of a rude brick building are to be seen on the cliffs at Boulogne—the ancient *Gessoriacum*—these are said to be the remains of the tower built by Caligula when he marched to the shores of the Channel and threatened an invasion of Britain. An imaginary model of the tower is to be seen in the museum at Boulogne.

p. 87. 1. *Arnolph* (c. 850-899). Roman Emperor. Illegitimate son of Carloman, King of Bavaria and Italy. He became Margrave of Carinthia. In 882 he did homage to Charles-le-Gras, but in 887 joined the coalition against the Emperor,

forced him to abdicate at Tribur, and was then recognised by the Germans as their king. In 896 he was crowned Emperor at Rome. On his way back he was stricken with a fatal malady of which he died. (See vol. I, ch. V and Gen. Table X.)

p. 88. 1. *Eboracum*. Roman name of York.

—2. *The Rhipæan range* or the *Rhiphæi*. This name was frequently used by the ancient poets to describe any desolate, northern range of mountains, but was more particularly applied by both poets and ancient geographers to mountains supposed to be situated in Asia to the north of the land of the Scythians. They were regarded as the home of the Gorgons, and the source of the River Tanais—the ancient name of the Don—was said to be among them. See Virgil, *Georgics*, bk. I, ll. 240–241:

“Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipæasque arduus arces
Consurgit; premitur Libyæ devexus in Austros.”

[“Sheer as the universe rises towards Scythia and the Rhipæan peaks, so sheer it sinks sloping towards Libya and the South.” Virgil, trans. by John Jackson (Clar. Press).]

And bk. IV, ll. 517–520:

“Solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaïmque nivalem,
Arvaque Rhipæis nunquam viduata pruinis,
Lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque irrita Ditis
Dona querens.”

[“Through the frozen North, along the icy Tanais, and the fields ever wedded to the Rhipæan snows, he paced alone, mourning his lost Eurydice and the bootless gifts of Dis.” (*Ib.*)]

p. 89. 1. *Odo Bishop of Sherborne*. Odo or Oda (d. 958), Archbishop of Canterbury, called “the good,” was the son of a Dane. In 927 he was given by King Athelstan, who highly favoured him, the bishopric of Ramsbury (or Sherborne). In 936 he was sent by Athelstane to escort Louis d’Outremer back to France. In 942 he became Archbishop of Canterbury and till his death he showed great activity in the reformation of morals, the maintenance of the rights of the church, and the restoration of monastic discipline. [See Raine, *History of the Church at York*, vol. I, p. 401 ff.]

p. 91. 1. *Honorius, Flavius Augustus*. Roman Emperor of the West. r. 395–423 A.D.

—2. *Sens*. The capital of the Senones, an important archbishopric. Thomas à Becket fled to Sens from Henry II (1164) and many relics of him still remain there. The Cathedral in many respects resembles that of Canterbury, on which William of Sens worked as architect (1175–1178).

—3. *Pothinus* or *Photinus* (87–177 A.D.). Saint, bishop, and martyr, born probably at Smyrna, died at Lyons. In 158 he was sent by the Pope on a mission to the Gauls and formed a church at Lyons which soon became very flourishing. He was martyred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The dungeon in which he was confined adjoins the crypt of the Abbey of Ainay at Lyons.

—4. *Irenæus* (b. between 135–45—d. 202 A.D.). Saint and martyr, second bishop of Lyons, where he succeeded Pothinus in 178, was born in Asia Minor and died during the persecution ordered by Septimius Severus. He was a voluminous writer, a great opponent of the heresies of his time, and a firm champion of Catholic doctrine.

p. 92. 1. *Bertrada*. (See note below on *Ivo Carnotensis*.)

—2. *Ivo Carnotensis* (1040–1116). Bishop of Chartres. His great fame for learning caused him to receive the title of “one of the most renowned doctors of the Church of France.” In 1091 he became bishop of Chartres. When in 1092 King Philip I repudiated his wife Bertha, in order to marry Bertrada of Montfort, Ivo firmly refused to sanction the marriage and though imprisoned by the King persevered in his resolution till the Council of Beaugency (1104) when Philip abandoned Bertrada and received absolution. On the accession of Louis VI le-Gros, Ivo counselled him to be crowned at Orleans instead of Rheims, in order to defeat the ambitious schemes of Bertrada and her sons. Ivo raised greatly the reputation of his school at Chartres where he died. He wrote with great learning on the Canon Law and was also a Church reformer. His

compilations of this Law are of substantial and permanent value. The *Decretum* in 17 books was probably the first result of his labours of which the *Pannonia* in 8 books (1096) is a more concise digest. [See P. Fournier "Les Collections canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres" published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* (1896-7).]

p. 93. 1. *Nosce te ipsum.* Know thyself.

— 2. *The Delphic Oracle.* The Oracle of Delphi, a town of Phocis in Greece, situated at the foot of Mount Parnassus was celebrated throughout the ancient world. The legend of its discovery relates that a goatherd feeding his goats on the slopes of the mountain drew near to a deep crevice in the ground from which a vapour issued forth. Observing that the goats which approached quite close to the crevice immediately became affected in some strange manner, he leaned over it endeavouring to discover the cause, and, inhaling the vapour, found himself seized as it were with an inspiration and speaking in a wild and unwonted way. This drew the attention of the surrounding inhabitants to the circumstance and other people being affected in the same manner, the words pronounced by them while under the influence of the vapour were regarded as prophetic and oracular. A temple was built over the crevice in honour of Apollo, and the priestess of the temple delivered the oracles.

— 3. *Pythagoras* (6th century B.C.). A celebrated Greek thinker, reformer and mathematician and the founder of the Pythagorean School of Philosophy.

— 4. *Thales* (640-546 B.C.), called Thales of Miletus of which place he was probably a native, is regarded as the founder of astronomy, geometry and philosophy among the Greeks.

— 5. *Cimmerian.* The Cimmerii were a mythical people who, according to the old Greek stories lived on the west coast of Italy in caves in which they concealed plunder. Homer describes their country as one "where the sun never shines and perpetual darkness reigns." [Cp. Milton, *L'Allegro*, "In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell" l. 10.]

p. 96. 1. *The hero of the Vimeux.* Louis III (863-882), King of France, son of Louis-le-Bègue whom he succeeded in 879. He conquered the Danes at Saucourt in the Vimeux in 881. (See vol. I, ch. iv, §§ 14, 15.)

p. 97. 1. *Bruce.* The original seat of this family was at Bruis between Vallonges and Cherbourg.

— 2. *John, the Abbot of famous Landevenech* (fl. 900-952). Appointed by Alain Barbe-torte to the Benedictine Abbey of St Guingaloeus, Landevenech, in the diocese of Quimper, Brittany. [*Gallia Christiana*, T. xiv, p. 894.]

p. 99. 1. *St Felix* (c. 512-c. 583), 16th bishop of Nantes in Brittany. He succeeded to the see in 549, and in 568 dedicated the Cathedral commenced by his predecessor.

— 2. *Cordelière.* The knotted cord of the Cordelier or Franciscan Brother. [Cp. *Io fui uom d' arme, e poi fui cordelliero*, "I was a man of arms, and afterwards a Cordelier" (i.e. a Grey Friar girded with the cord of St Francis of Assisi). Dante, *Inferno*, xxvii, 67, trans. by W. W. Vernon (Macmillan).] In heraldry the knotted cord often surrounds the shield, or is arranged as a cipher, or as a crest, and was generally regarded as peculiar to widows.

— 3. *Good Duchess Anne* (1476-1512). Heiress of the Duchy of Brittany. She married Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498), and so became Queen of France. After his death she married Louis XII (r. 1498-1515), thus retaining the title.

p. 100. 1. *Du Cange, Charles du Fresne* (1610-1688). French historian and philologist. His great work the *Glossarium ad Scriptores Medice et Infimæ Latinitatis* was published 1678.

— 2. *Plancher, Urbain* (1667-1750). French historian. In 1685 he became a monk in the order of the Benedictines of Saint Maur. His *Histoire générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne* was published at Dijon 1739-1748.

— 3. 30 November 879. (See vol. I, ch. iv, § 10.)

p. 102. 1. *Fideles.* Vassals.

— 2. *St Martin.* The lands attached to the famous Abbey of St Martin at Tours. (See note, *Marmoutier*, vol. I, p. 497.)

p. 103. 1. "Hugh, dearly-beloved by us and Duke of the Franks, who is second to us throughout the whole of our dominion."

p. 103. 2. *Damoyseau*. Old French for a young nobleman, from Latin *dominicellus*, diminutive form of *dominus*, lord.

p. 105. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

— 2. *The inimitable Fabulist*. Jean de la Fontaine (1621–1695). A famous French poet best known by his *Contes* and *Fables*.

p. 107. 1. “The Pictures of the Middle Ages.”

p. 108. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 109. 1. *Vlaemsche taal*. The Flemish speech.

— 2. *Keurmannen* and *Scheppen*. Flemish words meaning “Councillors” and “Aldermen.”

— 3. *Cæsar’s Castle*.

— 4. *Portus Icius* or *Itius*. The port from which Julius Cæsar sailed from Gaul to Britain on his second invasion in 54 B.C.

— 5. *Wit-sant*. The name remains as Wissant or Ouessant, a village four miles north of Cape Gris-nez.

p. 111. 1. *The Guisnes annals*. See Freeman, *Historical Essays*, Fourth Series, vii, “The Lords of Ardres.”

— 2. “Field of the Cloth of Gold.” The scene of the famous meeting (1520) between Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France when the latter at the period of his rivalry with the Emperor Charles V sought the friendship of the English King.

— 3. *Brienne*. In the 10th century the town and county of Brienne was captured by an adventurer called Engelbert who founded a famous house, that of Brienne, which lasted till 1356 when Count Walter VI’s sister and heiress, Isabella, married Walter of Enghien. From them arose a second dynasty in Brienne which lasted till the 18th century.

p. 113. 1. *The Synod of Trosley*. At the instigation of Herbert II, Count of Vermandois, a synod of the archdiocese of Rheims was held in 927 at Trosley (dept. Aisne, arr. de Laon, cant. de Coucy le Château); Herlouin was forced to do public penance for the crime of bigamy. [Lauer, *Robert I et Raoul de Bourgogne*, p. 48.]

p. 115. 1. *Porphyrogenitism*. The children of the Byzantine Emperors were styled *Porphyrogeniti* (born in the purple) if their father were Emperor at the time of their birth. There would naturally arise a contest between children born before the accession of the Emperor and those born afterwards. The *Porphyrogeniti* would naturally be preferred. Henry I of England was born when his father was King of England, William Rufus while the Conqueror was only Duke of Normandy.

p. 116. 1. *King Granus*. Connected in local legends with Apollo Granus who was supposed to preside over hot springs. The Roman name for Aix-la-Chapelle was *Aquisgranum*.

— 2. “Marshall of the Empire.”

— 3. *Everhard* or *Eberhard*. Duke of Franconia (911–939), killed in battle against King Otho. See p. 125.

p. 118. 1. *Ehresburg* or *Eresburg*. A fortress standing on the frontier of the territory of the old Saxons, occupied the site of the present town of Marsberg on the river Diemel in Westphalia. It had been venerated in earlier times as the site of the sacred Irmensäule (see vol. i, p. 474), thrown down by Charlemagne during his attack on the Saxons in 772. In this campaign Ehresburg was an important centre of fighting, being several times taken by Charlemagne and retaken by the Saxons. [See *English Commonwealth*, Part II, under “The King’s Highways” (notes to the *Laws of the Conqueror*, No. xxvi) and Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 226 ff.]

— 2. *Leo III* (Pope, 795–816) was obliged to leave Rome in 799 and seek protection from his enemies under Winigis, Duke of Spoleto. Later he moved on to meet Charlemagne at Paderborn, then a town of considerable importance, about 20 miles from Ehresburg.

p. 120. 1. *Thierry*. Latin, Theodoricus; Dutch, Dirk or Diederic. In 922 Charles-le-Simple gave to Dirk, a Frisian Count, the church of Egmont and its lands. This Dirk I (d. 939) founded a line of Counts of Holland, many of whom bore his name. In 1204 Dirk VII died without heirs male and his

brother William succeeded him and continued the dynasty which expired in 1345.

p. 121. 1. *Stanislaus I, Lesczynski* (1677–1766). King of Poland. In 1733 Louis XV supported the claims of Stanislaus to the throne of Poland. In 1736 as a result of the War of the Polish Succession Stanislaus was compelled to abdicate. He received in compensation the dukedom of Lorraine and Bar which was to revert to France at his death. (This passage in the *History* was written before the year 1870.)

p. 125. 1. See Appendix B.

p. 135. 1. *Pays Porcien*. A French countship of mediæval times situated to the north of Rheims.

— 2. *Alberic II* (d. 954). Son of Marozia (see p. 512) and Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, a foreign mercenary soldier of obscure birth, but of great ability and ambition. Both father and son rose to positions of great power in Rome. Their history belongs to a period when there was virtually no Emperor, the death of Charles III le-Gras (r. 881–887), the last of the Carolingian House to wear the Imperial Crown, having been followed by a division of the great Western Empire. A series of kings nominally reigned in Italy, some of whom bore the title of Emperor, but the actual power in Rome was in the hands of the aristocracy until the German King Otho I was crowned Emperor there in 962. (See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. vi.) Alberic II governed Rome from 932 till his death, as “Prince and Senator of the Romans.”

p. 137. 1. *Blinded Bernard* (d. 818). King of Italy, son of Carloman, or Pepin (d. 810), the second son of Charlemagne. (See vol. I and Gen. Table VII.)

— 2. *The Lombard line*. (See vol. I, p. 194 and Gen. Table VII.)

p. 143. 1. “St Michael in peril of the sea.” Mont St Michel.

p. 146. 1. *St Philibert* founded the Abbey of Jumièges in the middle of the 7th century.

p. 150. 1. *Æginetan marbles*. Sculptures from the pediments of the great temple dedicated to Artemis Aphaia in the island of Ægina on the shores of Greece. These sculptures are supposed to have been executed early in the 5th century B.C., probably by Onatas (6th–5th century B.C.). The two groups represent Greeks and Trojans fighting, each pediment celebrating a great Æginetan hero, Telamon on one and Achilles on the other. The work is very fine and excels in the composition of the groups fitted to suit the triangular spaces they occupy and in the modelling of the lithe and muscular figures of the warriors. The figures depart from the old conventional stiffness of pose and for the first time in Greek art successfully represent by the attitudes of the limbs and the expressions of the countenances the vigorous action of the fighters and the intense physical suffering of the fallen. The sculptures have been restored by Thorwaldsen and are preserved in the Glyptothek Museum at Munich where they were placed in 1812.

p. 151. 1. “Wolf’s head,” Outlaw. *E.g.* O.E. *wulfes heafod*, Lat. *caput lupinum*, O.N. *vargr i véum*. See *The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, c. vi: “If afterwards he be discovered and it be possible to take him, he shall be delivered to the king alive, or his head, if he offer resistance; he shall bear a wolf’s head (*caput lupinum*) from the day of his outlawry, which is called by the English *wulfesheued*.” Cf. too, *Gamelyn*, 700:

“Gamelyn woluesheed was cryed and maad.”

p. 152. 1. *Gorm-hin-gamle*. Gorm the Old is the name given to the King of Denmark who died in 940 or thereabouts, the epithet being applied to distinguish him from *Gorm-hin-rige*, i.e. Gorm the Powerful, a previous King of Denmark. It is doubtful how far we can give this king a definite historical position. He has by some historians been identified with the Guðrum of East Anglia who lived in the days of Alfred. Guðrum is from O.N. *Guðormr*, the full form of the name which in Danish appears as Gorm. (See vol. III, Gen. Table XX.)

p. 155. 1. *Lehrstand* etc. (German). *Lehre*, doctrine, precept, admonition; *lehren*, to teach, to instruct; *Lehrstand*, the occupation of teaching others; *Wehr*, defence, resistance; *wehren*, to defend, to fight; *Wehrstand*, the military class; *nahren*, to feed, to nourish; *Nährstand*, the labouring class.

— 2. *Canute*. King of England. r. 1016–1035. (See vol. III, Gen. Table XX.)

p. 155. 3. "The foundations of the State."

p. 156. 1. "Knights, Clergy and Villeins;
Each is right and good and sound,
Though they differ from each other,
Yet Holy Church receives them all.
Each Order supports the others,
And each Order upholds the others.
Three Orders there are, each one distinct....
Those who live thus differently
Will they all receive alike
A merit and a reward,
Tell me this, I beg of you?"

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 11072 ff.

p. 160. 1. *Rudo Jarl*. The Dukes of Normandy were known to the Norsemen as *Rúðu-jarlar*, i.e. Earls of *Ruða*. *Ruða* is the Norse adaptation of the mediæval form *Rodomum* of the name of Rouen, the capital of Normandy.

— 2. *Rune-stave*. The old runic characters were in the earliest days of their use often inscribed on "staves" of wood, hence the term *rune-staves* is often used for the early alphabet.

p. 163. 1. *Oggiero il Danese*, i.e. *Ogier the Dane*, or *Holger Danske*. A hero who appears in history and in legend, one of the Twelve Paladins of Charlemagne in French mediæval romance. The real Ogier is identified with the Frankish warrior Autchar (Oggerius) who in 771 protected the widow and children of Carloman, the brother of Charlemagne during their journey to the Court of Desiderius, King of Lombardy, and fought for a time in the army of the latter. He is also said to have led the Bavarian contingent to the battle of Roncesvaux. He ended his life in a monastery. He figures largely in the Carolingian epic cycle, and is found in Italian, Celtic, Spanish and Danish romances and legends, the fairy element predominating in some of them. Well known versions of the story are the Italian *Libro de le bataglie del Danese* (Milan, 1498), and an English version *Famous and renowned history of Morrine, son of Oger the Dane*, trans. by J. M. (London, 1612). [Cf. *The Earthly Paradise* by William Morris.] Ogier has been adopted in Denmark as a national hero, and his hold on the sentiment of the people may be learnt from Hans Andersen's story *Holger Danske* in which he is described as sleeping in a crypt below the castle of Kronenburg near the Sound of Elsinore ready to wake up in time of danger to help the Danes. There is however considerable doubt as to whether he had in reality any connection with Denmark, and it has been suggested that the name Ogier le Danois was originally Ogier l'Ardennois.

p. 164. 1. "The fourth day after."

— 2. "Bill of exchange."

p. 166. 1. *Aristogiton and Harmodius*. Two Athenian youths, friends, who planned to murder the tyrants of Athens, Hippias and Hipparchus, who were sons of the great statesman Peisistratus (605 ?–527 B.C.), in the year 510 B.C. in revenge for an insult offered by Hipparchus to the sister of Harmodius. The friends succeeded in killing Hipparchus but were themselves slain. They were, after the expulsion of Hippias from Athens, revered as patriots.

— 2. *Tipperary blunderbuss*. The reference is probably to the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

— 3. *The classic land of liberty*. Switzerland.

— 4. "Bundle of honour."

— 5. *Tell, Wilhelm*. The hero of Switzerland, traditionally one of the patriots connected with the origin of the Swiss Confederation. Many tales are told of his skill with his cross-bow, the best known being that he was condemned to shoot an apple balanced on his son's head by a tyrannical bailiff in the service of Austria to whom he had refused some exaggerated act of courtesy. Another relates that he was seized by the bailiff, who ordered him to be conveyed to prison by boat across the Lake of Lucerne. A storm arose and the boat being in great difficulties Tell's limbs were unbound in order that he might assist the crew. Tell made use of his freedom to shoot the bailiff. The former of these legends appears in the national romances of many other countries, the

earliest of these (c. 1200) has for its hero Palna-Toki, the foster-father of Swegen, King of Denmark (see Saxo Grammaticus, Bk x).

p. 166. 6. *The gory head of the Pretender*. Prince Charles Edward Stuart. After his defeat at Culloden Moor in 1745 the young Pretender remained in hiding in Scotland among Highland gillies and shepherds for over five months, in spite of the fact that a sum of £30,000 was placed on his head by the Government.

— 7. *Dayak* or *Dyak*. The name of a tribe in Borneo. A reference to the vote of the Commons on July 10, 1851, exonerating Rajah Brooke of Sarawak from the charges, brought by the "Manchester party," of illegal and cruel conduct in the suppression of piracy in the Bornean seas. [*Annual Register*, 1851, pp. 134-6.]

p. 167. 1. *Island of the Reno*. Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus met on a small island in the Reno, a river of Northern Italy, between La Crocetta and Trebbo, near Bologna, in 43 B.C., the year following the murder of Julius Caesar, and there agreed to assume a joint authority under the name of "Triumvirs for settling the affairs of the Commonwealth." They were known as the "Second Triumvirate."

— 2. *Isle des Perdrix* in the Bidassoa, where in 1659 was signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees between France and Spain, as a result of which Louis XIV married the Spanish Infanta Maria Theresa.

p. 168. 1. *Thibault Count of Blois*. The Tricker, the Cheat, or the Old. Believed to be the son of a kinsman of Rollo. (See vol. I, p. 277.) He was the first of a line of Counts of Blois and the ancestor of Stephen King of England (1145-1154). See Genealogical Table No. XVII.

p. 170. 1. *Chevauchée*. Raid or foray.

p. 171. 1. "His beard was white and flowing,
And there was not in all Normandy
A knight of like age
Who seemed more noble and wise."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 14936.

— 2. "Gentle Lady of high descent,
Beautiful, courteous, noble and wise." *Ib.* v. 15494.

— 3. *Yvo*. *Lord of Belesme*. Also called Yvo de Creil. Belesme or Bellême was an important seignury in Normandy. Creil is situated on the Oise, north of Paris.

— 4. The "Veteran" or the "Brave Marquess" (see p. 207) or the "Norman of Normans."

p. 172. 1. "*The Right Divine...*" Pope, *Dunciad* iv, 188.

p. 173. 1. *Clerisy*. The Clerus or Order of the Clergy.

— 2. "The King is dead—Long live the King."

— 3. "The death of the ancestor creates the heir."

p. 176. 1. *Henri Quatre* (r. 1589-1610). His great popularity was largely due to his affability and sympathy with all classes of people. He was extremely courageous, and knew how to select admirable advisers in the government of the kingdom.

— 2. "Dashing ladies' man"; "gay spark."

— 3. *Gabrielle d'Estrées* (1573-1599). Daughter of the Marquis de Cœuvres, a favourite mistress of Henry IV.

p. 177. 1. "Here the Kings of the line of Charles came to an end."

p. 182. 1. "He who has a partner has a master."

— 2. *The world-renowned epithet of Capet*. Perhaps the surname is to be connected with the important monasteries of which Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet were abbots; for the *cappa* or *capa* was an ecclesiastical vestment worn especially by abbots and abbesses. [See Lot, *Hugh Capet*, p. 305 ff., "Le surnom de Capet."]

p. 184. 1. *Alfred's fatal grant*. By the Treaty of Wedmore 878, Alfred abandoned to Guthrun, the Danish leader, all England north of the Thames and east of Watling Street, the Roman Road running from London past St Albans to Wroxeter (Uriconium) near Shrewsbury. This district was called the Danelaghe.

p. 185. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 189. 1. *Rentes*. The French National Debt corresponding to "consols" in England.

p. 190. 1. "King Louis gave the land of the Normans to the son of William, born of his Breton concubine."

— 2. *Mesne Lord*. Their immediate lord, that is the Duke. By swearing homage to Louis the Normans acknowledged the King of France as their liege lord.

p. 195. 1. *Jus gentium*. See vol. III, ch. IV, § 36.

— 2. *Sybil* or *Sibyl*. The Sybils appear repeatedly in Greek and Roman fables and history. They were women who were supposed to prophesy under the inspiration of the deity. There were ten Sybils, one of whom was said to have sold the Sibylline Books, which held the expression of their wisdom, to Tarquin the Proud, King of Rome (534-510 B.C.) The books were entrusted to the care of ten Roman citizens whose duty it was to consult them for advice and instruction in times of national calamities.

— 3. *Tribonian* (6th century of the Christian era). A famous lawyer of the reign of the Emperor Justinian (r. 527-565 A.D.) whose chief legal minister he was. He was appointed in 528 one of ten commissioners to prepare the *Codex* of Imperial Constitutions, and in 530 President of the sixteen commissioners selected to form a collection of extracts from the great jurists of the early Roman Empire. The result of this second Commission was the publication of the *Digest* or *Pandects*, the most valuable collection of Roman edicts in existence. Tribonian also drew up with the help of other lawyers a text-book called the *Institutes* and later worked on the revision of the *Codex*. Our *English Tribonian* is Sir Edward Coke.

p. 202. 1. "But one thing I require of you,
That you permit me to take Richard away
To be and remain with me so long,
That he may learn and understand
What is regarded as honour in this age....

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 13305.

That he may know how to treat a matter well,
To speak clearly and to judge aright:
Obscure, serious and hidden matters
To explain neatly and to make clear.
Of everything that is done,
Said, spoken of or recounted,
He will have instruction and knowledge

A thousand times more in my palaces in France
Than he would have in Normandy." *Ib.* v. 13311.

— 2. "He made all swear fealty
To Duke Richard, the handsome and the noble,
He demanded also his rights for him with zeal,
As though he had been his own son." *Ib.* v. 13359.

p. 204. 1. "The reserve" (the vassals of the feudal barons).

— 2. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 13386.

p. 205. 1. "Not for three hundred thousand marks in silver
Would he have either truce or peace
From now to the festival of St Gervais,
For the great damage and the loss
He earned his deserts
Such as he had merited,
Vile treaty-breaker and traitor to his faith!
Richard shall go forward with me."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 13396.

— 2. "With such alluring speeches,
And with such appeals,
They were deceived, that is the sum of it,
By the strategy of the Knave.
Alas! how many tears have now been shed,
For he may never more behold his native land."

Ib. v. 13411.

- p. 206. 1. See Appendix A, especially note 7.
- p. 208. 1. "A city preeminent amongst others."
 — 2. *Julian*. Flavius Claudius Julianus. Commonly called Julian the Apostate, Emperor of Rome (r. 361–363 A.D.). About the year 357 he was made by the Emperor Constantius (r. 337–361) Governor of Gaul, which was being ravaged by German tribes. He soon subdued the invaders, and restored order. He rebuilt many cities that had been destroyed, reformed the local administration and reorganised the taxation.
- p. 209. 1. *Moutier*. Old French for "monastery."
- p. 210. 1. "A notable man and one of royal descent."
- p. 211. 1. "Hugh, the most excellent Duke of the Franks."
 — 2. "Hugh by the mercy of Almighty God, Duke of the Franks."
- p. 213. 1. "Spiritual relationship."
 — 2. "Friendly relationship."
 — 3. "Hugh the Duke, raised the King's daughter up from the holy font and the King bestowed on him the Duchy of France and subjected all Burgundy to his sway."
- p. 214. 1. "Hugh the Duke being held in great favour by the King raised the King's daughter up from the holy font; whereupon the King created him Duke of all the Gauls."
 — 2. *Richerius* (fl. 966–998). A monk of St Remi at Rheims and a chronicler. He was son of Raoul a warrior strongly attached to Louis IV d'Outremer and the Carolingian family. The four books of his History (ed. Poinson, with French translation, Rheims, 1855), which cover the period 888–995 (continued in short annals to 998), are very favourable to the Carolingian side and a valuable authority for the Capetian Revolution of 987. [See Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, vol. I, p. 284; also *Authorities*, pp. 499 ff. and notes, p. 539.]
- 3. *Frodoardus*. See *Authorities*, pp. 499 ff. and notes, p. 539.
- p. 215. 1. *Raymond Pons III*. Count of Toulouse (924–c. 950). See p. 515.
- p. 216. 1. *Serlo the Brigand*. See p. 106.
- p. 223. 1. *Monument of the Merovingian princes*. A mutilated monument was discovered some years ago in the Abbey of Jumièges and is preserved in a small museum attached to the Abbey, bearing the recumbent figures of two youths with circlelets round their heads. The monument is known by the name of "Les Enervés," from a tradition that the figures represent two sons of Clovis II, who, in the absence of their father, rebelled against the authority of their mother. As a punishment the sinews of their legs and arms were cut, and they were set adrift in a boat on the Seine. They floated down stream to Jumièges where they were received and protected by the monks.
- p. 232. 1. *Ostman*. A name applied to the Scandinavians in Ireland by the English settlers. It doubtless represents the Old Norse *Austmaðr*, a man dwelling to the East; but it is difficult to say how or where it first came to be applied to the Norsemen. The word survives in Oxmanstown (earlier Ostmanstown), the quarter of Dublin assigned to the Ostmen by the English invaders. [Cf. Mawer, *The Vikings*, p. 121 ff.]
- p. 233. 1. *The Five Burghs*, the lands around and including the towns of Leicester, Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby and Stamford which formed a part of the territory handed over by Alfred to the Danes by the Treaty of Wedmore (878). The Five Burghs were reconquered by Edward the Elder (r. 900–924), and firmly secured by Edmund (r. 940–946).
- p. 236. 1. *A Normand, Normand et demi*, (lit.) To a Norman, a Norman and a half (cf. French proverb, *à corsaire, corsaire et demi*, set a thief to catch a thief).
- p. 237. 1.
 "Let us indeed be fully satisfied with this entrustment
 That Bernard the Dane should have him (the boy) at Senlis (Saint Liz).
 Even a small portion is too much;
 Three arrows and a musket hawk
 Are enough for such a lad to have."

- p. 237. 2. "Alas! how they have been brought to mourn.
Neither comfort nor counsel have they
But great wonder at Bernard.
Disinherited for life
Is Richard, the child of Normandy."

Ib. vv. 14914, 14916, 14922.

p. 242. 1. *Charles-le-Magne*, Charles the Great. *Hugh-le-Magne*, Hugh the Great.

p. 246. 1. *Jeannie Geddes*. In 1636 Charles I and Archbishop Laud ordered that a Scottish Liturgy—a modified version of the Anglican Prayerbook—should be used in the churches of Scotland. This was extremely unpopular among the Scottish people who called the Prayerbook a "mass-book." An old woman of Edinburgh attending Divine Service at St Giles's Cathedral when the Royal mandate was to be carried out, gave expression to popular feeling by throwing, in virtuous indignation, the little stool she had carried with her, at the head of the Dean as he commenced to read the printed liturgy, exclaiming "De'il collic, the wame o' ye. Wad ye say mass in my lug." The stool missed its mark, but the old dame's action was regarded with sympathy by her fellow-countrymen.

—2. *The Seven English Bishops*. In 1687, James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence to grant religious liberty to all denominations, but drawn up in such a manner as to give undue favour to Roman Catholic claims. Without submitting this Declaration to Parliament he ordered it to be read from all the pulpits in the land. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops petitioned him to release the clergy from this command on the ground of its illegality. They were arrested and tried for sedition, but acquitted by the jury. It was the most unpopular action of a most unpopular English monarch.

p. 254. 1. *The Antonines*. Of these the first was Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161 A.D.). The dynasty ended with Commodus, 192 A.D.

p. 259. 1. *Danerkonge*, King of the Danes. Harold Blaatand.

p. 266. 1. *Olave, Olaf or Anlaf* (d. circa 942), was the son of Godfrey or Guthfrith, King of Northumbria (925–7), whence he was expelled by Athelstane. After Athelstane's death in 941, Olaf recovered Northumbria but died soon after. He was succeeded by his cousin Olaf the son of Sihtric who had been King of Northumbria before Godfrey. Olaf Sihtricsen was expelled by Edmund about the year 944. [See *English Commonwealth*, Pt II, under "Summaries of Anglo-Saxon History." "Northumbria."]

p. 267. 1. *Death of Edmund* (946). See *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, ch. xi.

p. 271. 1. *Peter Michaeloff*. The Czar Peter the Great, r. 1682–1725.

—2. *Ruric*. A Swedish Viking who in the 9th century became prince over the Slav state of Kiev and founded the line of Muscovite Czars.

p. 272. 1. *Tancred of Hauteville*. An obscure Knight of Normandy (11th century) whose son Robert Guiscard joined in the Norman invasion of Southern Italy in 1046, conquered Salerno, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, and took the title Duke of Apulia and Calabria. He died in 1085 warring against the Greek Empire.

—2. "The Apulian and the Calabrian, the Sicilian and the African were my slaves."

p. 278. 1. *Louis le bien aimé*. Louis XV (r. 1715–1774). During a severe illness there was a great outburst of affection towards Louis throughout France which led to his receiving the above title.

—2. *Louis le désiré*. Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824), brother of Louis XVI, was made King of France at the Restoration on the downfall of Napoleon.

—3. *Friedrich der Grosse*. Frederick II the Great (r. 1740–1786), King of Prussia.

—4. *Queen Anne* (r. 1702–1714), of England. Daughter of James II.

—5. *Bohemian Queen*. Anne of Bohemia (1366–1394) married Richard II of England in 1383. She was the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI and was gifted, highly educated and of an amiable and noble character.

—6. The first of these alternatives is probably correct; struggles with embodied ghosts are by no means uncommon in Scandinavian authorities,

e.g. Saxo, Bk v, and *Grettis saga*, c. xviii, xxxv (tr. Morris and Magnússon) for Grettis's fights with the spirits of Karr the Old and Glam the Thrall.

p. 278. 7. "Moreover the Lords (Seigneurs) of Normandy, perceiving that he had so prudently exterminated the prince of evil, feared him greatly."

p. 280. 1. "He holds, as a King, the monarchy of the land of Normandy."

— 2. "Count of the Normans and the Britons."

— 3. *Alain's wife*. Roscilla daughter of Foulques-le-Roux, Count of Anjou (see p. 100 and Gen. Tables XV and XVI).

p. 286. 1. *Griselda*. A heroine of romance, supposed to have been the daughter of a charcoal-burner, became the wife of Gualterio, Marquis of Saluzzo in the 11th century. Her story is told by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*. It is thought probable that Boccaccio found it among the Provençal *fabliaux*, short stories in verse which hold a distinct place in French mediæval literature. *Griselda* also appears in the writings of Petrarch and Chaucer.

— 2. See Appendix A, especially note 7.

p. 287. 1. "Richard fights not for King nor Duke and he holds himself accountable to submit to no one but God."

— 2. "Then answers Bernard of Senlis:

'Of this I am convinced and certain

That there is nothing in all the world more perfect

Than your daughter with the fair looks.'"

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 17812.

p. 288. 1. "And for that matter, if he is agreeable,

The land which he has and holds,

Will I defend for him against all men

If only he desires and takes my daughter.

Father, counsellor and helper

Will I be to him against all comers." *Ib.* v. 17836.

p. 289. 1. *Donzel*. A youth, from the Latin *dominicellus*. (See note, *Damoyseau*, p. 519.)

p. 290. 1. *Welland* (also in English, *Wayland the Smith*, Scand., *Völundr*, German, *Wieland*). A hero of northern mythology whose story is to be found in the older Edda and Thithriks Saga of Bern, and also in Anglo-Saxon poetry. He is represented as a workman of wonderful skill and cunning, and swords forged by him were supposed to be gifted with extraordinary properties. A belief that he still exercised his craft near the White Horse Hill in Berkshire lingered among the country people until comparatively modern times [see Sir Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*]. The "cave" in which he was supposed to work is a dolmen, or neolithic burial place built of large stone slabs.

— 2. "Prince of the Franks, Burgundians, Bretons and Normans."

p. 291. 1. *Odal* or *Udal* landholders were those who held land under the Allodial or freehold system. Allodial land was the absolute property of the owners who acknowledged no superior and owed no "service," as in the case of the feudal tenure, though in some instances they appear to have paid a tribute called *scaet* either to the King, or King's representative or to the Church. The holder needed no written charter, but entered into possession of his property by receiving in the presence of witnesses, a block of stone or lump of turf taken from the land, and his property descended to his children in undisputed succession. This system of tenure prevailed in Northern Europe at the time when the Teutonic tribes rose into pre-eminence and the power of Rome decayed. The tribes overran and conquered the land and distributed it among their freemen. Later the feudal system was introduced and became general in England and Scotland under William the Conqueror, but Allodial land still holds on in the Orkneys and Shetlands (see Sir Walter Scott, *The Pirate*). The derivation of the word is obscure. *Alod*, or as it is sometimes written *ethel*, may be connected with the word *lot* suggesting the method by which the lands were distributed in the first instance, or it may be a combination of *All*, whole or entire, and *odr*, property. [See Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, arts. "Alod" and "Udal."]

p. 295. 1. *Edeling*, *Atheling* or *Etheling*. One of royal blood among the Teutonic nations. (Cp. Modern German *edel*, noble.)

p. 296. 1. "And though it was in very truth a very mighty army, thirty-

two legions to wit, not one man was there found not wearing the straw hat, except the Abbot of Corbey, Bovo by name, and his three followers."

p. 297. 1. "Our Abbot Bovo went with King Otho and his immense army to fight against Capet, wearing a summer hat."

p. 298. 1. *Cerne*. A circle, a ring (Old French, *cerne*, a circle, Latin *circinus*, a pair of compasses).

p. 300. 1. *Helden-buch*. A book of heroes. The name, which is derived from the German *Held*, a hero, was given to certain collections—such as that found in a Dresden MS. of the year 1472—of Middle High German poems dealing with the adventures of Dietrich von Bern, Ortnit and Wolf-Dietrich; in their original form, they probably date from the 13th century. They are published in the *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1866–1873). A popular account in English may be found in Jiriczek's *Northern Hero Legends*.

—2. *Flamberg*. A large sword. It is suggested that the derivation is from the French *flanc*, side and the German *bergen*, to protect.

p. 303. 1. *Orfray* or *Orphrey*. Gold embroidery, sometimes gold tissue.

—2. *Sendal*. A silk fabric, used for flags and pennons, and also for robes and hangings.

p. 304. 1. *Alani*. The Alani were a nomadic tribe of Iranian-Altaic blood who joined the Huns in their invasions of Eastern Europe. A branch of this people, the Ossetes, exists in the Caucasus.

p. 307. 1. "Otho, great and worshipful King,
Why dost thou seek with thy hostile host
To mangle Richard the renowned, sacred,
Noble, just, upright, modest Marquis, highborn and holy,
Now a high-souled and brave leader?
Why dost thou seek to overwhelm him
With this malicious enterprise and to
Rob him of his honours as a prince
So that he may not follow his own thoughts,
But yield to the nod of his King, and mighty overlord?
For no one can resist this mighty lord,
Nor may turn this star-like prince from his purpose.
This Count, Duke, high-born and mighty;
This Marquess, holy, renowned and modest,
Will control the people with gentle laws.
In his wisdom he will torture and destroy the guilty,
But will give worthy rewards to those that deserve them.
Radiant in his holy and worthy character,
He will thus ascend to the glittering stars of the firmament.
Thou, O powerful King, vigorous and mighty,
Thou wilt be trampled down by his imperishable authority
And thou wilt abide in ridicule and mockery;
And so wilt thou go hated by the Normans
And ashamed, to the hall of thy palace." Dudo, iv, 96.

—2. "God our aid."

p. 309. 1. *Acketon* or *Acton*. A quilted vest or tunic, made of taffeta or leather and worn under armour to save the body from bruises (Provencal, *alcoto*, cotton wool, padding, Spanish, *algodon*, cotton). [See *Century Dictionary*.]

p. 310. 1. *Aurochs-horn*. The aurochs was the wild ox indigenous to Europe and now extinct. They appear to have survived in Poland, and probably in Hungary during the later Middle Ages. This is stated by von Herberstein (1486–1566) in his *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*. The horns were much prized as drinking-vessels.

p. 311. 1. *Liche-wake*. Cp. O.E. *lic*, corpse and *wacu*, watch.

p. 316. 1. "Arise at once, Otho, and flee away with speed,

Hie thee to thy native soil,

The avenger from on high terrifies thy armies,

Arise with speed and get thee gone.

Thy treacherous guide has vanished. Lo,

Save thyself by headlong flight.

Why dost thou still oppose the will of Heaven; Fly!

Now go, now flee,—now,—now.

When the Norman armies shall bar thy path,

Alas! more shameful shall be thy flight.

Now seek thy way, now snatch thy road,

Compel thy faithful to yield.

King, now—flee lest thou perish, and melt away

Surrounded by thy foes."

Dudo, iv, 98.

p. 320. 1. "Leader of the waverers."

p. 322. 1. *Agapet II.* Pope, 946-955.

p. 323. 1. *Canons of the Council of Carthage.* The Canons were the decisions drawn up by the Church Councils from which the Canon or Ecclesiastical Law was formed. The name applies, however, rather to the laws concerning the discipline of the Church than to theology or dogma. Collections of the Canons were made from time to time by the separate local branches of the Church by which they regulated their constitution and life. During the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries a large number of Church Synods were held at Carthage. The Council held there in 419 drew up a collection incorporating the decisions of earlier African Councils. Later the collections of the local Churches were unified and formed a general law for the whole of the Western Church.

—2. *Lethaldus, Count of Mâcon.* Mâcon was an important countship in the Province of Burgundy.

p. 325. 1. *The fourth Council of Toledo* (633) promulgated many decisions concerning matters of Church discipline. The president of this Council was probably Isidore, Archbishop of Seville (560-636) the great encyclopædist and historian.

—2. *Sixtus III* (Pope, 432-440), who came between Celestine I and Leo I, opposed Pelagianism, settled a controversy between Cyril of Alexandria (Bishop, 412-444) and John of Antioch which had begun during the Council of Ephesus, 431, and compelled Proclus of Constantinople to yield to his decision as to the Church at Thessalonica.

Alexander I. Pope, 106-115.

Innocent I (Pope, 402-417) was concerned with the Pelagian controversy and expressed decided views on the subject to the Churches of Carthage and Numidia.

Zosimus (Pope, 417-418) was energetic in his judgments as to ecclesiastical matters that came to him for settlement. Both Zosimus and Innocent I held strongly that all questions concerning ecclesiastical matters should be referred to Rome.

Boniface I. Pope, 418-422.

Celestine I (Pope, 422-432) was concerned with the Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. In his dealings with local Churches he was firm with regard to matters of ecclesiastical discipline and as to orthodox principles.

Leo I, the Great (Pope, 440-461), claimed for Rome the primacy over all other Bishoprics. It was during his pontificate (in 445) that Valentinian III, Emperor of the West (r. 424-455), promulgated the decision "that nothing should be done in Gaul in (Church matters)... without the authority of the bishop of Rome and that the decree of the apostolic see should henceforth be law." (See vol. i, p. 438.)

Symmachus. Pope, 498-514.

p. 328. 1. *Merovingian capital.* Soissons.

p. 329. 1. *Ædred*, King of England (r. 946-955). Brother of King Athelstane.

—2. *Lothaire of Provence*, King of Italy (r. 945-950). In 932 he was associated in power with his father Hugh of Provence. (See note, *Hugh, King of Italy*, p. 530.) In 945 Hugh abdicated and Lothaire took the throne but his power was small since Berenger contested the throne. In 950 Lothaire died suddenly at Turin leaving a young widow Adelaide of Burgundy. (See Gen. Table IX.)

—3. *Berenger II* (r. 951-961). Son of Adalbert Marquis of Ivrea and Gisella daughter of Berenger I King of Italy and Duke of Friuli. (See note, "*August Berenger*," p. 530.) In 945 he invaded Italy and in 950 took the title of King. Lothaire of Provence was his great rival. Berenger on Lothaire's death intended the latter's widow Adelaide as a bride for his son Adalbert but Adelaide besought

the help of Otho I who descended into Italy and married Adelaide himself. Berenger became his feudatory but was vanquished in 956 by Liudolf son of Otho and was finally dispossessed in 961 by Otho who took the crown of Italy. Berenger died in prison in Bamberg in 966. (See Gen. Table XI.)

p. 330. 1. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* (r. 912-959). Son of the Eastern Emperor Leo VI, reigned as Constantine VII.

— 2. *Protovestiarius*. First Chamberlain. One of the highest officials of the Byzantine Court.

— 3. *Guisers*. Another name for the more familiar "Mummers" or "Maskers," men who visited from house to house at Christmas time, disguised in curious costumes for the purpose of acting, singing and dancing. *St George and the Peace Egg* was one of the favourite Christmas mumming plays.

p. 336. 1. *Bruno* called the Great (925-965). Son of Henry I, the Fowler, King of Germany. He was chosen Archbishop of Cologne in 953 on the death of Wicfred, and his brother King Otho I gave him also the government of Lorraine. He was a man of literary tastes and has left a commentary on the Evangelists and other works. He died at Rheims.

p. 338. 1.

"Here lies the illustrious offspring of the blood of Cæsar,
Handed down from Charles to the people of the Franks.

While he flourished for thirty and three years,

King Louis was a name to be revered.

Saint Remi has sanctioned the decrees of former Kings.

Here he received the Sceptre; here also his Tomb was raised.

He reigned for eighteen years,

He passed from this life on the fourth of the Ides of September.

Reader, pray to God, pray for the welfare of the Franks,

May God preserve this Royal race in the World."

See MABILLON: *Ann. Bened.* T. III. 520.

p. 339. 1. *Tendimus in Latium*. The quotation is from the *Æneid* of Virgil, Book I, line 205:

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum

Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas

Ostendunt.

Translated by Dryden:

Through various hazards and events we move

To Latium, and the realms foredoomed by Jove.

— 2. *The Servant of God*.^{*} The Prophet Daniel.

p. 342. 1. *The famous "Turnier-buch."* Georg Rixner's book on the Tournament published in 1532 and called *Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen des Turniers in der deutschen Nation*.

— 2. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (c. 1100-1154) Bishop of St Asaph, the author of the *Historia Britonum*, a famous work based largely on legend and tradition with some slight reference to more reliable chronicles, but much of it is the writer's own invention, though he claimed to have translated it from an older History written in the Celtic language and brought from Brittany to England. At the same time the History which served as a storehouse of information for many later writers, has had a great influence on English literature from Geoffrey's own time down to the 17th century, and to it we greatly owe our knowledge of the stories of Arthur and his knights, of King Lear, and other British heroes.

— 3. *Goldastus*. Melchior Goldast of Heiminsfeld (1576-1635), Swiss publicist and historian. His works on the constitution and legal history of the Holy Roman Empire are numerous.

— 4. "Statutes and Privileges of the Equestrian Games or Games with the Lance."

p. 343. 1. *Menestrier, Claude-François* (1631-1705), French savant and antiquary. Among other books he wrote *Le Blason de la Noblesse, Traité des Tournois*, etc.

— 2. *Ferne, Sir John*. Rose Cross Pursuivant at Arms, published *The Blazon of Gentrie*, London, 1586.

p. 343. 3. *Guillim, John* (1565–1621) English herald. He was appointed in 1617 Rose Cross Pursuivant at Arms. He published in 1610 *The Display of Heraldry*.

— 4. “Family coats-of-arms.”

— 5. *Tournaments, Battle Ordeal, Compurgation*, etc. For Trial by Battle and Compurgation, see *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Part I. ch. VII. See also Stubbs, vol. I, pp. 314, 446, 689, 690, 683, and 693. For brutality and illegality of the Tournament, see Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 4th Series, Essay VII.

p. 345. 1. *Morgengabe*. A custom in old German law by which the husband on the morning after the nuptials declared to his wife the marriage settlement she should henceforth enjoy.

— 2. *St George's Hall*. The large hall at Windsor where the meetings of the Order of the Garter are held.

p. 346. 1. “*August Berenger*.” Berenger, the Augustus or Emperor Elect. Berenger I (r. 915–924), was the son of Gisella, daughter of Louis-le-Débonnaire, who married Everard Count or Duke of Friuli. On the death of Charles-le-Gras (888) he was chosen King of Italy, Guido being a rival claimant. He was crowned as Emperor by Pope John X in 915. In 920 John called in Rudolph II King of Transjuran Burgundy against Berenger who was treacherously assassinated in 924. (See Gen. Table XI.)

— 2. *Tridentine*. The territory of Trent (Austria).

— 3. *Guido*, Duke of Spoleto, reigned as Emperor 891–894. He was Berenger's great rival, defeated him in 889, claimed the crown of Italy and was crowned Emperor by Stephen V in 891. In 892 his son *Lambert* (894–898) was crowned as his co-adjutor and, when Guido died in 894, entered on an ambitious career in Italy. He died while still young in 898.

— 4. *Hugh*, King of Italy (r. 926–945), Marquis of Provence. Son of Theobald of Provence and Bertha, grand-daughter of the Emperor Lothair. Favoured by the Pope he was crowned King of Italy in 926. Hugh married the infamous Marozia,—as her third husband,—and was brought into conflict with Alberic her son by her first marriage whose power was paramount in Rome, and who successfully drove his step-father away from the city. His reign came to an end in 945, he died in 947. (See Gen. Table IX.)

p. 347. 1. *Autharis* (d. 590), King of the Lombards of Italy. Under him and his father *Cleph* (d. 574) who was the successor of the original invader Alboin, the Lombard Kingdom of Italy was thoroughly settled and organised.

p. 348. 1. *Gastaldi*. Lombard officials who governed subdivisions of the duchies, corresponding somewhat to the Frankish Counts.

— 2. *Ausonian*. Ausonia was the ancient name of Italy.

p. 349. 1. *Melissa, Bradamante, Merlin*. See Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*.

p. 350. 1.

“Albert, unconquered Captain, here survey

Who shall adorn with trophies many a fane.

Ugo his son is there, who shall display

The serpents on his flag, and Milan gain.

Azzo the next there, to his brother's sway

Succeeding, shall o'er the Insubrians reign.

Wise Albertazzo comes; Italia he

From Beringarius and his son shall free.

Fair Alda's hand, he by her Sire's decree

Imperial Otho, justly shall possess.

Another Ugo, fair succession, see

Whose valour than his father's is no less.

On just occasion he the man shall be

Who doth the lofty Romans' pride repress.

The Pope and the third Otho shall he take

Out of their hands, who shall the siege forsake.”

ARIOSTO: his *Mad Orlando*, Englished in octaves,
by Hugh Bent.—Canto III, Stanzas 26, 27.

p. 350. 2. *Saint-Marc*, Charles Hugues Le Fèvre de (1698–1769). French littérateur. Among other works wrote an *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire d'Italie*.

— 3. *Muratori*, Lodovico-Antonio (1672–1750). Italian archæologist and historian of Modena. He is most famous for his immense compilation *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1723–1738), the most valuable source for the history of Italy in the Middle Ages.

p. 351. 1. *Henry of Bavaria*. The Porphyrogenitus, brother of Otho I.

p. 352. 1. “King of the Franks and the Lombards.”

— 2. “King of the Franks and the Italians.”

— 3. *Canossa*, a castle near Reggio Emilia in Lombardy, was afterwards famous as the scene of the humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV before Pope Gregory VII, in 1077, one of the greatest events in the history of the Church and of the development of the Papal power. Henry who had made himself disliked by his subjects throughout Germany also defied the Pope on the subject of lay investiture which had been prohibited by Gregory in 1075. Henry was excommunicated and soon afterwards found himself without adherents, confronted by both ecclesiastical and secular power and threatened with deposition. He made his way to Canossa through bitter wintry weather and appeared before Gregory as a penitent.

p. 354. 1. *Allodial*. See note on *Odal*, p. 526.

— 2. *Republic of the Lagunes*. Venice.

— 3. *Reichs-verfassung*. The constitution of the Empire.

— 4. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire took place in 1806, when by agreement with the Emperor Napoleon, the Emperor Francis II resigned the Imperial title and took instead the title of Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

p. 356. 1. *Zultu* or *Zsolt*. The early Kings of Hungary were Árpád (d. 907), Zsolt (907–947) and Taksony (947–972).

p. 359. 1. *Lech-feld*. The Lech, a river in Bavaria, was at one time the boundary between Bavaria and Swabia. It flows northward and enters the Danube on the right bank near Donauwörth. The Lechfeld is a bleak, rocky district between the Lech and its tributary the Wertach which joins it at Augsburg. In the reign of Henry the Fowler the Magyars had defeated the Germans there.

— 2. *Cressy's Hero*. Edward, the “Black Prince” (1330–1376), eldest son of Edward III, greatly distinguished himself at the Battle of Cressy 1346. His tomb is in Canterbury Cathedral.

— 3. The autograph of Richard is still at the Rolls House.

p. 361. 1. “The King rendered glorious by this celebrated triumph, was acclaimed by his army Father of his Country and Emperor.”

p. 362. 1. *Sylvester II* (Pope, 999–1002). Gerbert was born at Aurillac in Auvergne. In his youth he resided at the court of Borello Count of Barcelona, and became acquainted in Spain with the learning of the Arabs, especially their mathematics, a fact which gave him later the reputation of a wizard. In 991 he became Archbishop of Rheims and having attached himself to the young Otho III was enthroned as Pope in 999. His pontificate though short was energetic and memorable. He has left numerous works, some of them on mathematics, e.g. the *liber subtilissimus* or *arithmetica*. (See pp. 427, 432, 433.)

p. 364. 1. *Oberto*, or *Obizzo*. The same person as Albert Azzo, pp. 349, 350, 362.

— 2. *John XII*, Octavian (Pope, 956–963). Son of the Patricius Alberic who left him the principality of Rome as a heritage. In 956 he was consecrated Pope. Berenger King of Italy being in opposition to him, he called in Otho I and crowned him Emperor (Feb. 962). In Nov. 963 however Otho had John deposed as of scandalous life and as leagued with Berenger against himself. The Romans, resenting German interference, rose against Otho's new pope Leo VIII and recalled John who however died soon after (May 964). The scandalous nature of his pontificate is illustrated in the complaint of the Romans against him to Otho. “The palace of the Lateran, formerly the habitation of saints, has become a place of infamy where the Pope has installed his concubine, sister of the mistress of his father. There are no longer any women who venture to visit the Church of the Apostles.” [Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis*, c. 4, *Monumenta Germanicæ Historiarum Scriptores*, T. III, 341, ed. Pertz.]

p. 366. 1. *Ærarium* or *Ærarium stabulum*, Treasure-house. The name of the public treasury at Rome where the state money and accounts, the laws and documents of importance, and the military standards were kept. The *Ærarium* which was the Temple of Saturn was built on the eastern slope of the Capitoline Hill.

— 2. *Enceladus*. One of the Titans.

— 3. *Usufruct*. The right of enjoying advantages derived from the use of something belonging to another person so far as can be done without the property being injured. (From *usus*, use, *fructus*, fruit, enjoyment.)

p. 368. 1. *Rudiger* or *Ruotger*. See Author's note, p. 504.

p. 370. 1. *Franco-Gallia*. An historical work published by François Hotman in 1574.

p. 379. 1. *Abbey of St Pierre-lez-Gand*. The Church of St Peter near Ghent, part of the Benedictine Abbey founded by St Amandus, the Apostle of Flanders, about 630.

p. 381. 1. *Lureley* or *Lorelei* (Old High Ger. *lur*. Mod. Ger. *lauern*, to lurk, to be on the watch for). The name of a rock near St Goar on the Rhine and the location of a famous legend, that of the Lorelei or Syren. The best known version of the legend relates that a maiden, mourning a faithless lover, drowned herself in the Rhine and was transformed into a sprite. She was supposed to sit on the rock singing,—her voice luring boatmen to destruction.

p. 382. 1. *Edgar*. King of England. r. 958–975.

— 2. *The Son of Blatand*. Sweyn-Forkbeard who was the father of Canute the Great, King of England (r. 1016–1035). (See vol. III, Gen. Table XX.)

p. 387. 1. *Johannes de Meditano* (fl. c. 1100). The supposed author of a famous tract the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, a long rhymed series of medicinal precepts, dedicated *Regi Anglorum*, long believed to be Henry I who was then King of England. It is now generally accepted, however, that the dedication was to Robert, Duke of Normandy (see vol. IV, p. 325), who passed through South Italy on his way to the First Crusade. He was thought to be King of England by Tasso also. Two hundred and forty editions of this work had appeared from the day of its publication until the year 1846. The School of Medicine of Salerno was very famous in the Middle Ages. Salernitan physicians had a European reputation as early as the 9th century, and in the 11th the city was visited by persons from a distance in search of health. The School declined in prestige in the 12th or 13th century owing to the introduction of more scientific systems of medicine, but it was not finally dissolved until the time of Napoleon.

p. 388. 1.

“Those are fat by nature and fond of merriment.

And they love to hear new gossip frequently.

These Venus (Love) and Bacchus (Wine) and banquets and laughter
delight

And make them merry and [encourage them] to speak sweet words.

These again are clever and more adept in all kinds of studies.”

— 2. “Bountiful, loving, merry, smiling and of a ruddy colour,

Singing, well-built, very bold and kindly.”

p. 389. 1. *San-benito*. The paper cap placed on the heads of victims burnt at the auto-da-fé. It was painted with representations of flames.

p. 390. 1. *Geoffrey Grisgonnelle* or *Grey-tunic*. Count of Anjou, 960–987.

p. 391. 1. *Hugh II, Count of Maine*, 939–992. (See vol. III, Gen. Table XXI.)

p. 392. 1. *Cater-cousins*, from French *quatre*, fourth, distant cousins. The reference is undoubtedly to Danes, Norwegians and Swedes.

— 2. *The “Grand Monarque.”* Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715).

— 3. *The “Corsican.”* The Emperor Napoleon I.

— 4. “Between red hair and felony
There is a close connection.”

From the thirteenth century *Roman de Cristal et de Glaire*. [Michel, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, T. II, p. 174.]

p. 393. 1. *Giotto di Bondone* (c. 1267–1337). A celebrated Florentine painter, the pupil of Cimabue. Much of his work, principally scenes from the Scriptures and the lives of the Saints, is preserved at Assisi, Rome, Florence and Padua.

— 2. *Cimabue, Giovanni* (1240–c. 1302). One of the greatest of the early

Florentine painters. Those of his paintings which have remained, and are to be seen in Florence, represent the Madonna and Child, the Saviour enthroned and surrounded by Angels, the Crucifixion, etc.

p. 393. 3.

"Ugly things may be toned down (softened) by the names ascribed to them; Let her be called dark (swarthy) whose blood is blacker than Illyrian pitch; If she has a cast in her eye, she may be called 'Venus-like' (prettily leering), If she is sallow 'Minerva-like.'"

Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, II, 657 ff.

— 4. *Portrait of Lothaire*. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 20392.

— 5. Wace, v. 4414.

p. 394. 1. *Arcana Imperii*. State secrets.

p. 397. 1. "Every medal has its reverse." (There are two sides to every question.)

— 2. *Cour Plénière*. Supreme Court or full assembly of the Royal or Ducal tenants-in-chief.

Placitum Regale. A royal assembly (under the presidency of the sovereign).

p. 402. 1. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 21691 ff.

p. 404. 1. "What might be of use to France

Let him not take away.

And bring back again hither the Normans

Where they have not been, these fifteen years."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 22002.

p. 405. 1. *The Cap of liberty*. The reference is to the French Revolution.

— 2. *Bonnes-nouvelles*. A monastery in Rouen.

p. 408. 1. *Gisarme* or *Guisarme*. A long-handled weapon with a long straight edge for cutting, and a sharp point at the end in a line with the handle. By some writers it is said to be like a pole-axe, and by others like a halberd.

p. 409. 1. *Bandon*. A town in County Cork, Ireland. The town suffered at the hands of the soldiers of James II in 1689 shortly before the latter was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne (1690). For some time after this the Roman Catholics were viewed with great disfavour by the inhabitants of the town who endeavoured to prevent their settling among them.

p. 410. 1. *Butsekerl*, O.E. *butsecarl*. [Cf. *Chronicles C and D*, 1052, 1066, *Domesday Book*, etc.] The "butsecarls" stand in the same relation to the "scip-fyrd" that the "housecarls" occupy towards the "land-fyrd"; i.e. they are the king's standing force as opposed to the national levies of England. [Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, vol. II, p. 239.] For the derivation of the word see the *N.E.D.* "buss," "buscarl."

— 2. "Cow-smeer." Cf. O.E. *smeoru*, fat, grease, Danish, *smör*, butter.

— 3. *Alans*. See note, *Alani*, p. 527.

— 4. *Was Harold a Christian?* Apart from other evidence we have the positive assertion of the later Jøllinge stone (c. 980):

"Harold the king ordered this memorial to be raised in honour of Gorm his father and Thyra his mother, the Harold who won all Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christians." [Larson, *Canute the Great*, p. 7.]

p. 411. 1. *Guthrum* of the Norman chronicle is possibly to be identified with the Guthormr mentioned in *Heimskringla* as the son of Eric Bloodaxe and Gunnhild (see vol. III, Gen. Table XX) and the brother of Harold Greyeloak (O.N. *gráfeldr*), king of Norway (960-965). *Askman* and *Eyvindr Screya* are doubtless *Alfr Askmann* and *Eyvindr Skreyja* (the braggart), the maternal uncles of Guthormr, who fell at Fitje in 960. [*Heimskringla*, *Saga of Hakon the Good*, c. 31.] The name *Sidroec* probably represents O.N. *Sigtryggr* and is given as the name of the Viking leader who formed a camp at *Givoldi Fossa* in 852. This is probably *Jeufosse* on a sharp bend of the Seine between Bernon and Bonnières.

p. 416. 1. *Tam O'Shanter*. See the poem "Tam O'Shanter, A Tale," by Burns—his *opus magnum* in the opinion of Lord Byron. The story is too well known to require further reference.

p. 420. 1. *Sancho el Gordo*, "the Fat." King of Leon in North-West Spain (r. 955-967).

— 2. *Ramiro III* (r. 967-982).

p. 421. 1. *Gonzales, Fernan* (Count of Castille, 923-968). Generally found at the head of the rebel nobles in the stormy period of the Kingdom of Leon, in the first half of the 10th century. He was father-in-law of Ordoño III who succeeded in 950 to his father Ramiro II. Fernan intrigued against Ramiro in favour of the latter's younger brother Sancho "the Fat." Sancho succeeded in 955 on Ramiro's death and then had to contend against Fernan in his turn, but finally secured the crown. Fernan was succeeded in the County of Castile by his son Garcia Fernandez (968-1006). Fernan Gonzales has been called "the Warwick of Mediæval Spain" and is one of the heroes of Spanish romantic legends [Burke, *Hist. of Spain*, vol. I, p. 181.]

p. 425. 1. *Blanche of Castille*. Queen of France (1169-1243). She was the daughter of Alfonso IX, King of Castille, and married Louis VIII by whom she was the mother of Louis IX (Saint Louis). She transmitted to this King her characteristic piety. On her husband's death in 1226, Blanche took up the Regency for her infant son who did not attain his majority till 1235. During this period she displayed great energy, ability and courage, in upholding the royal power and suppressing a most formidable feudal revolt in which the King of England joined. Again when Louis went on Crusade Blanche assumed the regency and maintained the monarchy against feudal and popular discontent. Her wisdom, piety, love of justice and capacity of character make her one of the greatest princesses of history.

— 2. *Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de* (1721-1764). She became the mistress of Louis XV in 1745 and thenceforth had great influence over the royal policy, especially during the Seven Years War when she turned all the energies of France against Frederick II of Prussia whom she hated as having spoken disrespectfully of her.

— 3. *Sorel, Agnes* (1409-1450). Mistress of Charles VII, King of France. In 1431 she attracted the King's attention and became his favourite. As such she was the object of the hatred of the Queen, the Dauphin, and of the people who disapproved of the *liaison*. During the attacks made upon her she died suddenly at Jumièges.

— 4. *Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeilles, Lord of* (c. 1540-1614). A celebrated French historian. The principal of the works which made him famous even in his own day, are the *Vies des hommes illustres et des grands capitaines françois et étrangers*, and *Des Dames illustres et des Dames galantes*.

— 5. "The Father of letters," *Francis I*, King of France (1515-1547). He was, in addition to being a chivalric and splendid prince who deserved the name of *roi-chevalier*, a real patron of letters and encouraged with all his power the renaissance of learning, then beginning in France.

— 6. *Diane de Poitiers* (1499-1566). She is said to have been the mistress of Francis I, and certainly was of Henry II his son. In 1548 she was created Duchess of Valentinois by Henry, and became all-powerful at court. After Henry's death in 1559 she retired to the château of Anet, where she died. Her life is written by Brantôme who gives her a high character for charm, wisdom and a certain nobility of mind, by which she retained her ascendancy even when aged.

— 7. *Guise, Francis of Lorraine*, second duke of Guise (1519-1563). He was a man of character and talents, a distinguished general, and the greatest man whom the famous house of Guise produced.

p. 426. 1. "A poet is born not made."

p. 427. 1. "*Tynt is tynt*." A Scottish expression, "to tyne" is "to lose."

"*Verloren ist verloren*," German "lost is lost."

p. 428. 1. *Trithemius* or *Tritheimius* (1462-1516). John Tritheim, a German historian and theologian. In 1482 he joined the monks of Spanheim by whom he was made abbot in 1483, and where he collected a fine library of 2000 volumes. In 1506 he was elected abbot of St James at Wurzburg, where he died. He produced numerous works, for instance the *Annales Hirsaugienses* 830-1514, a history of France and Germany containing the chronicles of emperors, kings, princes, bishops, abbots, and other important personages.

p. 431. 1. "*Pio Goffredo*." The famous Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, one of the leaders of the first Crusade. (See note, *Godfrey of Boulogne*, vol. I, p. 490.)

p. 431. 2. *Asceline* or *Adalbero*, generally known by the latter name (d. 1030). He was accused of being too intimate with the widow of Lothaire King of France (d. 986). He was ordained bishop of Laon in 977 by Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims. He sided with Hugh Capet against the Carolingian party and had some altercations with the famous Gerbert his superior as Archbishop of Rheims.

p. 432. 1. *Arithmetical numerals*. The Arabic numerals. Bernelinus, a pupil of Gerbert, who lived in the 11th century employs in his book *Abacus* an early form of the Arabic numerals.

p. 433. 1. *Albategnius* (d. 929) whose real name was Mohammed-ibn-Djafar-ibn-Senan was an Arab astronomer of the 10th century, born in Mesopotamia at Baten (hence Albatenius). He wrote several works on astronomy and geography, e.g. *de scientia stellarum* (Zydye Saby) which in its Latin form was used by Regiomontanus, and Commentaries on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. He was known to the Middle Ages, over which his influence was great, as "the Arab Ptolemy."

— 2. *Alfragan* or *Alfergani*. One of the many distinguished astronomers who lived in the reign and enjoyed the patronage of Al-Mamun, the 7th Abbasside Khalif of Bagdad (r. 813-833). He aided in the correction of the Greek astronomical tables and of the errors of Ptolemy.

— 3. *Thebit* (or *Tobit*) *ben Korra* (836-901). An astronomer and mathematician of Bagdad who developed a long unquestioned, yet misleading theory of the "trepidation of the equinoxes" He was apparently the first to apply algebra to geometry.

— 4. *Ebenyounis* or *Ibn Junis* (950-1008). An Egyptian Moslem famous as an astronomer who compiled the Hakimite Tables of the planets and observed two solar eclipses at Cairo 977 and 978, the first to be recorded with scientific accuracy.

— 5. *Aboul Wefa* or *Abulwafa* (939-998). A Persian astronomer and mathematician who made continuous planetary observations and applied the use of tangents and co-tangents to mathematics. [For Arabic science see Sédillot, *Histoire générale des Arabes*, vol. I, 1-82.]

— 6. *Javan*. One of the sons of Japheth, Gen. x. 2, from whom the Ionians (Greeks) were believed to be descended. It was held at one time that the Javan people were Arabian, but this view has given way before that mentioned above. See also Ezekiel xxvii. 13, 19.

— 7. "Gerbert climbed from Rheims to Ravenna, ruling afterwards as Pope at Rome."

p. 435. 1. The heir-at-law takes possession as a matter of course—the death of the ancestor creates the heir—death puts the living in possession.

p. 436. 1. *Arnulphus* (d. 1023). Archbishop of Rheims, son of King Lothaire. At first a simple priest he became canon of Laon Cathedral and was chosen Archbishop in 988. As he took the side of Charles of Lorraine, his uncle, against Hugh Capet, the latter had him deposed (991) in favour of the famous Gerbert. Placed in confinement, he eventually recovered his Archbishopric on the death of Hugh Capet and the accession of Gerbert to the papal throne. He has left several letters.

p. 438. 1. *Nordhausen*. A town in the present Prussian Saxony. Matilda, mother of the Emperor Otho I, founded a convent there in 962.

p. 439. 1. "In the middle of the pathway of our life." [Dante, *Inferno*, I, 1.]

— 2. *St Gereon*. A vague tradition, elaborated in the 13th century by Helinand, a monk of Froimont, relates that a portion of the Theban Legion quartered at Cologne—Gereon and 318 companions—suffered at the same time as Maurice and his company at Agaunum. [Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, XI, 224.]

p. 440. 1. *St Odilo* (962-1049). Fifth Abbot of Cluny, born in Auvergne and died at Souvigni. He was Abbot by 990 and under him Cluny well maintained its reputation as one of the leading European monastic houses. His fame is indicated by the appellation bestowed on him of "the Archangel of the Monks," and he was visited by most of the great Emperors and Kings of the West. Among other works he wrote the Life of St Adelaide, wife of Otho I. (See Author's note, p. 504.)

— 2. *Roswitha* (10th century). Roswitha or Hrotsvitha, the dates of whose birth and death are uncertain, entered the Abbey of Gandersheim before 959 and

was later chosen Abbess. She was devoted to literary studies and was versed both in the Scriptures and in classical literature. Many of her works were on sacred and hagiological subjects, but the most notable from a literary point of view are her six comedies in imitation of Terence—for an appreciation of which see W. P. Ker's *Dark Ages*, p. 180. The most memorable to historians is the *Gesta Othonis Imperatoris*. (See Author's note, p. 504.)

p. 441. 1. "King Lothaire took to wife, Emma, daughter of the former King of Italy."

p. 443. 1. *Welschland* (Saxon, *wilisc*, strange, foreign). Foreign land, all land beyond Germany (*Teutschland*). Here it applies particularly to Italy.

— 2. *Hatto II* (died 969 or 970), fifteenth Bishop of Mayence (Mainz). In 968 Otho I promoted him from being Abbot of Fulda to the Archiepiscopal see of Mainz. He presided over the Council of Ravenna (968) where Magdeburg was erected into a Metropolitan see and Hildebrand (or Hildeward) of Halberstadt was chosen as its first Archbishop. He is the Hatto or Atto of Southey's ballad, who is said to have been eaten alive by the rats in punishment of his avarice during a time of famine.

p. 444. 1. *Leo VIII* (Pope, 963–965) succeeded John XII. Of Roman birth, he was chosen Pope in Dec. 963, driven out in February 964, re-established in June 964 and died in April 965. His election was due to Otho I who felt it necessary to depose the scandalous John XII, but the Romans expelled Leo as soon as Otho left Italy, and the Emperor had to restore him in June 964.

— 2. *Benedict V.* (Pope, 964–965.) Elected by the Romans on the death of John XII, his election was disapproved of by Otho I who carried him off to Hamburg where he died.

p. 445. 1. *Theophania*. After the death of John Zimiskes (976) and the accession of her son Basil II, nothing further of the life of Theophania is known.

— 2. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* ("born in the purple"). Constantine VII, Eastern Emperor (912–959). [See Oman, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 215.]

— 3. *Romanus II* (958–963) succeeded his father Constantine at the age of 21.

p. 446. 1. *Vladimir* (956–1015), grand duke of Kiev and of all Russia. After a struggle with several rivals, the descendant of Ruric became master of Novgorod (970), Kiev (980), Polotsk and other dominions, showing himself a great conqueror. For the early part of his life he was a pagan but in 988 after making inquiries into the various religions about him and stimulated by the offer of the hand of Anne, sister of Basil II and daughter of Theophania, he became an Orthodox Christian and was baptised according to Greek rites (988). Having married Anne, he returned to Russia and spent the rest of his life in founding churches and in Christianising and civilising the Russians. He is a saint of the Calendar and has been called the "Clovis" of Russian history.

p. 447. 1. *Liutprand* (fl. 949–970) was of Lombard origin. After spending the first part of his life in the service of King Hugh and his successor Berenger, he attached himself to Otho I by whom in 962 he was made Bishop of Cremona. In 968 he was sent on the embassy to Constantinople to demand the hand of Theophania for the younger Otho and his account of this, the *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* is a most valuable, entertaining and lively account of Byzantine court-life. He wrote also the *Antapodosis*, a general history of Europe (888–950) in four books unfinished, and the *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris* in justification of the Italian expedition of 963–4. [See Molinier, *op. cit.* p. 274 and Author's note, p. 504.]

p. 450. 1. *Herman the Saxon* (d. 973). A famous warrior of the reign of Otho I. He was entrusted by Otho with the Government of Saxony and of the Wendish Marches. He conquered the lands as far as the Oder from the various Slav tribes and created the Mark of the Billungs, lying along the Baltic coast from Denmark to the Oder. He died at an advanced age.

— 2. *Merseburg*. A town in the present Prussian Saxony, was a favourite residence of the German Kings of the Saxon and Salian lines. The Cathedral founded there in the reign of Otho I has recently been restored and contains few traces of the original building.

p. 451. 1. "O Creator of the gleaming sky,
Who hast appointed the moon to light the night,
And the sun by day to run
Unswervingly steady in his course.

Already does returning day
Bid us sing aloud your praises,
And the kindlier aspect of the heavens
Brings peace to our hearts."

p. 454. 1. *Adelaide*. See volume I, Genealogical Tables VI and VI A, drawn up from the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (ed. Mabille et Barry), T. II.

p. 457. 1. "And after that the Metropolitan (Archbishop)."

p. 460. 1. *Ockamy* (*Ochimy*, a corruption of *Alchemy*). A compound metal simulating silver [*Century Dictionary*]. An inferior metal; the word is generally used in a contemptuous sense.

— 2. "The policy of the state."

p. 465. 1. *Ræmer-zug*, "the Rome-journey." It was necessary according to the constitutional law of the Holy Roman Empire that before the Emperor-elect fully entered into his office he must undertake the journey to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown there at the hands of the Pope.

p. 466. 1. *Burchard of Montmorency*. The house of Montmorency, one of the oldest and most famous in French history, took its name from the locality nine miles north-west of Paris which was so-called. It appears first in history with Burchard or Bouchard I, sire de Montmorency in the 10th century, who died in 987. His mother was sister of Edred King of England. In 978 Otho II during his campaign in France besieged and took the Castle of Montmorency.

— 2.

"By the counsel of the Great Baronage
And by the strength of Richard,
By his own counsel and his skill
Was Hugh Capet received,
And placed as king in France.

* * * * *

By Richard and by his valour,
Who had his sister for wife.
By his counsel and his affection
Was Hugh made Lord of France."

Wace, v. 5824.

Ib. v. 5831.

p. 467. 1. "All roads lead to Rome."

p. 468. 1. *Description of Hugh Capet*. These letters of Emma are included in the extant *Epistolæ* of Gerbert, published by Julien Havet, Paris, 1889, under the title of *Lettres de Gerbert* (983-997).

p. 471. 1. *Adela*. She is believed to have been the daughter of Fulk-le-Bon, Count of Anjou (d. c. 960). (See Gen. Table XVI.)

p. 472. 1. *Squillace*. In South Italy. The Gulf of Squillace forms the arch under the "foot" of Italy.

p. 473. 1. *Henry the Quarreller* (d. 995). Son of Henry of Bavaria brother of Otho I. The latter bestowed upon his brother the Duchy of Bavaria which he ruled from 947 to 955. He was then succeeded by his son Henry who won the appellation of the Quarreller or Quarrelsome from his turbulent disposition. In 974 he revolted against Otho II because the latter had given Bavaria to Otho, a grandson of Otho I and Henry's enemy. As a result Henry was imprisoned and formally deposed, but recovered the duchy in 985 and distinguished himself by his capable and vigorous government. His son and successor Henry succeeded Otho III as Emperor. (See Author's note, p. 504 and Gen. Table XIII.)

p. 478. 1. *Charles I*, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was brother of Lothaire King of France, uncle of Louis V and therefore on the death of the latter in 987 considered himself the lawful heir of the Carolingian Kings of France. Charles became Duke of Lower Lorraine in 977 by the gift of Otho II whose vassal he acknowledged himself. (See Gen. Table XI.)

p. 481. 1. "Here the Kings of the line of Charles came to an end."

— 2. *Bowyers and fletchers*. Makers of bows and arrows. *Fletchers*,

arrow-makers (French, *flèche, fléchier*, arrow, arrow-maker, Old German, *flitze, flitsche*, arrow, javelin).

p. 484. 1. *Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus* (c. 481–525). A celebrated philosopher and statesman. He entered into the service of Theodoric the Ostrogoth King of Italy who made him Consul in 510. Towards the end of Theodoric's reign he fell under the King's anger, was imprisoned and finally put to death. In captivity he composed his famous *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which remained one of the most favourite classical books throughout the Middle Ages. "It forms, so to speak, the passage from the ancient philosophy to the scholastic philosophy." [See Taylor. *The Mediæval Mind*, vol. i, p. 88 ff.]

p. 491. 1. *Guillaume Fier-à-bras* (d. 990). This perhaps should read as Guillaume-le-Grand. (See Gen. Table VI in vol. i.)

p. 492. 1. *Crescentius* (d. 998). See note, vol. i, p. 439.

p. 493. 1. *John XV* (Pope, 985–996) held office during the rule of Crescentius in Rome.

— 2. *Gregory V.* (Pope, 996–999.) His original name was Bruno, he was a German and cousin of Otho III who at the request of the Romans named him as Pope. After his election, he crowned Otho, Emperor of Rome. Expelled by Crescentius, he was restored by Otho. He was a worthy and vigorous Pontiff and forced Robert of France, by means of excommunication, to repudiate his cousin Bertha whom he had married without dispensation.

— 3. *Sylvester II.* (Pope, 999–1002.) Gerbert on his accession to the Papacy in succession to Gregory V took the name Sylvester II. His taking this name was significant, for Sylvester I had been Pope in the days of Constantine the Great, and Otho III, Gerbert's confidant and friend, was "the new Constantine" by whose side Gerbert was to play a great rôle. His pontificate was vigorous and significant but did not last long. (See p. 531.)

— 4. "On account of his lofty philosophical views."

p. 494. 1. *Henry II* (r. 1002–1024), son of Henry the Quarreller, was at first educated for the priesthood and all his life took an interest in Church affairs. He was elected and crowned German King in 1002, and Emperor in 1014.

— 2. *Conrad the Salic* (990–1039). He was a son of Henry Count of Spire, and great-great-grandson of Otho I through the latter's daughter Liutgarda, wife of Conrad the Red, Duke of Lorraine. In 1024 he was elected to the kingdom on the death of Henry II, and was crowned Emperor in Rome in 1024. He founded the Salic or Franconian line which expired with Henry V in 1125.

p. 495. 1. See Appendix A.

p. 496. 1. "Richard, Duke of the Pirates, died of a minor apoplexy."

Notes to the Authorities.

p. 499. 1. An admirable guide to the authorities of the period covered by this *History* is to be found in the work of the late M. Auguste Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, particularly T. i, p. 271 ff. and T. ii, p. 225 ff. (Paris, 1901–2).

Sir Francis Palgrave's sources are mostly published in the two great treasure-houses of mediæval Latin literature, Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historiarum* (referred to as M.G.H. ss.) and Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (referred to as Migne), though in some cases later and more accessible editions can be obtained in the *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire* (marked with an asterisk).

One document, however, of historical importance has been discovered since Sir Francis wrote, the Latin elegy on William Longsword, styled in French *La Complainte sur la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Epée*. It exists in two versions, one discovered by M. Gaston Paris at Clermont-sur-Ferrand, the other at Florence by M. Leopold Delisle, which go back to an original from which the narratives of Richer, Dudo and Raoul Glaber are derived. It is edited by Lair, *Etude sur la Vie et la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Epée* (with facsimiles of the MSS.), Paris, 1893, and Lauer, *Louis d'Outremer*, pp. 276 ff, 319 ff., Paris, 1900.

Foremost among secondary authorities for the history of France in the 10th century should be mentioned the admirable *Annales de l'Histoire de France à l'Époque carolingienne*, projected by M. Arthur Giry and published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. The history of the period is completely covered in five volumes marked by a thoroughly scientific treatment of authorities and provided with full bibliographies.

Eckel, Aug. *Charles le Simple*. Paris, 1899.

Lauer, Ph. *Robert I et Raoul de Bourgogne*. Paris, 1910.

— *Louis d'Outremer*. Paris, 1900.

Lot, F. *Les derniers Carolingiens*, 954–991. Paris, 1893.

— *Études sur le Règne de Hugues Capet et la Fin du X^e Siècle*. Paris, 1903.

p. 499. 2. *Frodoard* or *Frodoardus Remensis*, more generally known as *Flodoard*.

(1) *Annals*, 919–966, ed. Pertz, M.G.H. ss. iii, 368–407; Migne, cxxxv;

*Lauer, *Les Annales de Flodoard*, Paris, 1905.

(2) *Historia Ecclesie Remensis*, ed. Heller and Waitz, M.G.H. ss. xiii, 409–599; Migne, cxxxv, 47–406.

— 3. *Richer* or *Richerius*. *Historie*, 888–998, ed. Pertz, M.G.H. ss. iii, 561–694 (in usum scholarum 1840 and 1877); Migne, cxxxviii.

— 4. *Thierry*, *Nicolas Augustin* (1795–1856), a French historian, produced many historical works. Among these he published the *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825). He was an industrious student of the early chronicles, but his views and deductions were often mistaken and inaccurate.

— 5. *Edinburgh Review*, April 1841. This article written by Sir Francis Palgrave is entitled "Progress of Historical Enquiry in France."

— 6. *Adhémar de Chabannes*, ed. *Chavaron (Paris, 1897); in extracts, Waitz, M.G.H. ss. iv, 113–148; Migne, cxli.

— 7. See page 16.

p. 500. 1. *Baldericus Cameracensis*; doubtless the *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium* to the year 1043, composed by a canon of Cambria, often falsely cited under the name of Balderic of Théroutanne who died Bishop of Noyon in 1112. [See Molinier, T. ii, p. 159 ff.]

— 2. For the historiography of Normandy, see Waitz, *Über die Quellen zur Geschichte der Begründung der Normannischer Herrschaft in Frankreich*, Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen (1866), Nachrichten, pp. 69–96; Molinier, T. ii, p. 213 ff.; Prentout, *Essai sur les Origines et la Fondation de la Duché de Normandie* (Paris, 1911.)

— 3. *Dudo de moribus et actis primorum Normannie Ducum*, ed. Migne, cxli, 609–758; Lair, in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xxiii (1866). (See Appendix A.)

— 4. *Guillaume de Jumièges*, ed. Migne, cxlix, 779–910; French translation in the *Collection Guizot*.

— 5. "The digests up to this point as they were narrated by Count Rudolph, the brother of this Duke, a great and honourable man—I have collected, and these having been written down in a scholarly manner from my dictation, I leave to posterity."

p. 501. 1. "Scholars have bitterly reproached Guillaume, a monk of the Abbey of Jumièges, for having reproduced in the early books of his 'History of the Normans' most of the fabulous stories with which his predecessor Dudo, Dean of St Quentin had previously filled his chronicle. If Guillaume had not done this, that portion of his work could never have existed, for he would have had nothing to put in it; he has gathered together all the traditions current in his day, as to the origin, the exploits, the adventures of the ancient Normans and their leaders; there are no people who have a greater number of such traditions and they have no more accurate chroniclers of the first ages of their history. To judge from the anger of Dom Rivet and his learned colleagues it would appear as if Guillaume and Dudo had had the option of relating either miraculous events or facts, a series of romantic victories or a course of ordinary events, and that their preference for fable was an insult to our understanding, as if we were obliged to believe it. To quarrel with the old chroniclers in this manner is absurdly pedantic: they have done all they could; they have transmitted to us what

was said and what was believed in their time: would it have been better if they had written nothing at all, that no remembrance of the fabulous and heroic periods of the lives of the nations had come down to us, and that history had only begun at the time when society possessed scholars capable of submitting their work to criticism in order to secure accuracy? To my mind there is often more historic truth to be gathered from these narratives in which popular imagination finds full play than in many learned dissertations." (See above, note to p. 499. 1 and Appendix A.)

p. 501. 2. "Here commence the history and the genealogy of the Dukes who have been in Normandy in their order."

— 3. *Benoit*, usually known as Benoit de St More, the author of the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* (cited as C.D.N.), ed. Michel (*Coll. des documents inédits*), 3 vols., Paris, 1836-44. (See vol. 1, p. 512.)

— 4. *Wace*, ed. Pluquet, 2 vols., Paris, 1827-9; Andresen, 2 vols., Heilbronn, 1877-9. (See vol. 1, p. 451.)

— 5. *The junior Henry* (1153-1183), the son of Henry II, was Duke of Normandy but not King of England.

— 6. "Here [the narrative] begins to speak of Rollo."

p. 502. 1. *Local histories*. See Molinier, T. II, p. 18 ff. For a general survey of the French provinces, Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1886-1904; and Lot, *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, Paris, 1904, are the most useful. For the separate provinces see—

Anjou. Mabille, E. *Chronique des Comtes d'Anjou*. Paris, 1871.

— *Halphen, L. and Poupardin, R. *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou*. Paris, 1913.

Brittany. Borderie. *Histoire de Bretagne*. 2 vols. Rennes, 1896.

— *Merlet, R. *Chronique de Nantes* (570-1049). Paris, 1896.

Burgundy. Poupardin, R. *Le Royaume de Bourgogne* (888-1038). Paris, 1907.

Languedoc. Vaissète, Dom Dominique Joseph. *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, nouv. ed. 14 vols. Toulouse, 1872-89.

Lorraine. Digot. *Histoire de Lorraine*. Vol. I. Nancy, 1880.

— Parisot, R. *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*. Paris, 1899.

Poitou. Richard, A. *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*. 2 vols. Paris, 1903.

Provence. Poupardin, R. *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*. Paris, 1899.

There is also a great deal of information in the Archæological Journals of the various Departments.

— 2. *Gerbert*. **Lettres* (983-997), ed. Havet, with introduction and biography. Paris, 1892.

p. 503. 1. *Gallia Sacra* or *Gallia Christiana*. See vol. I, p. 490, note *Gallia Christiana*.

— 2. *Cotman, John Sell* (1782-1842), published among many other works a fine series of etchings illustrating the architecture of Normandy.

— 3. *Philippe-le-Bon*. Philip III, the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders from 1419 to 1467.

— 4. *The last century*. The eighteenth.

— 5. *German history*. For Germany generally in the time of the Otos see Maurenbrecher, *De historicis X saeculi scriptoribus qui res ab Ottone magno gestas tradiderunt* (Bonn, 1861).

— 6. *Ranke, Leopold von* (1795-1886). A German, one of the greatest of modern historians.

p. 504. 1. *Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716). A German philosopher and mathematician.

— 2. *Widukind*. Ed. Waitz, M.G.H. ss. III, 416-467 (in usum schol. 1882); Migne, cxxxvii.

— 3. *Thietmar*. Ed. Lappenberg, M.G.H. ss. III, 733-871 (Kurze in usum schol. 1889); Migne, cxxxix.

— 4. *Luitprand*. Ed. Pertz, M.G.H. ss. III, 273-363 (Dummler in usum schol. 1873); Migne, cxxxvi.

— 5. *Roswitha. Hrotsvithæ Opera*. Edidit K. Strecker. Lipsiæ, MCMVI.

p. 504. 6. *Epitaphium Adelheidæ Imperatricis*. Ed. Pertz, M.G.H. ss. iv, 636-649; Migne, CXLII, 967-982.

— 7. *Vita Sancti Brunonis Archiepiscopi*. Ed. Pertz, M.G.H. ss. iv, 254-275; Migne, CXXXIV, 941.

p. 505. 1. *Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans* (r. 1257-1272), second son of King John of England, was the only English Prince to be elected as head of the Holy Roman Empire. He was chosen at a time when the imperial power was declining in Germany and it was desired to appoint "some one rich enough to support the dignity, but not strong enough to be feared by the electors." [Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 209.]

— 2. "The most distinguished in Normandy."

— 3. The said Nobles "invested with the powers and authority of the prelates and churchmen, of the nobles, of the citizens inhabiting the towns, and of all the common people of the country and duchy of Normandy, undertake to supply, at their own cost and expense, within a period of 10 weeks, four thousand men-at-arms and twenty thousand foot soldiers to assist him in the name and for the profit of John, his son, Duke of Normandy, to accomplish the conquest of the Kingdom of England."

p. 506. 1. "Done at Bretteville by the command of the renowned Count, Lord Richard, xv Kal. of April, Anno xiv, in the reign of Lothaire, the King, year xi of the *Indiction*, 968.

"The Seal of Hugh, the Archbishop, the seal of Hugh, the Duke of the Franks, the seal of Richard, the Prince of the Normans, the seal of Osmond, the seal of Rudolph, the seal of Hagano, the seal of Turistingus, the seal of Ivo, the seal of Count Walter, the seal of Thorold, the seal of Alberedo, the seal of Osbern, the seal of Count Theobald, the seal of Waleran."

APPENDIX A.

THE ORIGIN OF ROLLO.

Translated from Alex. Bugge, *Norges Historie*, vol. 1, pp. 171-173.

THE people who conquered the land about the Seine were called Normans by the French and their land Normandy from about the year 1000. Their leader was first styled Count, then Duke, *Ruðu-jarl* (from *Ruða*, Rothomus, Rouen) the sagas call him. But who was this man whose descendants were to become the most powerful vassals in France and, later still, to occupy the throne of England? The authorities are at variance and absolute certainty is hardly likely to be reached; still some degree of probability may be attained. The Frenchman Dudo wrote between the years 994 and 1026 a history of the Dukes of Normandy for the first or second Richard, the grandson or the great-grandson of Rollo. He relates that Rollo's father was a powerful chief in Dacia and that he had never bowed the knee before any king. Therefore the king of the country was his enemy and encompassed his death in his own land and attacked his two sons Rollo and Gorm. Rollo was forced to flee; first he made his way to the island of Scanza (the Scandinavian Peninsula), afterwards he sailed to England and Frisia and finally to France. According to Dudo's view Rollo should be a Dane; for Dacia must certainly be Denmark. But Dudo's account is exceedingly confused and obscure; he mixes up the Danes and the Dacians of antiquity and relates that Dacia lies on the Danube, encircled by high mountains, between the lands of the Alani and the Getæ.

In Norway and Iceland, however, in the 13th century there was a tradition that the Dukes of Normandy were of Norwegian descent. The King's Sagas¹ relate that Rögnvald Jarl of Møre (Söndmör, S.-W. of Trondhjem, Norway) had a son called Hrolf. He was so heavy that no horse could carry him, wherefore he was called Göngu-Hrolf. He was a mighty warrior, but once, when he had made a piratical raid on the coast of the Christiania Fiord, he was outlawed by Harold Fairhair. That Göngu-Hrolf and the *Ruðu-jarls* were of Norwegian descent was the common belief in olden times, both among the people and the royal family of Norway and among the jarls of the Orkneys². But

Notes. Chiefly from Prentout, *Essai sur les Origines et la Fondation de la Duché de Normandie*, Paris, 1911.

1. *Heimskringla*, the Saga of Harold Fairhair, ch. 24ff.; the Saga of St Olaf, ch. 20. *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* is entirely fabulous.

2. The Jarls of Orkney were of Rögnvald's kin according to the *Heimskringla* (the Saga of St Olaf, ch. 96) and the *Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 1, ed. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1873).

in Normandy, too, there must have been a similar tradition, which Rollo's descendants, the English royal family, themselves believed in the 12th century. In a chronicle from the 11th century it is said that the Normans came from Norway³, and the Anglo-Norman chronicler. William of Malmesbury⁴, and more after him, relate that Rollo came from a noble family among the Northmæn, though its name had been forgotten in the course of time. "Outlawed from his native country by the king's command, he departed thence with many debtors and outlaws who followed him in hopes of better times." So both the sagas and the English chroniclers know that Rollo was of noble descent and that he was outlawed from his native land. According to Dudo, too, Rollo's father seems to have been a *jarl*, and Dudo's account of the king of Dacia, who invaded the country and slew Rollo's brother, is perhaps to be connected with the story told by the saga of the invasion of Moere and the slaying of Jarl Rögnvald by Harold Fairhair's sons⁵. In my opinion, therefore, there is an overwhelming balance of probability in favour of the view that Rollo is to be identified with the Göngu-Hrolf of the sagas and that Norway is right to claim him as her own. But that he dwelt at Söndmör we cannot say.

Göngu-Hrolf's history, I should imagine, runs pretty much as follows: When Harold Fairhair outlawed him he departed to the Orkneys in company with the other sons of Jarl Rögnvald. Thence they ravaged Caithness, Northumbria and Dublin, as the Latin *Historia Norvegiae*⁶ relates. Rollo spent some considerable time there; he certainly married a wife in Scotland. For when a grandson of the Icelandic settler Björn the Easterling was plundering in Scotland c. 934-940, he took captive Niöbjörg, daughter of King Bjolan and Kaðlin, the daughter of Göngu-Hrolf⁷; she was certainly of the O'Beolan family, the later Jarls of Ross. Afterwards he went to Ireland, where Viking chieftains of his name are mentioned in the second half of the 9th century. Between the Viking settlements in Ireland and France there was active communication, and when, c. 900, the Viking power began to wane in Ireland, many Viking chiefs made their way to France, among others Bard and Eric who burnt Tours in 903. Among these chieftains was Göngu-Hrolf. Having in his following many

3. Amatus of Monte-Cassino (fl. in the latter half of the 11th century.) His history of the Normans in Italy survives only in a French translation, c. 1300, ed. Champollion-Figeac, *Ystore de li Normant* (Paris, 1835), p. 9, "Laquelle gent premièrement habiterent en une yscelle qui se clamoit Nora."

4. William of Malmesbury, ed. Stubbs (London, 1887), vol. I. p. 138.

5. *Heimskringla* (Saga of Harold Fairhair, ch. 30).

6. *Historia Norvegiae*, c. 1180-1190, ed. Storm, *Monumenta Historica Norvegiae*, p. 90 (Christiania, 1880).

7. *Landnámabók*, vol. II, ch. 11, ed. Ásmundarson, Reykjavík, 1909. Rollo's marriages with Poppa, daughter of Berengar, Count of Tours (see Genealogical Table VII), and Gisella, daughter of Charles the Simple, rest solely on the evidence of Dudo. William Longsword, *teste* Dudo, was the son of Poppa, but fairly strong evidence against this view is provided by the 10th century *Lament for the Death of William Longsword*, ed. Lair, *Étude sur la Vie et la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée* (Paris, 1893), which describes him as "born in lands across the sea," *hic in orbe transmarino natus*.

In the case of the second marriage chronological difficulties are almost insuperable, and it seems most reasonable to imagine with Prentout, p. 187 ff., that the whole story is borrowed from the union of Godfrey the Dane and Gisella, daughter of Lothair II, see *History of Normandy and England*, vol. I, p. 323.

Norwegian and Irish Vikings, he made common cause with the Vikings of the Seine. His help was thankfully received and by virtue of his reputation and his warlike qualities, Hrolf soon became the leader of the Vikings of the Seine. It is also evident from Dudo that there were among the settlers in Normandy both Danes and Norwegians and men from Ireland. The Danes may very well have been the most numerous; the social conditions and the names seem to recall Denmark rather than Norway; but it was certainly from Norway that the Earls of Rouen sprang.

APPENDIX B.

THE DUKES OF LOTHARINGIA AND THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT.

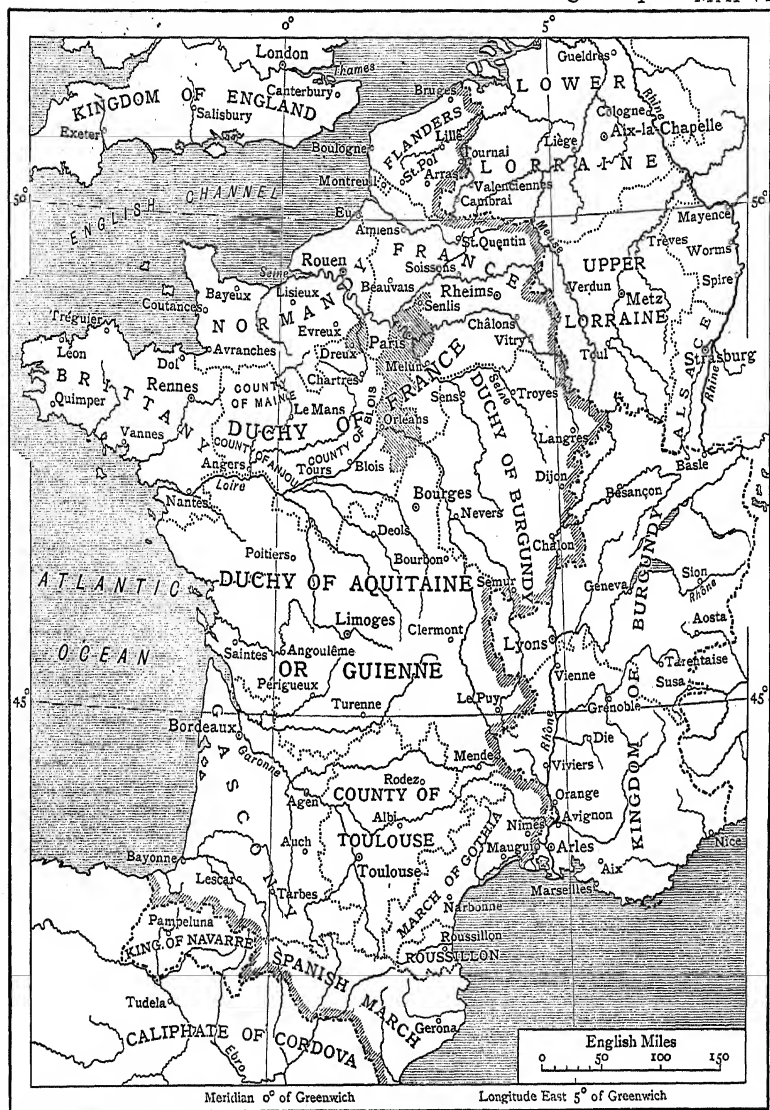
(See pages 125, 140 and 219; 379 sqq., 456 and 491.)

ACCORDING to Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, Henry the Porphyrogenitus, afterwards Duke of Bavaria, held Lotharingia for one year only. It appears that Henry did not possess the qualities necessary to administer a country shaken by revolution. His early attempts were unfortunate and in 940 Otho deprived him of the Duchy. The next person chosen by the King to bear the title was Otho Count of Verdun who had been entrusted with the care of the young son of Duke Gilbert (or Gislebert). This youth whose name is recorded as Henry (not Otho, pp. 140, 219) does not appear to have ever actually held the Duchy. He died a few years after his father. Otho of Verdun was followed by Conrad the Red in 944 and by Bruno Archbishop of Cologne in 953. [See H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 2nd ed. 1902, Brussels, vol. i, pp. 45, 51, 52, 410-411.]

Rainier III, Count of Hainault (p. 379) should be described as the nephew, not the brother, of Duke Gilbert of Lotharingia. After the death of Gilbert's son, Rainier became the head of the family and the heir to its claims in which he included Lotharingia. The events here described form an incident in the contest between Rainier and Bruno to whom Otho I had entrusted the Duchy (see above). Rainier's power was so formidable that when he fell into the hands of his enemies (956/8) he was banished. He died in exile leaving two sons, Rainier IV, who is the Rainier mentioned on p. 456, and Lambert Count of Louvain (called Lambert Count of Hainault, p. 491). [See Pirenne, *op. cit.* pp. 64-124, 412-413.]

*

FRANCE before the accession of Hugh Capet MAP VI



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Domain of Hugh Capet.....
Boundary of Kingdom of France.....

*

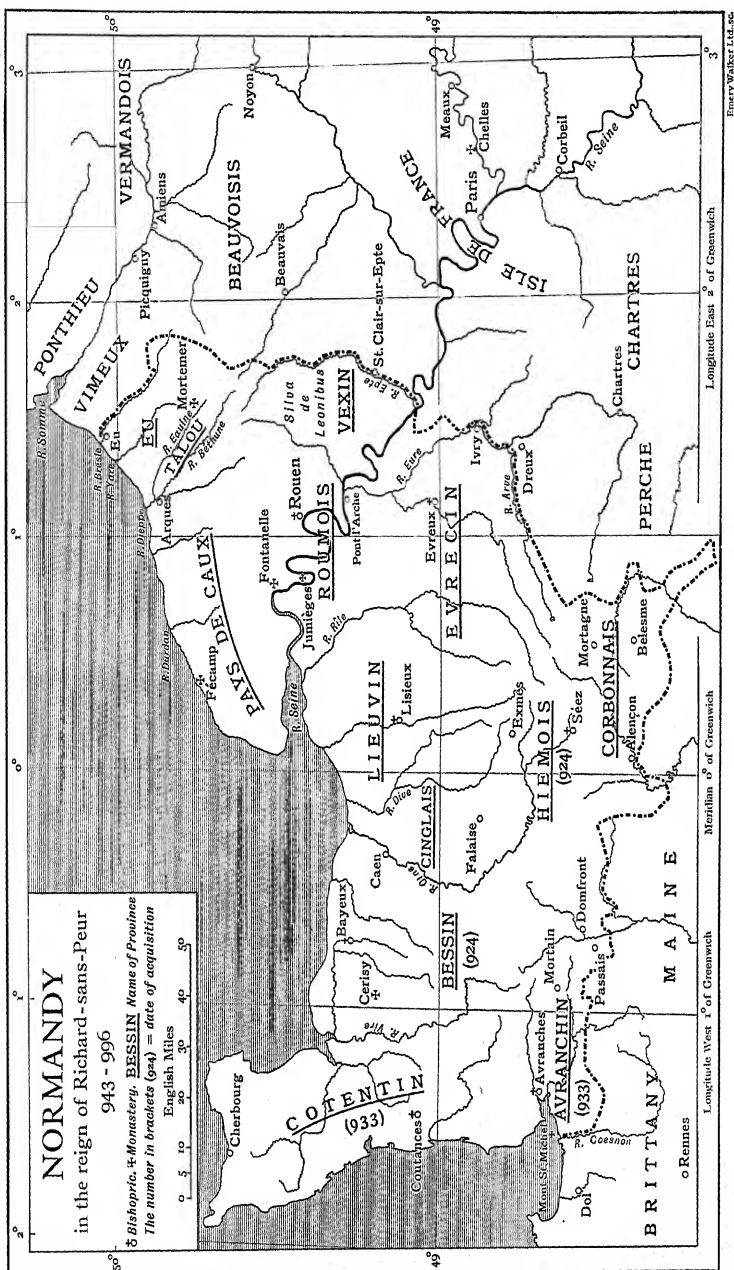
NORMANDY

in the reign of Richard-sans-Peur

943 - 996

♂ Bishopric. ♀ Monastery. BESSIN *Name of Province*
The number in brackets (924) = date of acquisition

English Miles



GENEALOGICAL TABLES

The following abbreviations and signs are employed :

abd., abdicated	r., ruled
C., Count	res., resigned
c., circa	s., son
D., Duke	=married
d., daughter	{ illegitimate descent
dep., deposed	: affiliation considered
Emp., Emperor	: doubtful
K., King	: remote descent, passing
M., Marquis	: over the names of in-
ob., died	: dividuals
ob.s.p., died without issue	

In the following Tables the dates in brackets indicate, in cases where there are two dates, the length of reign or of a countship &c. When additional clearness is required, the letter r. is placed before the first date.

One date standing alone indicates the commencement of the rule over a second dominion, e.g. **Charles-the-Great** showing that Charlemagne was King of the **Charlemagne** Franks from 768 to 814 and Emperor from (r. 768-814, 800 to 814. Emp. 800)

When the date of death only is given the syllable ob. is placed before it, e.g. Pepin K. of Aquitaine (ob. 838)

Figures enclosed in brackets are used to indicate a second or third husband or wife in cases in which this requires to be made clear. Thus, in Table XIII,

Lothaire = ⁽¹⁾Adelaide⁽²⁾ = ⁽²⁾Otho I⁽¹⁾ = Editha of
of Italy England

shows that Adelaide was first married to Lothaire and secondly to Otho I, whose first marriage had been with Editha. In Table XVI the three wives of Fulk Réchin are numbered and the children of each are indicated by corresponding numbers.

Authorities.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

ERRATA

Tables III_A, IV_A and XI

<i>for</i>	Otho D. of Burgundy (ob. 965) Adelaide Blanche	=	⁽¹⁾ Otho William ⁽²⁾ C. of the Burgundian Palatinate (ob. 1027) Renaud C. of the Burgundian Palatinate	=	Ermentruda d. of Renaud C. of Coucy
<i>read</i>	Otho D. of Burgundy (ob. 965) Ermentruda d. of Renaud C. of Roucy Renaud C. of the Burgundian Palatinate	=	⁽¹⁾ Otho William ⁽²⁾ C. of the Burgundian Palatinate (ob. 1027) Renaud C. of the Burgundian Palatinate	=	Adelaide Blanche of Anjou*

Tables III_A, and IV_A, footnote †, *after* pp. 100, 101, 102 *add* 212.

Table XV, footnote ¶, *for* Beatrice de Montfort D'Amauri *read* Beatrice de Montfort l'Amauri

* The parentage of Adelaide Blanche is uncertain. The second wife of Otho William has been identified by Poupardin (*Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 418, note 6) with Adelaide Blanche the mother of Queen Constance, wife of Robert II of France, whom Raoul Glaber (lib. iii, cap. 2 and 9) speaks of as a kinswoman of Fulk III, the Black, Count of Anjou.

INDEX

The figures in *italic* indicate that there is a note on the subject of the heading at the end of the volume.

References to the map-square are given in the case of Map V in the usual way, *e.g.* Aisne, river, Map V(E 2).

- Aa, river, locality of, 399
- Aachen. *See* Aix-la-Chapelle
- Abbo, Bishop of Soissons, at battle of Mont-Chalus, 30; assists election of Hugh of Vermandois to see of Rheims, 46
- Aboul Wefa, Persian astronomer, 433, 535
- Acfred I, Count of Carcassonne, 510
- Acques, Bishop of. *See* Odalricus
- Acta Normannorum*. *See* Dudo de St Quentin
- Adalbero, Bishop of Auxerre, mediates between Louis d'Outremer and Hugh-le-Grand, 331, 332
- Adalbero, Bishop of Laon. *See* Asceline
- Adalbero, Bishop of Metz, at synod of Verdun, 322; 334
- Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, appointed to Rheims, 430 sq., 454; his learning, 431; patron of Asceline of Laon, *ib.*, 535; and Capets and Carolingians, 431, 464, 470, 482; patron of Gerbert of Aurillac, 433, 485; convenes synod at Fismes, 457; and Otho II's invasion of France, 460, 476; proclaims Louis V king, 470; accused of treason by Louis V, 476; supported by Hugh Capet, 477; and accession of Hugh, 477 sqq.; crowns Hugh, 479; crowns Robert II, 480; his death, 484
- Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea, father of Berenger II, 528; Gen. Table XI
- Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea, son of Berenger II, 349; does homage to Otho I, 354; rebels, 363; defeated, *ib.*; deserts Berenger, 364; continues to resist Otho, 365; subdued and escapes to Corsica, *ib.*; marries Gerberga of Chalon, *ib.*; Gen. Table XI
- Adalbert, St, Archbishop of Magdeburg, converts Magyars, 362
- Adalger, priest, and betrayal of Rheims to Charles of Lower Lorraine, 487, 492
- Adalric, St, confessor of Otho I, 360
- Adela (Eadgiva, Elgiva), daughter of Edward the Elder, her marriage with Ebles of Poitou, 6, 72, 514
- Adela or Adelaide (Constance), daughter of Fulk II of Anjou, widow of Raymond III of Toulouse, 471; marries Louis V, 471 sq.; marries Guillaume of Arles, 472; and death of Louis V, 477; 537; Gen. Tables XI, XVI
- Adela, daughter of Herbert the Handsome of Troyes, marries Charles of Lorraine, 457; imprisoned by Hugh Capet, 490, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Adela (Gerloc), daughter of Rollo, her marriage with Guillaume Tête-d'é-toupe, 72 sqq., 372, 416, 454 sq.; her piety, 146; Gen. Table XII
- Adelaide, daughter of Fulk II of Anjou. *See* Adela
- Adelaide, daughter of Guillaume Tête-d'é-toupe, marries Hugh Capet, 454 sq., 514; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Adelaide, daughter of Rudolph II of Burgundy, wife of Lothaire of Italy, 329, 348 sq., 528; persecuted by Berenger II, 349 sq., 362, 528; marriage with Otho I, 350, 352, 440, 529; antipathy of Germans to, 353, 356; her children, 355, 364; with Otho in Rome, 366; and her daughter Emma, 440, 468, 474, 482, 504; biography of, 440, 504, 535, 541; 448; and Theophania, 452 sq.; leaves court of Otho II, *ib.*; guardian of Otho III, 473, 493; her death, 493; Gen. Tables IX XI, XIII
- Adelhard, Bishop of Reggio, protects Adelaide of Burgundy, 349
- Adelinda, sister of William the Pious of Aquitaine, 510; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Adelisa, daughter of Godfrey of Lower Lorraine, 418
- Adeliza Judith (or Alice), daughter of Richard II of Normandy. *See* Judith
- Adhémar de Chabannes (chronicler), *Historia Francorum* of, 499; records act of "diffidation" against Charles le-Simple, *ib.*, cited, 509; 539
- Adige, river, valley commands road from Suabia to Italy, 350 sq.
- Adolph, Count of Boulogne, envoy of Hugh-le-Grand to Athelstane, 43; and Louis d'Outremer's restoration, 85 sq., 88 sq., 90; Gen. Table XIV
- Ædui, the, in Gaul, 81
- Agapet II, Pope, sends legate to council of Engleheim, 324; excommunicates Hugh-le-Grand, 332; 528
- Aisne, river, 462 sq.; Map V(E 2)
- Aix, Archbishop of. *See* Odalricus
- Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), memorials of Charlemagne at, 9, 116, 177, 301, 459; Charles-le-Simple at, 13; capital of

- Lotharingia, 115; Otho I crowned at, 115, 116, 119; court of Otho at, 219, 295, 329; Otho II crowned at, 364; Bruno of Cologne and Gerberga at, 382; Otho II summons diet at, 458; raided by Lothaire of France, 459; Otho and Theophania at, 465; Otho III crowned at, 473; Otho opens Charlemagne's tomb at, 494; Roman name of, 519; Maps V(G1), VI
- Alain-le-Grand, Count of Vannes and Nantes, his descendants, 18; dominions of, 97; Gen. Table XV
- Alain Barbe-Torte, Count of Vannes and Nantes, flees to England with Mathuedoi of Pohér, 18; becomes Count of Vannes, 27; does homage to Guillaume Longue-épée, 34, 54, 55; rebels against Guillaume, 55 sq.; takes refuge in England, 56, 97; expels Northmen from Brittany, 97 sqq.; friendly to Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe, 99; marries Rosilla of Anjou, 100, 526; supports Guillaume Longue-épée, 114, 139, 167; and Louis d'Outremer, 139 sq.; at inauguration of Richardsans-Peur, 175; quarrels with Juhel-Berenger, 232; and Danish invasion of Brittany, 232 sq.; submits to Richard, 280; marriage with Gerberga of Blois, *ib.*; 509; Gen. Tables XV, XVI, XVII
- Albategnius, Arab astronomer, 433, 535
- Alberada, wife of Rainier-au-Long-Col, 9
- Alberic II, Prince and Senator of the Romans, and Stephen IX, 135; governs Rome, 512, 520; 530; bequeaths Rome to John XII, 531; Gen. Table IX
- Alberic, Marquis of Spoleto (of Camerino), 512, 520
- Albert Azzo (Oberto, Obizzo), Marquis of Modena, protects Adelaide of Burgundy, 349 sq., 362, 530; and marquisate of Este, 349, 364; appeals to Otho I against Berenger, 362; envoy of Lombards to Otho, 364; 531
- Albert I, Count of Namur, marries Ermengarda of Lorraine, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Albert I the Pious, Count of Vermandois, 47; inherits county, 181, 208; friendly to Hugh-le-Grand, 181, 264; quarrels with Hugh Capet, 495; Gen. Table VII
- Albi, ruled by Counts of Septimania, 60, 513; Map VI
- Alboin, King of the Lombards, invader of Italy, 530
- Aldelelm, Count of Arras, defeats Danes, 28; 510
- Alençon, despoiled by Hugh of Maine, 409; Map VII
- Alençon, House of, founded by Yvo de Creil, 171
- Alerada, daughter of Louis d'Outremer, birth and betrothal, 213, 214, 524
- Alexander I, Pope, 325, 528
- Alfragan, Arab astronomer, 433, 535
- Alfred the Great, King of England, cedes Danelagh, 3, 151, 184, 522, 524; his granddaughters, 5; bestows knighthood on Athelstane, 289 sq.; his charters granting municipal franchise and trial by jury, 443
- Alice, Countess of Hainault, daughter of Count of Egisheim, placed in command of Mons, 379 sq.; captured, 380; Gen. Table XIV
- Alice of Normandy. *See* Judith
- Alicia, daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois, her marriage with Arnoulle-Vieux, 59, 72; Gen. Tables VII, XIV
- Alps, mountains, Magyars in, 29; and Saracens, 49, 52, 512; boundary of Lombardy, 347; passes commanded by Burgundy, 468
- Alsace, conquered by Conrad I, 9; part of Belgic Gaul, 81; loyal to France, 121 sq.; part of Lotharingia, 381; Maps V(G2-3), VI
- Amandus, St. Bishop of Maestricht, founds abbey of St Pierre-lez-Gand, 532
- Amatus of Monte-Cassino (chronicler), *Ystore de li Normant* of, cited, 543, *note*
- Amiennois, the, Northmen in, 23, 28, 30; granted to Eudes of Vermandois, 181, 208; origin of, 208 sq.; granted to Herlouin of Ponthieu, 216; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map V(E2)
- Amiens, attacked by Danes, 30; Guillaume Longue-épée does homage to Louis d'Outremer at, 128; Guillaume's troops at, 167; splendour of, 208; surrenders to Louis, 216; Normans defeat Germans near, 318; Richardsans-Peur escapes Bruno of Cologne's ambush at, 394 sq.; Maps V(F2), VI, VII
- Amiens, Bishop of. *See* Deroldus
- Amiens, Count of. *See* Eudes
- Amiens, county of. *See* Amiennois, the
- Andelle, river, Otho I encamps on, 303
- Andernach, Otho I defeats Gilbert of Lotharingia at, 125, 508
- Angelbert, son-in-law of Charlemagne and abbey of Centulla, 31; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Anglo-Saxons, the. *See* England
- Anjou, Counts of. *See* Fulk, Geoffrey; Gen. Table XVI
- Anjou, county of, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; and Normandy, 391; invaded by Harold Blaatand, 413; authorities on history of, 540; Maps V(C3), VI
- Annales Benedictini.* *See* Mabillon, Jean
- Annales de l'histoire de France à l'époque Carolingienne*, ed. Giry, cited, 539
- Annales Hirsauigienses*, of Trithemius, source of French and German history, 534

- Annales Nivernenses*, and Harold Blaa-
tand, cited, 515
- Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Pertz, and
Germany's rejection of Carolingians,
cited, 7, 508; and Magyars, cited, 7 sq.,
508
- Anne, daughter of Romanus II, Eastern
Emperor, wife of Vladimir the Great,
446, 536
- Anquetil-le-Preux, son of Riulph, revolt
and death of, 63, 66
- Ansegisus, his monastery at Fécamp, 61;
513; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Ansegisus, Bishop of Troyes, at battle of
Mont-Chalus, 30
- Antapodosis* of Liutprand of Cremona, 536
- Apennines, mountains, boundary of
Lombardy, 347
- Apulia, its conquest by Northmen, 272,
420, 525; division of Italy, 348; part
of Byzantine Empire, 437; Otho I
invades, 447, 449; sends embassy to
Quedlinburg, 450
- Aquileia, march of, retained by Otho I,
354
- Aquitaine (Aquitanian Gaul), loyal to
Charles-le-Simple, 17, 22, 25, 41 sq.,
83; repudiates King Raoul, 25, 41 sq.,
47, 83, 214 sq.; acknowledges Raoul,
60, 68; and Normandy, 74, 514;
independent nationality of, 80, 471 sq.;
division of ancient Gaul, 80 sq., 515;
extent of, 81; constitutional status
and privileges of, 81 sq., 92; supports
Hugh-le-Grand, 83, 84; attitude
towards Carolingians, 83; and Charle-
magne, *ib.*, 471; independence of, 83,
214 sq.; Magyars in, 106; and France,
139; acknowledges Louis d'Outremer,
215, 323, 333, 334; hatred of Hugh,
323, 369, 372; loyal to Lothaire, 369;
granted to Hugh by Lothaire, 370;
Lothaire and Louis V in, 471 sq.;
comparison of, with Languedoc, *ib.*;
authority on history of, 499; Maps V
(C-E 3-4), VI
- Aquitaine, Dukes of. *See* Guillaume,
Raymond, William; Gen. Tables VI
and VI A (vol. I)
- Aquitanian Gaul. *See* Aquitaine
- Aquitaniens, the. *See* Aquitaine
- Arabs, the. *See* Saracens
- Ardennes, the, mountains, Otho II in,
463; Map V(F 1)
- Ardennes and Verdun, Counts of the. *See*
Godfrey
- Ardolf, Count of Guisnes, inherits county,
111
- Ardres, and the *Champs du Drap d'or*,
111; Map V(D 1)
- Ariosto, Lodovico, and Otho I's invasion
of Italy, cited, 350, 530
- Arles, Count of. *See* Guillaume
- Armorica. *See* Brittany
- Arnolph, Emperor, his claims, 7; and
Charles-le-Gras, 87; 516; Gen. Table X
- Arnolph, St, Bishop of Metz, and Carlo-
vingian family, 513; Gen. Table II
(vol. I)
- Arnoul I le-Vieux, Count of Flanders,
alliance with Helgaud of Ponthieu
against Northmen, 30, 32; marries
Alicia of Vermandois, 59, 72; kinsman
of Balzo, 63; allied with Louis
d'Outremer, 108, 109 sq., 112; fortifies
coast, especially Witsand, against
Danes, 109 sqq.; conditions of his
tenure of Flanders, to withstand Danes,
111, 221, 292 sq.; and Siegfried of
Guisnes, 111; enmity against Guil-
laume Longue-épée, 111 sq., 114, 124,
147; takes Montreuil-sur-Mer, 113 sq.;
Guillaume supports Herlouin of Pon-
thieu against, 114, 147, 166; courted
by Otho I, 117; transfers allegiance
from Louis to Otho, 124, 126; and
murder of Guillaume, 166 sqq., 186,
220, 221, 240, 284, 287, 293; the
lasting adversary of Normandy, 186,
284, 287, 390, 408; and Louis's vow
to avenge murder of Guillaume, 198,
204 sq., 215, 221; and Herlouin's
enmity, 207, 217, 220, 234; defeated
by Louis and Herlouin, 217; incites
Louis against Normandy, 221; at peace
with Louis, 229; joins Louis and
Herlouin, 234, 253; effects coalition
of Louis and Otho against Richard,
292 sqq.; joins Otho, 301; invasion
of Normandy, 302-318; persuades
Otho to march against Rouen, 302 sqq.;
alienated from Otho, 309, 313 sq.; re-
treats, with his army, 315 sqq.; returns
home, 318; annexes Ponthieu, *ib.*,
335, 377, 390; resigns, 377 sq., 435;
resumes government as regent, 378,
435; death of, 379, 435; 510; Gen.
Tables VII, XIV
- Arnoul II le-Jeune, Count of Flanders,
inherits county, 378; his hatred of
Richard-sans-Peur, 408; his revolt
against Lothaire, 435 sq.; appeals to
Richard to mediate, 436; and Hugh
Capet, 464; Gen. Table XIV
- Arnoul, Bishop of Orleans, with Hugh
Capet at Rome, 467
- Arnoul (Arnulphus), Archbishop of
Rheims, parentage of, 436, 485; his
election to Rheims, 436, 485 sqq.;
betrays Rheims to Charles of Lorraine,
487 sq., 491; entrapped by Asceline
of Laon, 489 sq.; betrayed by Gerbert
of Aurillac, 491; resigns and election
annulled, 492; supported by John XV,
493; 535
- Arnoul, Count of St Quentin, partisan of
Hugh-le-Grand and Herbert of Ver-
mandois, 135
- Arnstadt, pacification of, 357
- Arnulphus of Rheims. *See* Arnoul
- Arpad, King of the Magyars, 106, 531
- Arques, origin of, 61; Map VII

- Arras, attacked by Danes, 30; capitulates to King Raoul, 59; barrier fortress of Flanders, 204, 216; dialect in, 508; county of, 510; Maps V(E1), VI
- Arras, Count of. *See* Aldelelm
- Artaldus, Archbishop of Rheims, rival of Hugh of Vermandois, 46; appointed by King Raoul, 53; character of, *ib.*, 130; at coronation of Louis d'Outremer, 91; allied with Louis against Vermandois party, 107, 110, 130 sq., 133; expelled from Rheims, 131 sq., 253; his struggles with Hugh, 181, 234, 298; restored, 299; his tenure of see important to Louis, 320; Hugh-le-Grand and Hugh of Vermandois try to expel, 320 sq.; rights confirmed by church councils, 321 sq.; reports proceedings of synods, 327; Hugh-le-Grand's men desert to, 327 sq.; godfather to son of Louis, 329; 333; joins Louis against Hugh-le-Grand, 336; crowns Lothaire, 370; death of, 429
- Artois, the, attacked by Danes, 30, 32; part of Belgic Gaul, 81; Map V(E1)
- Asceline (Adalbero), Bishop of Laon, patronized by Adalbero of Rheims, 431; character of, 432; appointed to Laon, *ib.*, 454; and the *Acta Normannorum*, 432, 495, 500; involved with Queen Emma in evil reports, 457 sq., 473 sq., 481; sides with Capetian party, 470; holds Laon against Charles of Lorraine, 481; imprisoned by Charles, 482; seeks protection of Hugh Capet, 483; returns to Laon, 489; betrays Charles to Hugh, 489 sq.; death of, 493; 535
- Askman, leader of Danes, 411, 533
- Asperling. *See* Sperling
- Athelstane, King of England, marriages of his sisters, 5, 42 sq., 116, 266; protects Alain Barbe-Torte, 18, 56, 97; shelters Louis d'Outremer, 27, 64, 84 sq., 103, 202; gives his sister in marriage to Hugh-le-Grand, 42 sq., 86; the ally of Guillaume Longue-épée, 43, 60, 64, 86 sq., 97, 144; and Louis's restoration, 85 sq., 89 sq., 95 sq.; and Celts, 85, 97; and Haco of Norway, 85, 516; in readiness to aid Louis, 103, 122; 113; supports the Church, 144; victorious at Brunanburgh, 151, 516; parentage of, 286; knighted by Alfred the Great, 289 sq.; patron of Odo of Canterbury, 517; expels Olaf from Northumbria, 525; 528
- Attigny, Charles-le-Simple at, 22; Capetians do homage to Otho I at, 133, 134, 320, 347, 367; council of, 164 sq.; Ogiva ejected from palace of, by Louis d'Outremer, 335; burnt by Otho II 461; Map V(F2)
- Augsburg, council of, 354; Magyars repulsed at, 358; junction of rivers Lech and Wertach at, 531
- Aurillac, birthplace of Sylvester II, 531
- Ausonia. *See* Italy
- Authorities, 499-506, 538-543
- Auxerre, King Raoul dies at, 78; Map V(E3)
- Auxerre, Bishop of. *See* Guido
- Austrasia, Duke of. *See* Charles Martel
- Autchar. *See* Ogier the Dane
- Autharis, King of the Lombards, organizes Lombard kingdom, 347, 530
- Autun, its Celtic traditions, 369; Map V(F3)
- Autunois, the, governed by Gilbert of Burgundy, 512; Map V(E-F3)
- Auvergne, Danes invade, 21; birthplace of St Odilo in, 535; Map V(E3-4)
- Auvergne, Count of. *See* William
- Avalon (Avallon), duchy of, battle of Mont-Chalus in, 30; ruled by Gilbert of Burgundy, 52; taken by Queen Emma, *ib.*; restored to Gilbert, 100, 101; held by Hugh-le-Noir, 212; dependent on duchy of Burgundy, *ib.*, 512; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map V(E3)
- Avranches, 243; Maps V(C2), VI, VII
- Avranchin, the, origin of, 56; influence of Harold Blaataand in, 152; supports Harold against French, 255; aids Richard-sans-Peur, 409; Maps V(C2), VII
- Baioaria. *See* Bavaria
- Baioacensis, the *Pagus*. *See* Bessin, the
- Baldericus Cameracensis (chronicler), *Chronicon Cameracense et Atrebatense* of, authority on French and German history, 500; 539
- Baldwin of Cambrai, at Jumièges, 145; and Guillaume Longue-épée, *ib.*
- Balzo, nephew of Riulph, takes part in Riulph's insurrection, 63; befriended by Arnoul-le-Vieux, 111; hatred of Guillaume Longue-épée, 163; murders Guillaume, 168 sq.; arouses enmity of Herlouin of Ponthieu, 169; slain by Herlouin, 217, 220
- Bamberg, death of Berenger II at, 365, 529
- Bar, duchy of, in Lotharingia, 9, 381
- Barcelona, Count of. *See* Borrell
- Bard, Viking chief, burns Tours, 543
- Barfleur, Harold Blaataand's fleet at, 254
- Bari, besieged by Otho I, 447
- Bar-le-Duc, founded by Frederick, 334 sq., 376; Map V(F2)
- Basil II, Eastern Emperor, son of Romanus II, 446, 536
- Basse Normandic. *See* Normandy, Lower
- Battle Ordeal. *See* Tournaments, Trial by battle
- Baudouin I Bras-de-Fer, Count of Flanders, his descendants, 30, 373, 510; conditions of his tenure of Flanders, 111, 293; settles in Flanders, 216; 510; Gen. Tables XI, XIV

- Baudouin III le-Chauve, Count of Flanders, 30, 292, 293, 378; succeeded by Arnoul-le-Vieux, 510; Gen. Table XIV
- Baudouin III le-Jeune, Count of Flanders, Arnoul-le-Vieux resigns county to, 378, 435; character of, 378; death of, *ib.*, 435, 503; hatred of Richard-sans-Peur, 390; with Lothaire invades Normandy, 400 sqq.; Gen. Table XIV
- Bavaria, duchy of, Magyars in, 8; supports Otho I in Italy, 351; and defeat of Magyars at Lechfeld, 359; aids Otho II in France, 460; granted to Henry the Porphyrogenitus, 537; and Henry the Quarreller, *ib.*
- Bavaria, Dukes of. *See* Henry
- Bavarians, the. *See* Bavaria
- Bavent, Harold Blaatand's fleet at, 254
- Bayeux, centre of Danish influence, 151; education and inauguration of Richard-sans-Peur at, 160, 162, 173, 174, 188, 409; blockaded by Hugh-le-Grand, 230, 235, 244; in Lower Normandy, 243; Harold Blaatand at, 254 sqq., 515; 510; Maps V(C2), VI, VII
- Bayeux, Bishop of. *See* Henry
- Bayeux, Count of. *See* Botho
- Bcatrice, daughter of Hugh-le-Grand, marries Frederick of Bar, 376; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Beauvais, Thibaut-le-Tricheur at, 394; Maps V(E2), VI, VII
- Beauvais, Bishop of. *See* Hildegarius
- Beauvoisin, the (Beauvoisis), Danes in, 23, 28, 30, 32; rises against Normans, 32; held by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Maps V(D-E2), VII
- Begga, daughter of Pepin I, 513; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Belosme (Bellême), fief of, held by Yvo de Creil, 203, 522; despoiled by French, 409; Maps V(D2), VII
- Belosme, House of, founded by Yvo de Creil, 171
- Belosme, Lord of. *See* Yvo de Creil
- Belgie Gaul (*Gallia Belgica*), and election of King Raoul, 41, 83; extent of, 81; inhabited by Belgæ, *ib.*, 515; constitutional status and privileges of, 81 sq., 92; loyal to Carolingian interest, 84; Magyars overrun, 106; and Hugh-le-Grand, 369; and Lotharingia, *ib.*
- Benedict V, Pope, contest with Leo VIII, 444; 536
- Benedict, St, forgotten in Normandy, 146
- Benevento, duchy of, Papacy confirmed in possession of, by Otho I, 366
- Benno, Bishop of Metz, appointment of, 44
- Benoît de St More (chronicler), 204; on Norman history, 501, 540. *See also* *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*
- Berengar, Count of Tours, 543; Gen. Table VII
- Berenger I, Duke of Friuli, King of Italy, Emperor, claimant to Empire, 346; 528, 530; Gen. Table XI
- Berenger II, Duke of Friuli, King of Italy, rival of Lothaire of Provence, 329, 348 sq., 528; persecutes Adelaide of Burgundy, 349 sq.; opposed by Albert Azzo, *ib.*, 362; and Otho I's invasion of Italy, 350, 351, 352, 530; appeals to Otho, 353; receives Lombardy as fief of the Empire, 354; abuses his authority, 362; subdued but restored, 363; provokes subjects who appeal to Otho, 363 sq.; at war with Otho, 364 sq.; deposition and death, 365; 528 sq.; and John XII, 531; patron of Liutprand of Cremona, 536; Gen. Table XI
- Berenger, Count of Namur, 120
- Bergen. *See* Mons
- Bernard de Senlis, Lord of Couci, implicated in imprisonment of Charles-le-Simple, 25 sq.; love for Guillaume Longue-épée, 39, 49, 66, 108, 185; holds Couci, 105, 108, 203, 206; holds Couci, Creil and Thury under Hugh-le-Grand, 181, 185; love for Richard-sans-Peur, 206, 223; shelters Richard, 226; seeks aid of Hugh for Richard, 226 sqq.; reproaches Hugh for treachery, 230; allied with Bernard the Dane, 231, 235; and Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231; again seeks Hugh's aid, 245; plots with Bernard against Louis, 252; begins war against Louis, 253; mediates between French and Normans, 265; counsellor of Richard, 276, 284; arranges Richard's political and matrimonial alliance with Hugh, 286 sqq., 422, 526; Gen. Table VII
- Bernard the Dane, swears fealty to Guillaume Longue-épée, 34; supports French party and Christianity in Normandy, 40, 187 sq., 205 sq.; supports Guillaume in Brittany, 55 sq.; 64; upbraids Guillaume's cowardice, 66; 139; accepts Richard-sans-Peur as Guillaume's successor, 158 sq.; regent, 160, 170; 163; character of, 170; portrait of, 170 sq., 522; and Richard's inauguration, 174, 187 sq.; superseded as Richard's guardian by Louis d'Outremer, 190; restored to power, 194; dealings with Louis in Rouen, 198 sqq.; yields Richard to Louis, 205; superseded in government by Louis, 207; and news of Richard's arrest, 223; allied with Bernard de Senlis to restore Richard, 231, 235; invites aid of Harold Blaatand, 232, 233, 236, 241; entices Louis to Rouen, 235 sqq.; incites Louis against Hugh-le-Grand, 241 sqq.; 246; treated as traitor, 250 sqq.; entangles Louis with Harold, 252 sqq.; imprisons Louis, 261 sqq.; counsellor of Richard, 276, 284, 286, 384, 387; arranges Richard's

- political and matrimonial alliance with Hugh, 286 sq., 422; rewarded by Richard, 291; death of, 384
- Bernard, King of Italy, the recollection of, 5, 12, 26, 51; his descendants, 5, 137, 383; 520; Gen. Table VII
- Bernelinus, mathematician, introduces use of Arabic numerals, 535
- Bertha, daughter of Charlemagne, her marriage with Angelbert, 31; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Bertha, daughter of Conrad the Peaceful, her marriage with Robert II annulled by Gregory V, 538; Gen. Tables VII and XVII
- Bertha, daughter of Lothair II, King of Lorraine, 530; Gen. Table IX
- Bertrada of Montfort, her enmity to Louis-le-Gros, 92; 517; Gen. Table XVI
- Besançon, governed by Lethaldus of Mâcon, 334; Maps V(F-G 3), VI
- Bessin, the (the *Pagus Baiocacensis*), ceded to Normandy, 29; Danish in character, 40, 151, 162, 409; and Harold Blaataud, 152, 255, 515; supplies Rouen, 162, 243 sq.; in Lower Normandy, 243; 254; supports Richard-sans-Peur, 409; Maps V(C 2), VII
- Bethune, river, 399; Map VII
- Beudic, Count of Cornouaille, involved in Breton civil war, 232
- Bihorel, skirmish at, 317
- Billungs, Mark of the, created by Herman the Saxon, 536
- Bjolan, King in Scotland, 543
- Björn the Easterling, 543
- Blanche. *See* Adela (Constance)
- Blois, held by Gerlo, 17; Lothaire receives homage of Thibaut-le-Tricheur at, 372; Maps V(D 3), VI
- Blois, Counts of. *See* Thibaut II, William; Gen. Table XVII
- Blois, county of, Regnald invades, 17; held by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map VI
- Blois, House of, acquires Champagne, 106
- Blois and Champagne, Count of. *See* Eudes II; Gen. Table XVII
- Blois and Chartres, Count of. *See* Thibaut-le-Tricheur, Gen. Table XVII
- Blois, Chartres and Meaux, Counts of. *See* Eudes I, Stephen III; Gen. Table XVII
- Blois, Chartres and Troyes, Count of. *See* Thibaut IV; Gen. Table XVII
- Blois and Troyes, Count of. *See* Thibaut III; Gen. Table XVII
- Bobbio, abbey of, granted to Gerbert of Aurillac, 453; 454
- Bocage Normand*, Riulph acquires the, 57
- Bohemia, and Otho I, 119, 267; aids Otho against Magyars, 359, 360
- Bohemians, the. *See* Bohemia
- Bona, daughter of Godfrey of the Ardennes and Verdun, marries Charles of Lorraine, 457; children of, *ib.*, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Boniface I, Pope, 325, 528
- Boniface, St, 120
- Bonne-Nouvelles, monastery of, and Thibaut-le-Tricheur's camp, 405 sq.; 533
- Boppart, Theophania's dowry, 450
- Borell, Count of Barcelona, seeks aid of Hugh Capet against Saracens, 480; patron of Gerbert of Aurillac, *ib.*, 531
- Boso I, Count of Vienne, King of Provence, 11, 334; 508; Gen. Table IX
- Boso, Count in Lorraine and Provence, seizes Dijon, 77; Gen. Table V (vol. I)
- Boso, Duke of Tuscany, 349
- Botho, Count of Bayeux, swears fealty to Guillaume Longue-épée, 34; opposed to Danish party in Normandy, 39, 41, 163; supports Guillaume's claims to Brittany, 55 sq.; 64; guardian of Richard-sans-Peur, 67; accepts Richard as Guillaume's successor, 158 sq.; tutor to Richard, 159; member of regency, 160; transfers charge of Richard to Osmond de Centvilles, 171
- Botund, Magyar chief, 336, 358, 361
- Boulogne (*Gessoriacum*), importance of, 86; Roman remains at, *ib.*, 516; and Louis d'Outremer's restoration, 89 sqq., 179, 282; ravaged by Guillaume Longue-épée, 112; Maps V(D 1), VI
- Boulogne, Countess of. *See* Maud
- Boulogne, Counts of. *See* Adolph, Philippe
- Bouquet, Dom Martin (historian), chronological tables of, 499
- Bourges, ravaged by Northmen, 77; Maps V(E 3), VI
- Bovo, Bishop of Châlons, assists election of Hugh of Vermandois to see of Rheims, 46
- Bovo, Abbot of Corbey (or Corvey, in Westphalia), and the straw hats of Otho I's army, 296, 297, 527
- Brabant, mercenaries of, support Richard-sans-Peur, 409; under Godfrey of the Ardennes, 457; part of imperial duchy of Lorraine, 491; Map V(E-F 1)
- Brabanters, the. *See* Brabant
- Breisach, besieged by Otho I, 125; Map V(G 2)
- Bresle, river, boundary between Ponthieu and Normandy, 32, 399; Map VII
- Bretons, the. *See* Brittany
- Breyzads, the. *See* Brittany
- Brie Champenoise, the, part of Celtic Gaul, 81
- Brienne, House of, *Champs du Drap d'or* transferred to, 111; founded by Engelbert, 519
- Brioude, Lothaire and Louis V at, 471
- Brise-sur-Sarthe, death of Robert-le-Fort at, 23; 510; Map V(C 3)
- Britanny (Armorica), Northmen in, 17 sq.; political character of, 18, 54, 232;

- provinces of, ceded to Rollo, 18; chiefs of, recognize supremacy of Normandy, 27 sq., 33 sq.; revolts against Normandy, 54 sqq.; subjugated by Guillaume Longue-épée, 56; boundary of, *ib.*; recognized as fief of Normandy by King Raoul, 68; Northmen expelled from, 97 sq.; chiefs of, proffer service to Louis d'Outremer, 139 sq.; recognizes suzerainty of Richard-sans-Peur, 160, 175; chiefs of, with Guillaume at Picquigny, 167, 170; civil war in, 232; occupied by Northmen, 232 sq.; renders homage to Richard, 270, 280; with Richard against Lothaire, 404, 409; rebels against the Roman Empire, 509; defeated at Brice-sur-Sarthe, 510; authorities on history of, 502, 540; Maps V, VI, VII
- Bruce, Robert, 97, 518
- Bruis, seat of the Bruce family, 518
- Brunanburgh, battle of, 85, 151, 233, 516
- Bruning of Saxony, duel with Everhard, 344
- Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, Duke of Lotharingia, parentage of, 13; at synod of Verdun, 322; elected to Cologne, 336, 368; granted duchy of Lotharingia, 336, 544; 355; and conspiracy against Otho I, 356, 368, 396; crowns Otho II, 364; Gerberga appeals to, 367; as Otho's lieutenant in France, 368; biography of, *ib.*, 440, 504, 541; and election of Lothaire, 369 sq.; 371; allied with Gerberga, 379, 380, 382, 422; his government of Lotharingia, 380 sq.; extent of his dominions, 381 sq.; helps Lothaire to regain Dijon, 383; allied with Lothaire against Richard-sans-Peur, 386, 390, 394; plots against Richard, 394 sqq., 410, 414, 417; discredited, 396; German chroniclers and, *ib.*; and protectorate of France, 430 sq., 438; at festival of Cologne, 437; death of, 439; 529
- Bruno, son of Otho I, birth of, 355; death of, 364
- Brussels, capital of Lower Lorraine, 491; Map V(F 1)
- Brut, *the*, of Wace, 501
- Bryce, James (historian), *Holy Roman Empire* of, cited, 510, 520, 541
- Bugge, A. (historian), *Norges Historie* of, on the origin of Rollo, cited, 542 sqq.
- Bulgarians, *the*, at Otho I's court, 450
- Bulzu, Magyar chief, death of, 358, 361
- Burchard I, Sire de Montmorency, feudatory of Hugh Capet, 466, 537
- Burchard, Duke of Suabia, at battle of the Lechfeld, 359
- Burghcastle, St Fursæus at, 51, 512
- Burgundians, *the*. *See* Burgundy, duchy of
- Burgundy, duchy of, joins Capetians against Charles-le-Simple, 19, 24; Regnald invades, 29, 30; Queen Emma's rule in, 52; Magyars invade, 77; Saracens in, 79; part of Celtic Gaul, 81; constitutional status of, 82; supports election of Hugh-le-Grand, 83; three duchies in, 100, 101, 212; Hugh established in, 101, 212; loyal to Louis d'Outremer, 132, 134; relations of, to France, 212; Hugh supreme in, *ib.*; subjected to Hugh by Louis, 213, 214, 217, 281; supports Hugh, 235; great Magyar invasion of, 336, 356; Lothaire confirms Hugh's position in, 370, 385; granted to Otho (Eudes), son of Hugh, 386; passes to Hugh Capet on Otho's death, 386 sq.; supports Lothaire in Flanders, 436; authorities on history of, 518, 540; Maps V(E-F 2-3), VI
- Burgundy, Transjurance, kingdom of, separated from France, 81; recollections of, 296; commands entry into Italy, 468; founded by Rudolph I, 510; authority on history of, 540; Map VI
- Burgundy, Dukes of. *See* Gilbert, Hugh, Otho or Eudes, Raoul, Renaud, Richard
- Byzantine Empire, *the*. *See* Empire, the Byzantium. *See* Constantinople
- Caen, origin of, 61; position of, 254; authority on history of, 502; Map VII
- Cænomanni, *the*, independence of, 29
- Cæsar, and the tripartite division of Gaul, cited, 80 sq., 515
- Cahors, ruled by the Counts of Septimania, 60
- Caithness, ravaged by Rollo, 543
- Calabria, conquered by Robert Guiscard, 272, 525; adheres to Eastern Empire, 437
- Calabria, Duke of. *See* Robert Guiscard
- Calais, Flemish in character, 109; its position, *ib.*
- Cambray, Otho I at, 295; Maps V(E 1), VI
- Cambray, Count of. *See* Isaac
- Campagna, *the*, subject to Pope, 366
- Canossa, castle of, Adelaide of Burgundy at, 352; besieged by Berenger II, 362; 531
- Canterbury, Archbishops of. *See* Lanfranc, Odo
- Canute (Knut), King of England, laws of, 40; his theory of society, 155; dynasty established in England by Svend-Tveskiøeg, 421; 520, 532; history of, 533; Gen. Table XII
- Capetian revolution, *the*, anticipations of, 463 sq.; not resulting from race antagonism, 499; authority on history of, 515
- Capets, *the*, accession of, 42; creation of appanages by, 225; cause of ruin of, 425; Gen. Table IV (vol. 1)
- Capitulars of Charlemagne, *the*, and the law of real property, 434

- Carcassonne, Count of. *See* Aelfred I
- Carloman, King of Bavaria and Italy, 516; Gen. Table X
- Carloman, King of Burgundy, etc., 521; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Carloman, King of France, reigns conjointly with Louis III, 455; Gen. Table XI
- Carloman, King of Italy. *See* Pepin
- Carloman, son of Louis d'Outremer, birth of, 253; hostage at Rouen, 265; death of, 268, 269; Gen. Table XI
- Carlovingians, the (Carolingians), house of Lombardy-Vernandois representative of, 5, 137; renounced in Germany, 7; Lotharingia remains loyal to, 8 sq., 121; epic cycle of, 9, 521; reverence for, 29; hereditary rights challenged, 79 sq.; popularity of, in Belgic Gaul, 84; hope of perpetuation of, 137; limitation of hereditary rights of, 173, 478; cause of ruin of, 425; hereditary rights of, repudiated, 478; and history of Richerius, 524; authority on history of, 539; Gen. Tables VII-XI
- Carpathians, mountains, boundary of dominions of Otho I, 295
- Carthage, council of, 323, 523
- Castile, Counts of. *See* Fernan Gonzales, Garcia Fernandez
- Castile, county of, Garcia Fernandez inherits, 534
- Causoste, taken by Artaldus of Rheims, 131
- Caux, the Pays de, devastated by Louis d'Outremer, 235; supports Richardsans-Peur against French, 409; authority on history of, 502; Maps V (D 2), VII
- Celestine I, Pope, 325, 523
- Cellarius, Christopher (geographer), identifies Havre with Corocotinum, 60, 513
- Celtic Gaul (*Gallia Celtica*), or France, 10; extent of, 81; inhabited by Celtae, *ib.*, 515; constitutional status and rights of, 81 sq., 92; supports Hugh-le-Grand's election as king, 82, 83, 84; and election of King Raoul, 83; Magyars invade, 106; and Burgundy, 369
- Celts, the, their misfortunes, 18; political character of, 119, 232; 499; names of, 508
- Centulla (St Riquier), monastery at, 31; a chief city of Belgic Gaul, *ib.*; Map V(D 1)
- Cerisy. *See* St Vigor
- Chadwick, H. Munro (historian), *Origin of the English Nation* of, cited, 519
- Chalon, Count of. *See* Lambert
- Châlons, Bishop of. *See* Bovo
- Chalon-sur-Saône, held by Gilbert of Burgundy, 100; Maps V(F 3), VI
- Champagne, Count of. *See* Eudes II
- Champagne, county of, part of Belgic Gaul, 81; denomination of, 105; founded by Herbert of Vermandois, 106; passes to House of Blois, *ib.*; pillaged by Louis d'Outremer, 253; protected by fortress of Mouzon, 321; Magyars overrun, 336; the Soissonais, a district of, 507
- Champ du Drap d'or*, in county of Guisnes, 111; passes to Counts of Brienne, *ib.*; position of, 345; 519
- Channel Islands, the, united to Normandy, 57; pass to England, *ib.*; political organization of, 505
- Chansons-de-Geste*, Carlovingian epic cycle, 9, 521
- Charlemagne (Charles the Great), Emperor, reverence for memory of, 5, 84, 346, 491; recollections of, in Lotharingia, 8, 9; attempts to found civic communities in Germany, 8; memorials of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 9, 116, 177, 301; his spear, 42; struggle between Capetians and descendants of, 53; Henry the Fowler and Otho I would acquire empire of, *ib.*, 117, 123, 347; morality of, 59, 439; empire of, dissolved, 62, 79, 177, 340, 520; policy of, in Aquitaine, 83; dynasty of, restored in person of Louis d'Outremer, 91; Louis attempts to restore empire of, 123, 218 sq.; tomb of, at Aix, 177; monarchical principle of his empire, 177 sq.; epithet of, 242, 525; and Northmen, 267, 304; complexity of history of, 341; restores Western Empire, 345; grants of, to Papacy, 366; and House of Vermandois, 383, 514; Capitulars of, 433 sq.; his Eagle at Aix-la-Chapelle, 459; introduces precedent of dividing the realm, 470; bestows Aquitaine upon Pepin, 471; end of his dynasty 481, 538; his tomb opened by Otho III, 494; and Saxons, 519; Gen. Tables VII, VIII, IX, X, XI
- Charles-le-Chauve, King of France, Emperor, and the "new men," 7, 9; grants Cornouaille to Pasquaitan and Solomon, 55; in Paris, 209; 210; descendants of, in Flanders, 216, 510; knighted by Louis-le-Débonnaire, 289; grants Flanders to Baudouin Bras-de-Fer, 293, 510; Gen. Table XI
- Charles-le-Gras, Emperor, epithet of, 2; deserted by Arnolph, 87, 516 sq.; instigates murder of Godfrey the Dane, 165, 304; dethroned, 346, 517; Gen. Table X
- Charles V, Emperor, birthplace of, 378
- Charles-le-Simple, King of France, epithet of, 2, 507; character of, 2; and cession of Normandy to Rollo, 3, 128, 189, 197, 217, 279; weakness of position of, 3 sq., 5; restoration of, 4, 5; marriages of, with Frederuna and Eadgiva, 5, 6; cultivates friendship of Rollo and

- Northmen, 6, 19, 28; his confidence in Hagano, 7, 13, 19, 94 sq.; rejected by Germany, 7; loyalty of Rainier-au-Long-Col to, 9, 12; Lotharingia adheres to, 9, 10; grants Lotharingia to Gilbert, 10; assists Henry the Fowler, *ib.*; conspiracy of Capetians against, under Robert of France, 10 sq.; Raoul of Burgundy and Herbert of Vermandois conspire against, 11; Gilbert and Henry join conspiracy against, 12, 508; Capetians affronted by, 13 sq.; suppresses Gilbert's revolt, 14; pardons Gilbert, *ib.*; fortifies Seine against Magyars, *ib.*; disputes with Capetians, *ib.*; refuses to discard Hagano and is "defied," 15, 16, 499; imprisoned, 16 sq.; aided by Archbishop Hervé, 17; Aquitanians, Lotharingians and Northmen loyal to, 17, 22, 25, 41 sq., 47, 83; reinstated, 17; operations of Northmen favourable to, 18, 19; renewal of war with Capetians, 19 sq.; Rollo and Northmen support, 19, 21, 23, 25, 43; beaten at Rheims, 20; dethroned, *ib.*, 27; continues war, 21 sq.; assisted by Harold the Dane, 22; at battle of Soissons, *ib.*; reinstated, 23; demands submission of Capetians, *ib.*; continues struggle against Raoul, 24 sq., 508; betrayed and imprisoned by Herbert, 25 sq., 47; released and restored, 48; Guillaume Longue-épée supports, 48, 49 sq.; Guillaume does homage to, 48 sq.; imprisoned and released again, 51; last imprisonment and death, *ib.*, 52; action of Hugh against, 87, 94, 185, 269; maintains state ceremonials, 164; and Rollo's homage, 167, 434; cession of Lotharingia to Henry, 294 sq.; and Thierry of Holland, 519; history of, 539; Gen. Table XI
- Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, birth of, 337; his poverty, 371, 437, 442, 455; character of, 455 sq.; rebels against Lothaire, 456; accepts Lower Lorraine as fief from Otho II, 457; marriages of, with Bona and Adela, 457; claimant to throne, 470, 478; rejected, 479; contests accession of Hugh Capet, 481; takes Laon, 481 sq.; negotiates with Hugh, 482; fortifies Laon, 483; successes of, 484; and Arnoul, Lothaire's son, 485, 486; Arnoul betrays Rheims to, 488; betrayed by Asceline of Laon to Hugh, 489 sq.; imprisonment and death, 490 sq.; children of, 491; and Albert of Vermandois, 495; 500, 537; Gen. Tables XI, XIII
- Charles, son of Charles of Lower Lorraine, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Charles-Constantine, Count of Vienne, does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 334; Gen. Table IX
- Charles Martel, defeats Saracens at Tours, 362; Gen. Table II (vol. 1)
- Chartrain, the Pays (county of Chartres), part of Celtic Gaul, 81; held by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231, 391; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; invaded by Richard-sans-Peur, 404; desolated by Danes, 413; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Chartres, battle of, 6, 64, 514; Lothaire receives homage of Thibaut at, 372; burnt, 407 sq.; Maps V(D 2), VI, VII
- Chartres, Bishops of. *See* Hagano, Wolfaldus
- Chartres, Counts of. *See* Eudes I, Stephen III, Thibaut I, Thibaut IV; Gen. Table XVII
- Chartres, county of. *See* Chartrain, the Pays
- Château-Galliot, castle of, in hands of Herbert of Vermandois, 105; taken by Louis d'Outremer, 110
- Château-Thierry, Charles-le-Simple at, 26; surrenders to Queen Emma, 59; surprised by Herbert of Vermandois, 105 sq.; Map V(E 2)
- Chelles, monastery of, granted to Hagano, 13; Maps V(E 2), VII
- Cher, river, *placitum* held on banks of, 321; Map V(E 3)
- Cherbourg, Harold Blaataud at, 152; Harold returns to, 233; traditions of its origin, 254; Maps V(C 2), VI, VII
- Chevremont, castle of, Charles-le-Simple besieges, 21; besieged by Otho I, 123; defended by Gerberga, 125, 132
- Chivalry, institution of, under Henry the Fowler, 342 sq., 504 sq.
- Chronicle of St Bertin* of Johannes Iperius, source of history of Flanders, 503
- Chronicon Cameracense et Atrebatense* of Baldericus Cameraacensis, source of French and German history, 500, 539
- Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* of Benoît de St More, on Guillaume Longue-épée's marriage with Espriota, cited, 58, 513; on the *Foresta de Leonibus*, cited, 71, 514; on mediæval theory of society, cited, 155 sq., 521; portraits of Bernard the Dane and his wife in, cited, 171, 522; and Louis d'Outremer's proposal to take Richard-sans-Peur to Laon, cited, 202, 523; and the barrier fortresses of Flanders, 204, 523; records Louis's intention of punishing Arnoul-le-Vieux, cited, 205, 523; and Bernard's plan to deceive Louis, cited, 237, 524; on grief of Normans at Richard's imprisonment, cited, 237, 525; and Richard's marriage to Emma, cited, 287, 288, 526; account of the battle of Rouen in, 308; portrait of Lothaire in, 393, 533; and Richard, cited, 393; and battle of the Fords, cited, 402; Lothaire's appeal to nobles to subjugate Normandy, cited,

- 404, 533; source of Norman history, 501; 540
- Chronycle van Vlaendrael*, source of history of Flanders, 503
- Church, the, and State interference in episcopal elections, 44 sq.; abuses of, 45; sanctifies royal authority, 91, 172 sq.; monarchical nature of, 178; shares with Jews, practice of medicine, 210; close connexion with State, 321, 324; mediæval view of its relations to Empire, 345 sq.
- Cinglais, the, part of Lower Normandy, 243; supports Harold Blaataand, 255; Map VII
- Clach-duin. *See* Laon
- Clair-sur-Epte. *See* St Clair-sur-Epte
- Cledauc, Breton chief, in England, 18; 509
- Clement, clerk, redeems Jumièges, 248
- Cleph, King of the Lombards, organizes Kingdom of Lombardy, 347, 530
- Clermont, Bishop of. *See* Stephen
- Clisson, ceded to Alain Barbe-Torte, 99
- Cluny, abbey of, St Odilo abbot of, 535
- Coesnon, river, boundary between Normandy and Brittany, 56; Map VII
- Colliette, L. P. (historian), authority on history of Vermandois, 502
- Cologne, its antiquity, 8, 115; Otho I's festival at, 437, 441; Maps V(G 1), VI
- Cologne, archbishopric of, influence of, 120; part of Lotharingia, 381
- Cologne, Archbishops of. *See* Bruno, Folkmar, Gero, Wicfried, Wilibert
- "Commendation," Custom of, fosters growth of feudalism, 285, 435; and Hugh-le-Grand, 435, 466
- Comminges, Count of. *See* Lopé Aznar
- Como, Bishop of. *See* Waldo
- Compiègne, Richard-sans-Peur does homage to Louis d'Outremer at, 195, 196; court of Louis at, 208, 229, 245, 269, 379; plundered by Bernard de Senlis, 253; 282; Arnoul-le-Vieux visits, 295; pillaged by Otho II, 460 sq.; convention of nobles at, 470; Louis V resides at, *ib.*, 472, 474; burial place of Louis, 477; Map V(E 2)
- Compostella, stormed by Danes, 421
- Compostella, Bishop of. *See* Sisnando
- Conan Meriadec, Breton Prince, 18; 509
- Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciae*, source of ecclesiastical history of Normandy, 503
- Conrad the Pacific, King of Burgundy, with Otho I in France, 295 sq., 298; protects Adelaide of Burgundy, 452 sq.; plots to entrap Hugh-le-Grand, 468 sq.; Gen. Table XI
- Conrad II, the Salic, Emperor, succeeds Henry II, 494; 538; Gen. Tables XI, XIII
- Conrad I, Duke of Franconia, King of Germany, elected king, 8; and Lotharingia, 9, 121; struggles with Henry the Fowler, 10; designates Henry as his successor, 12; Gen. Table X
- Conrad the Red, Duke of Lotharingia, appointed to duchy by Otho I, 219; supports Louis d'Outremer against Hugh-le-Grand, 328, 331; marries Liutgarda, 331; mediates between Louis and Hugh, *ib.*, 332; instigates Magyar invasion, 336, 356; injustice to Liutgarda, 344; with Otho in Italy, 351; plots against Otho, 353, 355 sq.; his repentance, 357, 359; deprived of duchy by Otho, 357; at battle of the Lechfeld, 359, 360, 361; death of, 361; Gen. Tables X, XIII
- Constance, council of, 82, 515
- Constance, daughter of Fulk II of Anjou. *See* Adela
- Constantine I the Great, Emperor, his sword, 42
- Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, Eastern Emperor, embassy of, to Otho I, 330; represented at council of Augsburg, 354; poisoned by Theophania, 445; contempt for western nations, 447; and Liutprand of Cremona, 448; 529, 536
- Constantine, Eastern Emperor, son of Romanus II, 446
- Constantinople (Byzantium), embassy of Liutprand of Cremona at, 447 sq., 536; embassy of Gero of Cologne at, 449 sq.; peace made between Otho and Zimiskes at, *ib.*
- Constantinus Africanus (physician), 51, 512
- Corbey, abbey of (or Corvey, New Corvey in Westphalia), Witilkind, a monk of, 7, 296 sq., 504, 507; Bovo abbot of, 296, 297, 527; Map II (vol. 1)
- Corbigny, taken by Louis d'Outremer, 107; Map V(E 3)
- Corbon, Danes encamp near, 254, 257; Louis d'Outremer opposes Danes at, 256
- Corbonnais (Corbonnois), the, overrun by Hugh of Maine, 409; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Corbridge-on-Tyne, battle of, 509
- Cordova, schools of, 432
- Cornouaille, Counts of. *See* Beudic, Gurmhallion
- Cornouaille, county of, independent of Normandy, 54; occupied by Northmen, *ib.*; granted to Pasquitain and Solomon by Charles-le-Chauve, 55; reconquered by Bretons, 56; annexed to Normandy, 97; and Harold Blaataand, 254; Map V(A-B 2-3)
- Corocotinum*, identified with Havre by Cellarius, 60
- Corsica, Adalbert of Ivrea in, 365; granted to Papacy, 366
- Cotentin, the, annexed to Normandy, 56, 97; Harold Blaataand and Danes in, 152, 175, 188; supplies Rouen, 162, 243; Harold leaves, 232; joins Harold

- in aid of Richard-sans-Feur, 255, 259, 260; aids Richard against the French, 409; Danish in character, 420; Maps V(C 2), VII
- Cotman, J. S., illustrates Norman architecture, 503; 540
- Couci, fief of, held by Herbert of Vermandois, 46; held by Bernard de Senlis under Herbert, 66, 104 sq., 108; bequeathed to Hugh-le-Grand, 181, 209; held by Bernard under Hugh, 181, 185, 228; Creil, a fief of, 203; stronghold of Bernard, 206, 223; Richard-sans-Feur escapes to, 226; Bernard returns to, 227; usurped by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 430; retaken and granted to Eudes of Blois by Odalric of Rheims, *ib.*; Map V(E 2)
- Couci, Lord of. *See* Bernard de Senlis
- Coutances, in Lower Normandy, Maps V(C 2), VI, VII
- Creil, fief of, bequeathed by Herbert of Vermandois to Hugh-le-Grand, 181, 209; held by Bernard de Senlis under Hugh, 181, 228; appendage of Couci, 203; position of, 522
- Cremona, Bishop of. *See* Liutprand
- Crescentius, John, supports John XV, 492, 538; rebellion and death of, 494; expels Gregory V from Rome, 538
- Cymri, the, subdued by Anglo-Saxons, 18; and Athelstane, 97
- Dagobert I, King of the Franks, founds abbey of St Columba, 78; 179; throne of, 467; Gen. Table I (vol. 1)
- Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, crowns Louis VI le-Gros, 92
- Danegeld, Poitou pays, 17; levied on Franks, 29, 30, 33, 48; Guillaume Longue-épée frees Poitou from, 73
- Danelaghe, the English, ceded to Danes by Alfred, 3, 151; and Normandy, 43; extent of, 522
- Danes, the. *See* Northmen
- Danewirk, the, in Schleswig-Holstein, rebuilt by Queen Thyra, 152
- Daru, Count, his history of Brittany, 502
- Dax, Bishop of. *See* Odalricus
- Degert, L'Abbé, in *Revue des Questions historiques*, vol. LXXII, cited, 513
- De la Borderie, Arthur (historian), *Histoire de Bretagne* of, cited, 540
- De la Rue, Abbé (historian), authority on history of Caen, 502
- Delisle, Léopold (historian), authority on topography of Normandy, 502
- Denmark, ruled over by Harold Blaatand, 152, 515; prosperity under Harold, 410; and Normandy, 544
- Derby, ceded by Alfred to the Danes, 524
- Deroldus, Bishop of Amiens, physician to King Raoul, 210; appointed to see of Amiens, *ib.*; favourite of Louis d'Outremer, 210 sq.; supports Louis against Eudes of Amiens, 216
- Description géographique et historique de la haute Normandie*, authority on topography of Normandy, 502
- Dieppe, origin of, 61, 399
- Dieppe, river, 61; formed by confluence of rivers Eaulne and Bethune, 399; battle of the Fords at the, 401; Map VII
- "Diffidation," the, of Charles-le-Simple, 15. *See also* Charles-le-Simple
- Digot, A. (historian), *Histoire de Lorraine* of, cited, 540
- Dijon, taken by Boso brother of Raoul, 77; under rule of Hugh-le-Noir, 100; betrayed to Robert of Troyes, 383; Lothaire regains, 383, 429, 435, 466; Maps V(F 3), VI
- Dijon, Counts of. *See* Gilbert, Manasses I, Otho
- Dijon, county of, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; bequeathed to Otho, son of Hugh, by Gilbert of Burgundy, 374
- Dithmar of Waldeck. *See* Thietmar
- Dive, river, boundary between the Lieuvain and the Bessin, 254; description of, *ib.*; battle of, 257 sqq.; Map VII
- Divine right of kings, theory of, 172, 522
- Doenniges, W. (historian), authority on history of Germany, 503
- Dol, bridal of, 98, 233; surprised by Northmen, 232 sq.; bishopric of, the rival of Tours, 233; Maps V(C 2), VI, VII
- Domfront, in Lower Normandy, 243; despoiled by French, 409; Map VII
- Douai (Douay), dialect in, 508; Map V(E 1)
- Douay, Count of. *See* Roger
- Dourdan, palace of Hugh-le-Grand at, 300, 372, 375; Map V(D-E 2)
- Dover, Athelstane and Louis d'Outremer at, 89
- Dreux, ceded to Eudes I of Blois, Chartres and Meaux, 489; Maps V(D 2), VI, VII
- Dublin, Northmen in, 524; ravaged by Göngu-Hrólfr (Rollo), 543
- Du Cange, Charles de Fresne (historian), on titles of Burgundian counts, 100; and county of Couci, 108; *Glossarium* of, cited, 509, 510; 518
- Dudo de St Quentin, *Acta Normannorum* of, and Esprion's birth, 58; and the *Pré de la Bataille*, 67; character of his history, 76 sq., 149 sq., 186, 227; records Guillaume Longue-épée's conference with Martin of Jumièges, 153 sq.; his silence on Richard-sans-Feur's conversion to paganism, 192; on enmity of Otho I to Richard, cited, 306 sq., 527; jeers at Otho's retreat from Normandy, cited, 316, 527 sq.; records marriage of Richard and Emma, 377, 422; and Bernard the Dane, 384; silent on Richard's attack on Lothaire, 398; reports Richard's sermon to Danes, 418; inscribes his

- history to Asceline of Laon, 432, 495, 500; received at Rouen by Richard, 495; origin of his *Acta Normannorum*, *ib.*; authority on history of Normandy, 500 sq.; on custom of Wappentak, cited, 514; and Harold Blaataand, 515; 539; his views on Rollo's origin, 542, 543; and Rollo's marriages, 543, *note*
- Durdan, river, 399; Map VII
- Eadgitha, daughter of Edward the Elder. *See* Editha
- Eadgiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, marries Louis of Provence, 5; Gen. Table IX
- Eadgiva, daughters of Edward the Elder. *See* Adela, Ogiva
- Eadhilda, daughter of Edward the Elder, marries Hugh-le-Grand, 6, 43; dies childless, 86, 95; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Ealdred of Bamburgh, defeated by Regnald of Northumbria, 509
- East Anglia, Danes in, 3, 40
- East Franks, the, accept Henry the Fowler as king, 12
- Eaulne, river, Lothaire and Richard-sans-Peur confer on banks of the, 399 sq.; French army crosses the, 401; Map VII
- Ebenbürtigkeit*, principle of, 439 sq.
- Ebenyounis, Egyptian astronomer, 433, 535
- Eberhard. *See* Everhard
- Ebles the Mamzer, Count of Poitiers, marries Eadgiva, 6, 72, 514; cowardice of, 73; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Eboracum. *See* York
- Eckel, Aug. (historian), *Charles le Simple* of, cited, 507; 539
- Edeling, the, nephew of Otho I, with Otho in France, 295, 300 sq., 304; challenges Norman army, 307, 345; exploits and death of, 307 sq., 309, 390
- Edgar, King of England, checks Northmen, 382; 532
- Edgitha, Abbess of Wilton, 440
- Editha (Eadgitha), daughter of Edward the Elder, marries Otho I, 6; with Otho at Aix, 116; 266; death of, 267, 293; and Liudolph, 352, 363; forgotten by Otho, 364; Gen. Table XIII
- Edmund, King of England, expels Danes from Mercia, 233 sq., 266, 524; demands release of Louis d'Outremer, 266; death of, 267, 525; expels Olaf Sihtricson from Northumbria, 525
- Edred, King of England, sends embassy to Otho I's court, 329; his connection with Montmorency family, 466, 537; 528
- Edward the Elder, King of England, marriages of his daughters, 5 sq., 116, 514; Regnald of Northumbria submits to, 17; subdues Celts, 18; 509; reconquers the *Five Burghs*, 524
- Edward III, King of England, his connexion with Germany, 359, 505
- Edward the Black Prince, appropriates symbols of German chivalry, 359, 505; 531
- Egmont, granted to Thierry of Holland, 519
- Ehresburg (Eresburg), surrenders to Otho I, 118; 519; Map II (vol. I)
- Eleanor, daughter of William X of Aquitaine, ancestors of, 74; 514; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Elgiva, daughter of Edward the Elder. *See* Adela
- Elstruda of Flanders, and Siegfried of Guisnes, 111
- Emma, daughter of Hugh-le-Grand, 282 sq.; espoused to Richard-sans-Peur, 287 sq., 375, 376, 526; marriage of, 377; 383; Richard's neglect of, 387, 422; death of, 422, 496; Gen. Table XII
- Emma, daughter of Lothaire, King of Italy, 348 sq.; unpopularity of, 353, 441, 464; marries Lothaire of France, 440 sq., 499, 536; obscurity of her children's history, 441, 470; opposed to Theophania, 453, 464; involved with Asceline of Laon in evil rumours, 457 sq., 473 sq., 535; begs Conrad of Burgundy to entrap Hugh Capet, 468; in command of Verdun, 474; neglects Lothaire, 475; with Asceline at Laon, 481; imprisoned by Charles of Lorraine, 482; 504; letters of, 537; Gen. Tables IX, XI, XIII
- Emma, daughter of Richard-sans-Peur, parentage of, 496; wife of Ethelred II, *ib.*; Gen. Table XII
- Emma, daughter of Robert I, marries King Raoul, 11; ambition of, 24; crowned at Rheims, 28; and Hildebranda, 47; in command of Laon, 48, 103, 132 sq.; surrenders Laon, 49; quarrels with Gilbert of Burgundy, 52, 100; takes Châteaun-Thierry, 59; death of, 77; Gen. Table XVII
- Empire, the Roman, Eastern (Byzantine, Greek), sends embassy to Otho I at Aix, 329 sq.; Ravenna and Naples subject to, 348; embassy from, at council at Augsburg, 354; embassy of Otho to, 447 sq.; court of, described by Liutprand of Cremona, 448 sq., 536; and defeat of Otho II at Squillace, 472
- Empire, the Roman, Western, influence of, in Lotharingia, 8 sq.; monarchical principle in, 178; revived as the "Holy Roman Empire" by Otho I, 340, 365 sq.; restored by Charlemagne, 345; mediæval idea of, 345 sq.; relations of, to the Papacy, 366 sq. *See also* Empire of Charlemagne, the; Empire, the Holy Roman
- Empire of Charlemagne, the, recollections

- of, 53, 123, 218; unity of, 62; dissolution of, 79, 177, 340, 520; restored by Otho I, 340; revival of Western Empire, 345; relations of, to Church, 345 sq.; Map II (vol. I). *See also* Empire, the Roman, Western
- Empire, the Holy Roman, relations of, to the Church, 141; founded by Otho I, 340, 365 sq.; Lombardy becomes integral part of, 354; relations of, to Papacy, 366 sq., 537. *See also* Empire, the Roman, Western
- England, Danes settle in, 3, 6, 522; overcomes Celts, 18; Ogiva and Louis d'Outremer take refuge in, 27, 64, 84; friendly to Normandy, 60; Boulogne point of transit between France and, 86, 89; renewal of Danish warfare in, 110 sq., 151, 184; withstands Danes, 233 sq., 266; customs of court of, 289 sq.; and Germany, 359 sq., 505; coronation ritual, 362; and invasion of Svend-Tveskiceg, 382, 421
- Englebert, Count of Brienne, conquers county of Brienne, 519
- Engleheim (Ingelheim), council of, 323, 324, 327, 332, 370; Map II (vol. I)
- English constitution, the, origin of, 141 sq.; and theory of majority of sovereigns, 273
- Episcopal elections, contest of Church and State in, 44 sq.
- Epistolæ Gerberti*, obscurity of, 427 sq.; description of Hugh Capet in, 469, 537; and Adalbero of Rheims's letter to Charles of Lorraine, 482; 502, 540
- Epistolæ* of Hatto of Vercelli, 511
- Epitaphium Adelheidæ Imperatricis* of St Odilo, 504, 541
- Epte, river, Franks cross, 28, 32; boundary of Normandy, 69; Rollo and Charles-le-Simple meet on island in, 167, 217, 279; Louis d'Outremer and Richard-sans-Peur meet on banks of, 269, 398; Otho I crosses, 302; Lothaire and Richard meet on banks of, 421; Map VII
- Eric Bloodaxe, King of Norway, expelled from Norway by Haco, 516; 533; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
- Eric, Viking chief, burns Tours, 543
- Ermengarda, daughter of Charles of Lower Lorraine, marries Albert of Namur, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Erwin, Count, 12
- Espriota, her marriage with Guillaume Longue-épée, 57 sq., 142; Guillaume's affection for, 64, 86 sq.; gives birth to Richard-sans-Peur, 67; repudiated by Guillaume, 75 sq., 108, 142, 148; and Raoul of Ivry, 76, 172, 514; separated from Richard, 163; marries Sperling of Vaudreuil, 172, 252, 514; object of Liutgarda's jealousy, 391; Gen. Table XII
- Estampes, Lothaire and Hugh Capet meet at, 460; Map V(E 2)
- Este, marquise of, founded by Albert Azzo, 349, 364
- Etude sur la vie et la mort de Guillaume Longue-épée*, ed. Lair, source of Norman history, 538; and birth of Guillaume, cited, 543, note
- Eu, barrier fortress of Normandy, 32, 234, 399; taken by French, 32; Guillaume Longue-épée does homage to Charles-le-Simple at, 48; taken by Arnou-le-Vieux, 234; supports Richard-sans-Peur, 409; Maps V(D 1), VI, VII
- Eudes, Count of Amiens, hostage at Rouen, 29, 47, 48, 50; inherits county of Amiens, 181, 208; expelled from Amiens, 216; and Hugh-le-Grand, 264; supports Charles of Lorraine, 456; bought over by Lothaire, 474; Gen. Table VII
- Eudes II, Count of Blois and Champagne; Gen. Tables VII, XII, XVII
- Eudes I, Count of Blois, Chartres and Meaux, holds Coucy under Odalric of Rheims, 430; ally of Hugh Capet, 488 sq.; Gen. Tables VII, XI, XVII
- Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, son of Hugh-le-Grand. *See* Otho
- Eudes, Count of Paris, King of France, usurps inheritance of Charles-le-Simple, 3, 5, 9, 11; 14, 20; burial place of, 376; Gen. Table XVII
- Eudes, brother of Hervé of Rheims, refuses fealty to Seulph of Rheims, 21
- Eure, river, boundary of the Jeu-Fosse, 412; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Everard, Count, murders Godfrey the Dane, 165, 394
- Everhard, Duke of Franconia, at coronation of Otho I, 116; rebels against Otho, 118, 119, 125, 508; 519
- Everhard, Duke of Friuli, marries Gisella, 530; Gen. Table XI
- Everhard of Saxony, his duel with Bruning, 344
- Evrecin, the, Danish party supreme in, 40; coveted by Hugh-le-Grand, 147; contentious with duchy of France, 185; submits to Hugh, 191; Hugh superseded in, by Louis d'Outremer, 203; Hugh surrenders claims to, 218; Hugh invades, 235; 242; part of Lower Normandy, 243; coveted by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 391; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Evreux, submits to Hugh-le-Grand, 193; restored to Normandy by Louis d'Outremer, 202 sq.; Hugh surrenders claims to, 208, 218; coveted by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 391, 403; reduced by Lothaire and Thibaut, 404; restored to Richard-sans-Peur by Thibaut, 415; authority on history of, 502; Maps V(D 2), VI, VII
- Eyvind Screya, leader of Danes, 411, 533

- Falaise, castle of, 235
 Fanis, site of Bar-le-Duc, 334
 Fécamp, Guillaume Longue-épée builds palace at, 61 sq.; Espriota at, 64; birthplace of Richard-sans-Peur, 67, 273; Richard leaves, 158; Maps V(D 2), VII
 Fécamp, abbey of, foundation of, 62; records of, 169; burial place of Richard-sans-Peur, 496
 Felix, St., Bishop of Nantes, 99, 518
 Fernan Gonzales, Count of Castile, regent in kingdom of Leon, 421; 534
 Fernandez, Garcia. *See* Garcia
 Ferne, Sir J. (antiquary), 343, 529
 Feudalism, "commendation" fosters growth of, 285, 435; increased stringency of, 434 sq.; and principle of *Ebenbürtigkeit*, 439
 Fismes, synod at, 457
 Fitje, battle of, 516, 533
 Five Burghs, the, subdued by Edmund, 233; 524
 Flach, J. (historian), *Les Origines de l'ancienne France* of, 540
 Flanders, hostility of Danes to, 30; allied with Ponthieu, 32; part of Belgic Gaul, 81; overrun by Siegfried of Guisnes, 110 sq.; barrier against Danes, 111, 221, 293; overrun by Guillaume Longue-épée, 112; relations of, to Ponthieu, 113; fief of France, 128; again attacked by Guillaume, 166; barrier fortresses of, 204; Louis d'Outremer plans to reduce, 204, 216; marquissate founded by Baudouin Bras-de-Fer, 216, 293, 510; supports Otho's and Louis's invasion of duchy of France and Normandy, 301-317; Ponthieu annexed to, 318, 335, 377, 390; Baudouin-le-Jeune founds woollen manufacture of, 378; contemporaneous with Normandy, 390; mercenaries from, fight for Richard-sans-Peur, 409; invaded by Lothaire, 435 sq.; authorities on history of, 503; Maps V(E 1), VI
 Flanders, Counts of. *See* Arnoul, Baudouin; Gen. Table XIV
 Flemings, the. *See* Flanders
 Fleury, abbey of, its recollection of Regnald of Northumbria, 30; Wolfaldus, abbot of, 413; Map V(E 3)
 Flodoard. *See* Frodoardus Remensis
 Folkmar, Archbishop of Cologne, and the *Vita Sancti Brunonis Archiepiscopi*, 504
 Fontenelle. *See* St Vandrille
 Fords, battle of the, 401 sq., 403, 501
 Foresta de Leonibus (*Silva de Leonibus*), hunting grounds of the Dukes of Normandy, 27, 70, 71, 514; a natural fortification, 69, 238; 510; Map VII
 "Formularies" of Charlemagne, the, and law of real property, 434
 Foulques-le-Roux. *See* Fulk I le-Roux
 France, Isle-de-. *See* Isle de France
 France, Kingdom of, prerogatives of crown in, 3 sqq., 47, 102, 127, 222, 385; separation from Germany, 8, 62; and Magyars, 14; and "diffidation" of Charles-le-Simple, 16, 20, 25, 42, 83; Regnald invades, 17, 29; Bretons take refuge in, 18; Robert I elected king of, 20; Raoul of Burgundy elected king of, 25; renews war with Northmen, 28 sqq., 32 sq.; hatred of Northmen in, 28, 148 sq., 183, 195, 197, 234 sq., 392, 408, 496; pays Danegeld to Rollo, 29, 30, 33, 48, 66; at peace with Normandy, 33; or Belgic Gaul, 41; intermarriage of its nobility, 43; defeats Danes at Limoges, 52; feuds between nobles of, 52 sq.; and Henry the Fowler's ambition, 53; morality in, 59; and assimilation of Normandy, 62, 67 sq., 147, 190, 391, 408; sentiment of nationality in, 62, 391, 404; contempt for Guillaume Longue-épée in, 68, 75, 134, 148 sq., 161, 165; adheres to monarchical principle, 79; territorial significance of name of, 80; constitutional status of, in States-General, 82; its port for England, 89; retains affection of Lotharingia, 121 sq.; and Aquitaine, 139; animosity of Germany to, 148, 219, 459, 460; national characteristics of, 174, 239; defeats Northmen at battle of the Rescue, 193 sq., 319; renewal of compact with Normandy, 201; and Burgundy, 212; Louis d'Outremer re-annexes Normandy to, 220; and invasion of Normandy, 235-260; recognizes independence of Normandy, 269 sq., 319; and duchy of France, 283; contempt for Richard-sans-Peur in, 284, 409 sq.; feudalism in, 284 sq., 434 sqq., 439; coronation ritual in, 290, 362; feudal dependence of Normandy on, 290, 422; invasion of Normandy by, under Otho I and Louis, 299-317; invaded by Magyars, 336, 356; antipathy to Italians in, 353, 441; Otho's influence over, 367 sqq., 452; under protectorate of Bruno of Cologne, 430, 438; elective character of monarchy in, 370, 478; importance of Lotharingia to, 381, 382, 456; power of absorption of, 391; invades Normandy, 400 sq., 404 sq., 409; invaded by Danes in support of Richard, 411-421; influence of women in affairs of, 425; invades Flanders, 435 sq.; and attack on Aix-la-Chapelle, 458 sq.; cedes Lotharingia to Germany, 465; authorities on history of, 499 sq., 502 sq., 538 sq.; Maps V(E-F 1-2), VI
 France, duchy of, appurtenances of, 24; and Maine, 29; proximity to Normandy, 147, 184 sq., 282, 283; the Evrecin annexed to, 191; relations of, to French monarchy, 211, 283,

- 385; powers granted to Hugh-le-Grand in, 213 sq., 524; Burgundy annexed to, 214, 524; granted to Hugh by Lothaire, 385; granted to Hugh Capet, 386; Normandy, fief of, 387; Map VI France, Dukes of. *See* Hugh, Robert
- Franco-Gallia* of François Hotman, on the elective character of French monarchy, 370; 532
- Franconia (Franconians), hatred of Saxony in, 10; supports revolt of Thankmar, 118; at battle of the Lechfeld, 359
- Franconia, Dukes of. *See* Conrad, Everhard, Herman
- Franks, the. *See* France
- Franks, the East. *See* East Franks
- Frederick, Archbishop of Mayence, nominated to see of Mayence, 120; reintroduces Artaldus of Rheims to his see, 299; with Otho I in Italy, 351
- Frederick, brother of Adalbero of Metz, founds Bar-le-Duc, 334 sq.; marries Beatrice, 376; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Freeman, E. A. (historian), *Historical Essays* of, cited, 519, 530
- French, the. *See* France
- Friesland (Friezeland or Frisia), partly submerged, 120; part of Lotharingia, 381; Map II (vol. I)
- Friuli, duchy of, extent of, 346; part of Lombardy, 348; marches of, retained by Otho I, 354; Map II (vol. I)
- Friuli, Dukes of. *See* Berenger, Everhard
- Frodoardus Remensis (Floodoard) (chronicler), records struggle for see of Rheims, 45 sq., 327; opposed to Vermandois party, 45, 46; and Richard-sans-Peur's conversion to paganism, 192; on Louis d'Outremer's concessions to Hugh-le-Grand, 214; silent on Lothaire's confederacy against Richard, 398; nature of his history, 425 sq.; death of, 426, 454, 499; on Lothaire's marriage to Emma, cited, 441, 536; authority on history of France, 499; relates story of Lopé Aznar's horse, 513; and Harold Blaataand, cited, 515; 539
- Fulbert, Bishop of Troyes, mediates between Louis d'Outremer and Hugh-le-Grand, 331, 332
- Fulbert, Count, at battle of Soissons, 22
- Fulcard, and birth of Richard-sans-Peur, 67
- Fulda, Magyars at, 8, 508; Map II (vol. I)
- Fulda, abbey of, Frederic of Mayence monk of, 120; Hatto II of Mayence abbot of, 536
- Fulk I le-Roux, Count of Anjou, concedes territory to Alain Barbe-Torte, 100; Gen. Table XVI
- Fulk II le-Bon, Count of Anjou, 537; Gen. Table XVI
- Furneus, barrier fortress of Flanders, 204, 216
- Fursaeus, St, 51, 512
- Galicia, invaded by Danes under Guthrun, 420 sq.
- Gallia Belgica*. *See* Belgic Gaul
- Gallia Celtica*. *See* Celtic Gaul
- Gallia Sacra* (*Gallia Christiana*), source of ecclesiastical history of France, 503; cited, 518; 540
- Gandersheim, abbey of, Roswitha abbess of, 535 sq.
- Garcia Fernandez, Count of Castile, succeeds to county, 421, 534
- Garigliano, river, Saracens driven from the, 511
- Garonne, river, boundary of Aquitaine, 81; Map VI
- Gatinois (Gâtinais), the, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map V(E 2-3)
- Gaul, Lotharingia adheres to, 8; and Magyars, 10, 29, 106; Church and State in, 44; and the Danish settlements in, 67; adherence of, to monarchical principle, 79, 280; tripartite division of, 80 sq., 515; and constitutional application of division, 81 sq., 92, 368; port for England, 86; and the Danish invasions, 233; relations of, to England, 266 sq. *See also* France
- Gauls, nations of the, constitutional status and rights of, 81 sq., 92, 385; meet at Sens, 87; meet at Rheims, 368 sq.
- Gautier, Bishop of Paris. *See* Walter
- Gautier-le-Veneur, confidant of Richard-sans-Peur, 384, 395, 400; at battle of the Fords, 402
- Geisa, King of the Magyars, converted by St Adalbert, 362
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, his history, 342, 501; 529
- Geoffrey I Grisgonnelle, Count of Anjou, epithet of, 390; enemy of Richard-sans-Peur, 390 sq.; allied with Hugh of Maine, 391; joins Lothaire against Richard, 400; at battle of the Fords, 401; invades Normandy, 408 sq.; Harold Blaataand invades dominions of, 413; at battle of the Aisne, 462; cowardice of, 463; 532; Gen. Table XVI
- Gerberga, daughter of Charles of Lower Lorraine, marries Lambert of Hainault, 491; Gen. Tables XI, XIV
- Gerberga, daughter of Henry I the Fowler, marries Gilbert of Lotharingia, 14, 508; in command of Chevreumont, 125; marries Louis d'Outremer, 125 sq., 178, 195; character of, 126; defends Laon, 132 sq., 136; gives birth to Lothaire, 137; affection of, for Otho I, 140, 225, 295; counsellor of Louis, 179, 264, 282, 329; hatred of Richard-sans-Peur, 189 sq., 222, 284, 389 sq.; 211; gives birth to Alerada, 213; with Louis in Aquitaine, 215, 218; reconciles Louis and Otho, 219; designs on Normandy of, 225, 295;

- 228; in command of Laon, 246; gives birth to Carloman, 253; efforts to liberate Louis, 264-268; surrenders Laon to Hugh-le-Grand, 268; 269; appeals to Otho against Richard, 293; at siege of Rheims, 298; in command of Rheims, 299; gives birth to Louis, 329; granted abbey of Notre Dame at Laon, 335; gives birth to Charles and Henry, 337; and accession of Lothaire, 367-370; in Hugh-le-Grand's dominions, 371 sq.; incited by Thibaut-le-Tricheur against Richard, 372, 384, 393 sq., 396; supported by Bruno of Cologne, 379, 380, 382, 390, 422; recovers dowry, 379 sq.; joins confederacy against Richard, 394, 396 sq., 398; at festival of Cologne, 437; retires from court, 441; death of, 442, 452; counsellor of Lothaire, *ib.*, *ib.*; Gen. Tables XI, XIII, XIV
- Gerberga, daughter of Lambert of Chalon, marries Adalbert of Ivrea, 365; Gen. Table XI
- Gerberga, daughter of Thibaut-le-Tricheur, marries Alain Barbe-Torte, 280; Gen. Tables XV, XVII
- Gerbert of Aurillac. *See* Sylvester II
- Gerlo, Rollo's kinsman, 17, 39
- Gerloc. *See* Adela
- German Empire, the. *See* Empire, the Holy Roman
- Germans, the. *See* Germany, Kingdom of
- Germany, Kingdom of, renounces Carolingian dynasty, 7 sq.; and Magyars, 7 sq., 10, 118 sq.; separation from France, 8, 62; Lotharingia separates from, 8, 10; Alsace re-annexed to, 9; foundation of, 12, 118; Church and State in, 44; morality in, 59; antagonism of, to Italy, 62, 353; and Slavs, 118 sq., 121; Lotharingia annexed to, by Henry the Fowler, 121, 508; and Northmen, 267, 304, 382; invades duchy of France and Normandy, 295-318; persecutes Slavs, 329, 469; close connexion with Italy and France, 340, 443; institution of chivalry in, 342 sq., 504 sq.; Lombardy, fief of, 354; great Magyar invasion of, 356-362, 374; influence of, in England, 359 sq., 505; importance of Lotharingia to, 381 sq.; invades France, 460-463; acquires rights over Lotharingia, 465; loses Slavonian marches, 472; authorities on history of, 500, 503 sqq., 534, 540
- Gero, Archbishop of Cologne, Otho I's ambassador to Byzantium, 449
- Gessoriacum. *See* Boulogne
- Gesta Othonis Imperatoris* of Roswitha, 504, 536
- Gheldolf, A., authority on history of Flanders, 503
- Ghent, palace of Arnoul-le-Vieux at, 378, Map V(E 1)
- Giesebrecht, W. von (historian), authority on history of Germany, 503
- Gilbert, Count in the Autunois and Chaunois, Duke of Burgundy, quarrels with Queen Emma, 52; dominions of, 100, 212; death of, 374; bequeaths Dijon to Otho, son of Hugh-le-Grand, *ib.*; 512; Gen. Table III (vol. 1)
- Gilbert, or Gislebert, Count in Lotharingia, marries Hermengarda, 508; Gen. Tables IX, XIV
- Gilbert (Gislebert), Duke of Lotharingia, duchy granted to, by Charles-le-Simple, 9 sq.; character of, 10, 12, 120; seeks to become independent, 12; rebels against Charles, 14; subdued, *ib.*; marries Gerberga, *ib.*; allied with Henry the Fowler, *ib.*, 121; renews rebellion, 19, 21; at coronation of Otho I, 116; joins Henry the Porphyrogenitus against Otho I, 119 sq., 122, 123, 125; forced to abandon projects of independence, 123; does homage to Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; death of, 125; son of, 140, 219, 544; and Gerberga's dowry, 178, 379; Gen. Tables IX, XIII, XIV
- Gilbert Machel (or Meschrel), betrays Evreux to Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 404
- Gisella, daughter of Berenger I, 528; Gen. Table XI
- Gisella, daughter of Charles-le-Simple, 6, 28, 39, 543, *note*
- Gisella, daughter of Lothair II, marries Godfrey the Dane, 396, 543, *note*; Gen. Table IX
- Gisella, daughter of Louis-le-Débonnaire, marries Everhard of Friuli, 530; Gen. Table XI
- Gislebert. *See* Gilbert
- Givoldi-Fossa. *See* Jeu-Fosse
- Glasgow, organization of its university, 82, 516
- Goceline, Bishop of Toul, at synod of Verdun, 322
- Godfrey, Count of the Ardennes and Verdun, his descendants, 431; Gen. Table XI
- Godfrey, Count of the Ardennes and Verdun, son of the above, made Duke of Lorraine and Brabant, 457, 491; at battle of the Aisne, 462, 463; resists Lothaire in Lotharingia, 473, 474
- Godfrey the Dane, murder of, 165, 304, 394, 396; marries Gisella, 543, *note*; Gen. Table IX
- Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, 431, 534
- Godfrey, King of Northumbria, expelled, 525
- Godfrey, companion of Sidroc, invasion of France by, 411, 412
- Goello, county of, independent of Normandy, 54
- Goldastus, Melchior (antiquary), ascribes

- Statutes of Tournaments to Henry the Fowler, 342, 505; 529
- Gondouin of Cambrai, settles at Jumièges, 145; and Guillaume Longue-épée, *ib.*
- Gonzales, Fernan. *See* Fernan
- Gonzalo Sanchez, Count, defeats Danes, 421
- Gorm-hin-Gamle, King of Denmark, 152, 161, 514 sq., 520; memorial of, 533; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
- Gorm-hin-rige, King of Denmark, 520
- Gothia, Marquis of. *See* Hermengaud
- Graesse, J. G. T. (antiquarian), authority on German chivalry, 505
- Gregory V, supported by Otho III, 492; 533
- Gregory VII the Great (Hildebrand), Pope, reforms Church, 21, 45, 510
- Guelderland, part of Lotharingia, 381
- Guenora, marries Richard-sans-Peur, 409, 496; Gen. Table XII
- Guido, Bishop of Auxerre, guardian of Hugh of Vermandois, 46
- Guido, Bishop of Soissons, hostage for Louis d'Outremer at Rouen, 265; attacked by Hugh-le-Grand, 328
- Guido, Duke of Spoleto, Emperor, and the imperial dignity, 346, 530; Gen. Table IX
- Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, murders John X, 50, 511 sq.; 512
- Guilla, daughter of Boso of Tuscany, wife of Berenger II, and death of Lothaire, 349; sells see of Milan, 364; resists Otho I, 365
- Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, inherits county of Poitou, 72; courts and marries Adela, 72 sq., 416, 454 sq.; relations with Alain Barbe-Torte, 99; submits to King Raoul, 129; proffers service to Louis d'Outremer, 139; recognizes Hugh-le-Grand's superiority, 283; renews fealty to Louis, 334; defies Hugh and Lothaire, 372 sq.; 386; 514; Gen. Table XII
- Guillaume IV Fier-à-bras, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, his descendants, 74; connected with Hugh Capet, 454, 491; 514; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Guillaume V le-Grand, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, educates children of Charles of Lorraine, 491; 533; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Guillaume, Count of Arles, marries Constance Adela, 472
- Guillaume de Belesme, son of Yvo de Croil, 160, 224
- Guillaume de Jumièges (Guilielmus Calculus), authority on history of Normandy, 500 sq., 539 sq.
- Guillaume Longue-épée, Duke of Normandy, frees Poitou from tribute, 17, 73; character of, 27, 37 sq., 74 sq., 134, 147, 176; love of Normans for, 27, 34, 176, 275; chosen as duke by Normans and Bretons, 33 sq.; power in Normandy of, 37, 141 sq. alienates Danish party by his French policy, 39, 62 sq., 161, 186; confidence in Bernard de Senlis, 39, 49, 66, 105, 108, 185; importance of, in French affairs, 43, 86, 136; joins Herbert of Vermandois against King Raoul, 48; supports restoration of Charles-le-Simple, *ib.*, 49 sq.; does homage to Charles, 48 sq., 68; and Breton revolt, 54 sq., 68; marriage with Espriota, 57 sq., 75; his palace at Fécamp, 60, 61 sq.; and Riulph's insurrection, 63 sq.; and Richard-sans-Peur's birth, 67; does homage to Raoul for Normandy and Brittany, 68, 127; scorn of French for, 68, 75, 129, 134, 138, 148 sq., 151, 161, 165; and marriage of Gerloc (Adela), 72 sq.; repudiates Espriota and marries Liutgarda, 75 sq., 108, 148, 391; supports Louis d'Outremer's restoration, 86 sq., 88, 90, 107 sq.; and Alain Barbe-Torte's restoration to Vannes, 97 sq.; deserts Louis for Capetians, 107 sq.; quarrels with Arnoul-le-Vieux, 111 sq.; at war with Arnoul, 112; supports Herlouin of Ponthieu against Arnoul, 114, 147, 166, 207; intimacy with Otho I, 117; does homage to Otho, 124, 127, 129, 147 sq.; deserts Otho and Capetians, 127, 148; renews fealty to Louis, 128 sq.; possession of Normandy ratified, 128, 189, 279; again deserts Louis for Capetians, 130, 131; with Capetians takes Rheims, 131, 132; deserts Capetians, 134, 136; the adherent of Louis, 136; godfather to Lothaire, 137 sq.; invites Louis to Rouen, 138 sq.; mediates between Louis, Otho and Capetians, 140, 218; subjugation of Church to, 141; justice of his rule, 142, 176; his attitude to Christianity, 142, 143, 144, 162 sq., 187 sq.; accident near Jumièges, 145; refounds abbey of Jumièges, 145 sq.; failure of his *juste milieu* policy, 147; turns to Danish interest, 151, 161, 186 sq., 274 sq.; his alliance with Harold Blaataand, 152, 161, 165, 232, 254; his conference with Abbot Martin, 153 sq., 156 sq.; plans for Richard's education and inauguration, 158 sq., 162 sq., 170, 187 sq., 192, 206, 274; and council of Attigny, 163 sq.; murder of, 165 sq., 186, 196 sq., 204, 216, 221, 240, 258, 287, 293; burial of, 174; history of, 500, 501; Lament for, 538; parentage, 543, *note*; Gen. Tables VII, XII
- Guillaume Fier-à-bras, Count of Toulouse, ancestor of Dukes of Aquitaine, 514
- Guillaume. *See also* William
- Guilielmus Calculus. *See* Guillaume de Jumièges

- Guillim, J. (herald), 343, 530
Guisnes Annals, 111, 519
 Guisnes, Counts of. *See* Ardolf, Siegfried
 Guisnes, county of, founded by Siegfried, 111; Map V(D 1)
 Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (historian), and history of Guillaume de Jumièges, cited, 500 sq., 539 sq.
 Gunnhild, wife of Eric Bloodaxe, 533
 Gurmhallion, Count of Cornouaille, supreme in Armorica, 18; 509
 Gurney, D., genealogical tables of, 503
 Guthormr, son of Eric Bloodaxe, 533; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
 Guthrun, Danish chief, acquires Danelagh, 184, 522
 Guthrun, Danish leader, invades France, 411; and invasion of Galicia, 420 sq.; death of, 421; 533
 Guy, Count of Soissons, connexion by marriage with Lothaire, 436, 440; Gen. Table VII

 Haco the Good, King of Norway, foster-son of Athelstane, 85; 516; Saga of, 533; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
 Hadwisa (Hedwig), daughter of Henry I the Fowler, 13; third wife of Hugh Capet, 117, 182; 375; under protection of Richard-sans-Peur, 376; and Gerberga, 379; 386; Gen. Table XIII, XIV
 Hagano, Count, favourite of Charles-le-Simple, 7, 13 sq., 19, 20, 94 sq.; hated by Capetians, 13 sq., 15, 20; made Bishop of Chartres, 25
 Hainault, part of Belgic Gaul, 81; supports Arnoul-le-Vieux's invasion of Normandy, 301; part of Lotharingia, 381; sends mercenaries to support Richard-sans-Peur, 409; Map V (E-F 1)
 Hainault, Counts of. *See* Rainier; Gen. Table XIV
 Hainault and Louvain, Count of. *See* Lambert
 Hakon. *See* Haco
 Halberstadt, Bishop of. *See* Hildebrand, Archbishop of Magdeburg
 Halphen, L. (historian), *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou* of, 540
 Hamburg, Benedict V dies at, 536
 Hamme (Ham), King Raoul takes, 59; Map V(E 2)
 Harburgh, besieged by Charles-le-Simple, 14
 Harold the Dane, at battle of Soissons, 22; 510. *See also* Harold Blaatand
 Harold II Blaatand, King of Denmark, leader of Danish raids on France, 77 sq., 97; subdues Denmark, 151 sq.; settles in Normandy, 152, 161, 188, 232, 254; affection for Richard-sans-Peur, 189; allies himself with Bernard the Dane for restoration of Richard in Normandy, 232, 233, 235, 236, 241; Bernard plots to bring Louis d'Outremer into conflict with, 252, 253; begins war of deliverance, 254; supported by Lower Normandy, 255; opposed by Louis, 255 sq.; defeats and captures Louis, 259 sq.; anger at Louis's escape, 261; and custody of Louis, 262 sq.; popularity of, 263; restores Richard's authority in Normandy, *ib.*; returns to Denmark, *ib.*; fear of, in France, 382, 390, 392; descendants of, in England, 382, 421, 532; allied with Richard, 384; prosperity of Denmark under, 410; and Christianity, 410 sq., 533; appealed to, by Richard, 411; sends army to support Richard, *ib.*; abandons claim to the Cotentin, 420; 514 sq.
 Harold Greycloak, King of Norway, 533; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
 Harold Harfager (Fairhair), King of Norway, sends Haco to England to be educated, 85, 516; outlaws Göngu-Hroif (Rollo), 542, 543; Saga of, 542; Gen. Table XX (vol. III)
 Hasbey (Hesbaye), supports Arnoul-le-Vieux's invasion of Normandy, 301; Map V(F 1)
 Hasdans, castle of, and foundation of Arques, 61; 513
 Hasting, Danish leader, his hatred of Christianity, 163; defeats Robert-le-Fort at Brise-sur-Sarthe, 510
 Hastings, battle of, 270, 272, 308
 Hathburga, daughter of Count Irwin, marries Henry the Fowler, 12; repudiated, 13, 114, 509
 Hatto I, Archbishop of Mayence, supports Conrad I, 10; 508
 Hatto II, Archbishop of Mayence, at council of Ravenna, 443; 536
 Hatto, Bishop of Vercelli, describes abuses in the Church, 45; 511
 Haute Normandie. *See* Normandy, Upper
 Hautmond, castle of, Louis d'Outremer takes refuge in, 135
 Havre, foundation of, 60 sq.
 Hedwig. *See* Hadwisa
Heimskringla, Saga of Hakon the Good, 533; Saga of Harold Fairhair, 542, 543, notes; Saga of St Olaf, 542, note
 Helgaud I, Count of Ponthieu, founds Ponthieu, 31
 Helgaud II, Count of Ponthieu, allied with Arnoul-le-Vieux, 30; governs Ponthieu independently of Centulla, 31; founds Montreuil-sur-Mer, *ib.*; invades Normandy, 32; death of, 33, 112
 Henri-le-Grand, Duke of France and Burgundy, inherits duchies, 214; Gen. Table XI
 Henry the Porphyrogenitus, Duke of Bavaria, son of Henry the Fowler, 13, 114, 509; nature of his claims to crown, 115; popularity of, 119; with Gilbert

- of Lotharingia rebels against Otho I, *ib.*, 122, 123, 124 sq., 294; assumes royal authority, 123; reconciled with Otho I, 125; receives, and is deprived of Lotharingia, *ib.*, 544; with Otho in Italy, 351; ambassador of Otho to Adelaide of Burgundy, 352; combines with Conrad and Liudolph against Otho, 353; made governor of Verona and Aquileia, 354; quarrels with Liudolph and Conrad, 355; again joins Liudolph against Otho, 355 sq.; informs Otho of Magyar invasion, 357 sq.; at the Cologne festival, 437; 494, 504, 531; granted duchy of Bavaria, 537; Gen. Table XIII
- Henry the Quarreller, Duke of Bavaria, at the Cologne festival, 437; regent to Otho III, 473; cedes Lotharingia to Lothaire, *ib.*; 504, 537, 538; Gen. Table XIII
- Henry, Bishop of Bayeux, baptizes Richard-sans-Peur, 67
- Henry II Emperor, succeeds Otho III, 494, 537; the *Vita Mathildæ Regine* written at request of, 504; 538; Gen. Table XIII
- Henry I, King of England, rival of William Rufus, 115, 519; and Johannes de Meditano's tract, 388, 532; patron of Wace, 418, 501; armorial bearings of, 513
- Henry II, King of England, his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, 74, 514; patron of Wace, 501; patron of Benoît de St More, 501; armorial bearings of, 513; Gen. Table XVI
- Henry I the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, King of Germany, arranges Otho I's marriage to Editha, 6; allied with Charles-le-Simple against Conrad I, 10; his accession, 12; intrigues to recover Lotharingia, *ib.*, 14; marries and repudiates Hathburga, 12 sq., 114, 509; marries Matilda, 12 sq., 509; his children, 13, 114; quarrels with Charles, 13; supports Gilbert of Lotharingia against Charles, 14, 121; makes alliance with Robert of France, 14 sq., 21; interferes with liberty of episcopal elections, 44; allied with Herbert of Vermandois against King Raoul, 48; supports restoration of Charles, *ib.*; with Herbert and Hugh-le-Grand against Charles, 50; established in Lotharingia, *ib.*, 121, 294 sq., 508; and the imperial dignity, 53, 346 sq.; Herbert does homage to, 53; deserts Herbert, 54; 77; nominates Otho as his successor, 114; 116; and rise of chivalry, 342 sq., 505; 504; Gen. Table XIII
- Henry, Count, in the Rhine-benefices, assassinates Godfrey the Dane, 165, 394
- Henry, Count of Spire, 538; Gen. Table XIII
- Henry, son of Gilbert of Lotharingia, 544; Gen. Tables XIII, XIV. *See also* Otho
- Henry, son of Henry II, 501, 540
- Henry, son of Louis d'Outremer, birth and death of, 337
- Henry, son of Otho I, birth and death of, 355
- Herbauge, ceded to Alain Barbe-Torte by Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe, 99; Map V (C 3)
- Herbert Evcille-chien, Count of Maine, his nickname, 391, 413; Gen. Table XXI (vol. III)
- Herbert II, Count of Vermandois and I of Troyes, coalesces with Robert of France, 11; covets Laon and Rheims, *ib.*, 44; married to Hildebranda, 11, 508; joins Capetians against Charles-le-Simple, 19; destines his son Hugh for see of Rheims, 20, 21; at battle of Soissons, 22; Charles demands submission of, 23; entraps and imprisons Charles, 25 sq.; cooperates with King Raoul against Normans, 28, 29, 32; family connexions of, 43; and Guillaume Longue-épée, *ib.*; obtains election of his son Hugh to Rheims, 45 sq.; appropriates Coucy, 46; his cooperation with Raoul, 46 sq., 53; his children, 47, 514; quarrels with Raoul, 47, 53; plays Charles off against Raoul, 47 sq.; allies himself with Henry the Fowler, 48, 50; restores Charles to power, 48; alliance with Guillaume, 48 sq.; Raoul cedes Laon to, 49; quarrels and makes peace with Guillaume, 49 sq.; reconciled to Raoul, 50 sq.; imprisons Charles again, 51; Raoul grants Vienne to, *ib.*; and death of Charles, *ib.*, 84, 88, 105, 185; feud with Hugh-le-Grand, 52 sq.; again quarrels with Raoul, 53; at war with Raoul, *ib.*; does homage to Henry, *ib.*; deserted by Henry, 54; continues war with Raoul and Hugh, 59; forced to surrender Laon, *ib.*; unpopular in Aquitaine, 60; with Guillaume at the Meet in the *Foresta de Leonibus*, 71, 73; and marriage of his daughter Alicia, 71; opposed to restoration of Louis d'Outremer, 84, 88, 105; welcomes Louis at Boulogne, 90; makes peace with Hugh-le-Grand, 96; joins Hugh's confederacy against Louis, 104, 105; failure to acquire Rheims or Laon, 104 sq.; grants Coucy to Bernard de Senlis, *ib.*, 108; at war with Louis, 105 sq.; founds county of Troyes, 106, 181; attacks Rheims, 107, 110, 112, 130; influences Guillaume to desert Louis, 108; his castle at Laon taken by Louis, 110; adherent of Otho I, 117; transfers allegiance from Louis to Otho, 124, 126; renews the warfare for acquisition of Rheims, 130 sq.;

- takes Rheims and restores his son Hugh to see, 131 sq.; fails against Laon, 132 sq., 134 sq., 136, 137; again performs homage to Otho, 133; representative of Carolingian race, 137; supports Otho's cause in France, 140; reconciled to Louis, *ib.*; summoned to council of Attigny, 164; 171; death of, 180, 181; tomb of, 180 sq.; partition of his dominions, *ib.*, 208; epithet of, 383; 514; and synod of Trosley, 519; Gen. Tables VII, XVII
- Herbert II the Handsome, Count of Troyes, son of Herbert II of Vermandois, 47; does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 140; inherits county of Troyes, 181; 208; ally of Hugh-le-Grand, 264; marriage with Ogiva, 335 sq., 383; supports Lothaire, 474; Gen. Table VII
- Herlouin, Count of Ponthieu, succeeds Helgaud II, 112; commends himself to Hugh-le-Grand, 113; does penance for crime of bigamy, *ib.*, 519; Arnoul-le-Vieux attacks dominions of, 113 sq.; defeats Arnoul with aid of Guillaume Longue-épée, 114, 147, 207; Guillaume again supports, 166; mistrusts Arnoul's proposals for conference with Guillaume, 167; 168; determines to revenge Guillaume's death, 169, 198; accompanies Louis d'Outremer to Rouen, 198; adheres to Louis, 207; made governor of Rouen, *ib.*; enmity against Arnoul, *ib.*, 220; unpopular in Normandy, 207, 259, 260; county of Amiens granted to, 216; defeats Arnoul and Balzo, 216 sq.; revenge on Balzo, 217, 220; maintains Louis's interests in Rouen, 223; reconciled to Arnoul, 234; 246; with Louis and Arnoul besieges Rheims, 253; commands Louis's army against Harold Blaataud, 256; reproached with ingratitude to Guillaume, 259; death of, 260; 318, 335
- Herman, Duke of Franconia, at coronation of Otho I, 116
- Herman the Saxon, death of, 450; 536
- Hermengarda, daughter of the Emperor Lothair, marries Gilbert, Count in Lotharingia, 508; Gen. Tables IX, XIV
- Hermengarda, daughter of Louis II, Emperor and King of Lombardy, Queen of Provence, 11, 508; Gen. Table IX
- Hermengarda, daughter of Richard-le-Justicier, married to Gilbert of Burgundy, 52; Gen. Table III (vol. 1)
- Hermengaud, Count of Rouergue, Marquis of Gothia, submits to King Raoul, 60, 79; Gen. Table XVIII
- Hermondeville, bridge-head of the Seine, 312; site of Thibaut-le-Tricheur's camp before Rouen, 405; burnt by Thibaut, 407; battle of, 407 sq.
- Hervé, Archbishop of Rheims, with Charles-le-Simple at Soissons, 17; and election of Robert I, 20; death of, *ib.*; alienates archiepiscopal domains, 21; 509
- Hervé, nephew of Hervé of Rheims, refuses fealty to Seulp of Rheims, 21; imprisoned, *ib.*
- Hiesmois, the, resists Hugh-le-Grand, 235; supplies Rouen, 243 sq.; part of Lower Normandy, 243; Maps V(C-D 2), VII
- Hilary, St, Bishop of Poitiers, 373
- Hildebert, Archbishop of Mayence, crowns Otho I, 116
- Hildebrand. *See* Gregory VII
- Hildebrand of Halberstadt, Archbishop of Magdeburg, at council of Ravenna, 443; elected to see, 536
- Hildebranda, daughter of Robert I of France, wife of Herbert of Vermandois, 11; rival of Emma, 47; in command or Laon, 59, 103, 132 sq.; arranges marriage of her daughter Alicia to Arnoul-le-Vieux, 71; children of, 181; 508; Gen. Tables VII, XVII
- Hildegarius, Bishop of Beauvais, hostage for Louis d'Outremer at Rouen, 265
- Himeltruda, St, recollection of, in Flanders, 145
- Historia Francorum* of Adhémar de Chabannes, source of French history, 499
- Historia Norvegiæ*, ed. G. Storm, cited, 543, *note*
- Hock, C. F. (historian), biography of Gerbert of Aurillac, 502
- Hodgkin, T. (historian), *Political history of England* of, cited, 516
- Hoël, Breton chief, in England, 18; 509
- Holger-Danske. *See* Ogier the Dane
- Holland, part of Lotharingia, 381
- Holland, Count of. *See* Thierry
- Holstein, divided from Schleswig by Queen Thyra's Danewirk, 152; Danes in, 267
- Holy Roman Empire. *See* Empire
- Hotman, F. (historian), *Franco-Gallia* of, 532
- Houard (historian), authority on constitutional history of Normandy, 505
- Hueburg, Hans von, in possession of the Turnier-buch, 342
- Hugh-le-Noir, Duke of Burgundy, dominions of, 100, 212; opposes Hugh-le-Grand, 101; submits to Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; makes treaty with Hugh-le-Grand, *ib.*; cooperates with Louis against Hugh-le-Grand and Guillaume Longue-épée, 112, 132; epithet of, 212; mediates between Louis and Hugh, 332; Gen. Table III (vol. 1)
- Hugh-le-Grand, Duke of France, marriage with Eadhilda, 6, 42 sq., 86, 95; allied with his father Robert against Charles-le-Simple, 11, 19, 22; Charles demands

submission of, 23; refuses crown, 24, 42, 82; position and power of, 24 sq., 42, 82 sq., 94, 211, 516; joins King Raoul against Danes, 28, 29, 32; relations with Raoul, 42, 94; family connexions of, 43, 116; with Herbert of Vermandois and Raoul, 49, 50 sq.; feud with Herbert, 52 sq., 71; invades the Vermandois, 53, 59; mediates between Raoul and Henry the Fowler, 54; friendly relations with Guillaume Longue-épée, 62, 71, 73; claims to throne supported by Celtic and Aquitanian Gaul, 82 sq., 86; and restoration of Louis d'Outremer, 86-91, 96, 269; determination not to accept crown, 87, 94, 137, 182; his protectorate of Louis, 90, 94 sq., 179, 182, 518; receives Louis at Boulogne, 91; marries Hadwisa, 95, 117; establishes himself in Burgundy, 101, 112, 212; Louis casts off protectorate of, 103, 117, 182; plans to recover supremacy, 104, 179; allied with Herbert, 104, 105, 107; Guillaume joins confederacy of, 107, 126; aids Guillaume against Arnoul-le-Vieux, 112; and Herlouin of Pontieu, 113, 114; courted by Otho I, 117; birth of his son Hugh Capet, *ib.*, 182; transfers allegiance from Louis to Otho, 124, 126, 182; Guillaume deserts, but re-joins confederacy of, 127, 130; with Herbert and Guillaume takes Rheims, 131; attacks Laon, 132 sq., 134 sq., 136; again does homage to Otho, 133; and defection of Guillaume, 134, 147; reconciled to Louis, 140; 143, 163; at council of Attigny, 164; and murder of Guillaume, 166, 168; 169, 171; acquires Creil, Thury and Coucy, 181, 185, 209; relations with Vermandois family, 181, 208 sq., 264; growing ambition of, 182 sq.; power over Normandy, 184 sq.; Louis's hatred of, 185; and Otho I, 186, 283; rivalry with Louis in Normandy, 191, 203, 207 sq., 217 sq.; energy against Danes, 193, 194; 206; comparison with Louis, 208; reconciled to Louis, 209; position of, in duchies of France and Burgundy, 211 sq.; Louis grants further powers to, 213 sq., 217, 524; godfather to Louis's daughter Alerada, 213, 214, 524; 215; begins to intrigue in Normandy, 217, 218; foements quarrel between Louis and Otho, 219; takes up Richard-sans-Peur's cause against Louis, 226 sq.; "defies" Louis, 228 sq.; makes treaty with Louis for partition of Normandy, 229 sq.; with Louis invades Normandy, 235; revocation of Louis's treaty with, 241 sq.; supports Norman cause against Louis, 252, 253, 257, 263, 267; and custody

of Louis, 262, 263, 265, 266, 268; plans against royal family, 264, 265, 268; affronted by Edmund of England, 266; releases and restores Louis in return for cession of Laon, 268 sq.; 279; dominions of, 281; alliance with Normandy based on mutual advantages, 282 sqq., 292; ambition for his children, 282 sq.; measures for strengthening alliance with Richard, 286 sqq., 292; his daughter Emma betrothed to Richard, 287 sq., 422, 526; and Richard's "commendation," 287 sq., 290, 291, 387, 422; knights Richard, 289; Louis and Otho unite against Richard and, 292, 295; dominions invaded, 297-302; quarrels with Otho, 297, 305; supports Richard, 300, 306, 310; 309; renewed rivalry with Louis, 319, 320 sq., 323; attacks Rheims, 321; represented by Sigibaldus at church council, *ib.*; unpopularity of, in Aquitaine, 323; 324; impeached and excommunicated, 325 sq.; defies sentence, 326 sq.; popularity declines, 327 sq.; renews war on Louis, 328, 331 sq.; reconciled to Louis, 331, 332 sq., 333 sq.; and foundation of Bar-le-Duc, 335; rebels against Louis but submits, 336; and Lothaire's accession, 367, 369, 370; granted duchies of Burgundy, Aquitaine and France, 370, 385; Lothaire makes progress through dominions of, 371 sq.; Poitiers refuses to acknowledge supremacy of, 372 sqq., 386; illness of, 374, 375; appoints Richard guardian of his children, 375 sq., 386; death of, 376; 384; and practice of "commendation," 435, 466; his signature to Richard's charter to abbey of St Denis, 506, 541; and Harold Blaataud, 515; Gen. Tables XIII, XVII

Hugh Capet, King of France, birth of, 117, 182; epithet of, 182, 522; his father Hugh-le-Grand's ambition for, 182 sq., 282, 292, 374, 385 sq.; and support of Normandy, 185; and "cession of Burgundy to Henri-le-Grand, 214; 290; character of, 374, 461; and Otho I, 375; ward of Richard-sans-Peur, 375 sq., 386; ward of Lothaire, 386, 387; does homage to Lothaire, 386; duchies of France and Poitou granted to, *ib.*; inherits Burgundy, 386 sq.; and Richard's "commendation," 387, 422; alliance with Richard, 422, 464, 466; at festival of Cologne, 437; increasing power of, 454; marries Adelaide, 454, 514; birth of his son Robert, 455; unites with Lothaire against Otho II, 458, 464; at war with Otho, 460 sq.; ambition to obtain crown, 463 sq.; partisans of, 464; Lothaire unites with Otho

- against, 464 sq.; takes counsel of his vassals, 466; visits Otho at Rome, 467; allies himself with Otho against Lothaire, 467 sq.; escapes in disguise from Conrad of Burgundy, 468 sq.; increased friction with Lothaire, 469 sq.; favours Louis V's accession, 475; Louis throws off protectorate of, 475 sq.; cooperates with Louis against Adalbero of Rheims, 476; assumes powers of government, 477; absolves Adalbero from charge of treason, *ib.*; accession secured by Adalbero, 477 sqq.; crowned, 479; demands proclamation of his son Robert as king, 480; Charles of Lorraine contests accession of, 481; besieges Laon, 483 sq., 488; and the election to see of Rheims, 485 sqq.; supports Arnoul's candidature, 486; implicated in plot to betray Charles, 489; enters Laon, 490; imprisons Charles, 490 sq.; deposes Arnoul and elects Gerbert of Aurillac, 492, 535; death of, 494 sq.; Richard mediates between Albert of Vermandois and, 495; Gen. Tables XIII, XVII
- Hugh, Marquis of Provence, Count of Vienne, King of Italy, claimant for the imperial dignity, 346; contests possession of Provence with Rudolph II, 510; marries Marozia, 512; abdicates, 528; 530; patron of Liutprand of Cremona, 536; Gen. Tables IX, XI
- Hugh II, Count of Maine, allies himself with Geoffrey Grisgonnelle, 391; invades Normandy, 409; 532; Gen. Table XXI (vol. III)
- Hugh (Hugo Parvulus), Archbishop of Rheims, Herbert of Vermandois strives to obtain see of Rheims for, 20, 21, 45; rivalry with Artaldus, 46; Herbert secures election of, 47; ejected in favour of Artaldus, 53, 104; education of, 105; renewed efforts of Herbert in interests of, 130 sqq.; restoration of, 132, 253, 297; struggle continues with Artaldus, 181; forced to evacuate see by Louis, 298 sq.; attempts to expel Artaldus from Rheims, 320 sq.; claims of, discussed at church councils, 321-325; defended by Sigibaldus, 321 sq., 325; councils declare against, 322, 323; excommunicated, 323; loses Hugh-le-Grand's support, 327, 328; escapes from Mouzon, 328; claims see on death of Artaldus, 429; disappointment and death of, 429 sq.; 485, 511; Gen. Table VII
- Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, appointed to see of Rouen, 143; counsellor of Richard-sans-Peur, 384; his signature to Richard's charter to abbey of St Denis, 506, 541
- Hugo Parvulus. *See* Hugh of Rheims
- Hungarians, the. *See* Magyars
- Hungary, Kingdom of, origin of, 362
- Iago, St, shrine of, protected against the Danes, 421
- Idwall, Breton chief, in England, 18; 509
- Imicon, Danish leader, ravages Brittany, 56
- Immo, rebels against Bruno of Cologne, 380 sq.
- Innocent I, Pope, 325, 528
- Ircun, Magyar chief, invades Germany, 358; death of, 361
- Irenæus, St, Bishop of Lyons, 91, 517
- Irene, Eastern Empress, and the Western Empire, 345
- Isaac, Count of Cambray, important position of his territory, 120; does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 123
- Isle de France, boundaries of, 19; part of Celtic Gaul, 81; centre of Bernard de Senlis's power, 231; ravaged by Louis d'Outremer, 331; Map VII
- Israel Scotigena, at synod of Verdun, 322
- Istria, granted to Theophania as dowry, 450
- Italians, the. *See* Italy
- Italy (Ausonia), Magyars in, 29; episcopal elections in, 44; alienated from Germany and France, 62; Magyars invade, 106, 329, 336, 356; 319; close connexion with Germany under Otho I, 340; struggles for imperial dignity in, 346, 520, 530; and Friuli, 346; its relations to Lombardy, 347, 352; political divisions of, 347 sq.; absorbs Lombards, 348; and Otho's invasion, 350 sqq.; Otho proclaims himself king of, 351 sq.; Otho crowned king of, 365; relations of, to Holy Roman Empire, *ib.*; under government of Otho, 437, 443; authority on history of, 536. *See also* Lombardy
- Ivo, defeats German champion before Paris, 461
- Ivo de Bolesme. *See* Yvo
- Ivo Cartonensis, theory of electoral rights in France, 92; 517 sq.
- Ivrea, marquisate of, commands passes of St Gothard and Mont Cenis, 348
- Ivrea, Marquises of. *See* Adalbert
- Ivry, Count of. *See* Raoul
- Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs*, ed. Ranke, authority on history of Germany, 503
- Jeu-Fosso (Givoldi-Fossa), ancient site of Danish encampment, 411, 412; Harold Blaatand's forces encamp at, 411 sqq.; situation of, 533
- Jews, the, share practice of medicine with the Church, 210
- Johannes Iperius, Abbot of St Bertin (chronicler), *Chronicle* of, authority on history of Flanders, 503
- Johannes de Meditano, his tract on medicine, cited, 387 sq., 532

- John I Zimiskes, Eastern Emperor, murders Nicephorus, 446; appointed Emperor, *ib.*; consents to marriage between Otho II and Theophania, 449
- John, King of England, and Channel Islands, 57
- John, Abbot of Landevenech, does homage to Alain Barbe-Torte, 97; 518
- John X, Pope, and restoration of Charles-le-Simple, 47, 48; converts Northmen, *ib.*; elected to Papacy by influence of Theodora, 48, 512; death of, 50; 511 sq.; and Berenger I, 530
- John XI, Pope, elected to Papacy by influence of Marozia, 512
- John XII (Octavian), Pope, calls in Otho I against Berenger II, 364; crowns Otho Emperor, 366; depravity of, 444; 531; deposed by Otho, 536; Gen. Table IX
- John XV, Pope, supported by Crescentius against Gregory V, 492; revokes Gerbert of Aurillac's election to see of Rheims, 492 sq.; 538
- Judicacil, Count of Rennes, 27; Gen. Table XV
- Judith, daughter of Charles-le-Chauve, descendants of, in Flanders, 30, 216, 435; Gen. Tables XI, XIV
- Judith (Alicc), daughter of Richard II of Normandy, marriage with Renaud of Burgundy, 212; Gen. Table XI
- Juhel Berenger, Count of Rennes, established in county of Rennes, 27; does homage to Guillaume Longue-épée, 34, 54, 55; rebels against Guillaume, 55; subdued and pardoned, 56; proffers military service to Louis d'Outremer, 139 sq.; advocates recognition of Richard-sans-Peur as duke, 175; quarrels with Alain Barbe-Torte, 232; Gen. Table XV
- Juliers, part of Lotharingia, 381; Map V (G 1)
- Jumièges, abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143; and Rollo's donations, 144; refounded by Guillaume Longue-épée, 145 sq.; Martin of Poitiers abbot of, 146; Guillaume wishes to become a monk of, 153 sq., 156 sq.; monument of Merovingian princes at, 223, 524; partially demolished by Raoul Torta, 248; Guillaume de Jumièges monk of, 500; founded by St Philibert, 520; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Jura, mountains, boundary of duchy of France, 281; boundary of Otho I's dominions, 295
- Kašlin, daughter of Göngu-Hroif (Rollo), 543
- Kiev, subdued by Vladimir the Great, 536
- Kiev, Grand Duke of. *See* Vladimir the Great
- Kirchberger, Johann, gives the Turnierbuch to Ruexner, 342
- Knights Hospitallers (Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem), organization of their Order, 82; 516
- Knut. *See* Canute
- Köpke, R. A. (historian), authority on history of Germany, 503
- La Fontaine, Jean de, birthplace of, 105; 519
- La Garde-Freinet, Saracen stronghold, 512
- Lago di Garda, Adelaide imprisoned in castle near, 349
- Lair, Jules (historian), and Harold Blaaland's origin, 515
- La Marlée, Otho II and Lothaire meet at, 465
- Lambert, Count of Chalon, 365
- Lambert, Count of [Hainault and] Louvain, attacks Mons, 456; marries Gerberga, 491; 544; Gen. Tables XI, XIV
- Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, Emperor, claimant for the imperial dignity, 346; joint ruler with Guido, 530; Gen. Table IX
- Lambert, brother of Herlouin of Ponthieu, commands Louis d'Outremer's army against Harold Blaaland, 256; avenges Herlouin's death, 260
- Landevenech, abbey of. *See* St Guingalœus
- Landnamabók, ed. Ásmundarson, cited, 545, *note*
- Landric, brother of Arnoul of St Quentin, partisan of Herbert of Vermandois in Laon, 135
- Landwart, Bishop of Minden, at church council of Ravenna, 443
- Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, rebuilds basilica of Jumièges, 248
- Langres, taken by Louis d'Outremer, 101; Maps V(F 3), VI
- Langres, duchy of, ruled by Hugh-le-Noir, 100; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 212, 281
- Languedoc, constitutional status of, in States-General, 82; unpopularity of the Capets in, 283; comparison with Aquitaine, 471 sq.; authority on history of, 540
- Langue d'oïl, constitutional status of, in States-General of, 82
- Laon (Laudunum, Clachduin), royal domain, 3, 4; coveted by Herbert of Vermandois, 11; Hagano's treasure in, 13, 19; taken by Robert of France, 20; Charles-le-Simple reinstated in, 23; ceded to Herbert of Vermandois, 47, 49, 51; under command of Emma, 48 sq., 103, 132 sq.; fortified by Herbert, 59; under command of Hildebranda, *ib.*, 103, 132 sq.; retaken by Raoul, 59; Louis d'Outremer crowned at, 91, 114; the sole possession of Louis, 95, 179; under command of Ogiva, 103 sq., 133; Herbert retains possession of

- tower of, 105; Louis captures tower of, 110; Lotharingia sends embassy to Louis at, 122; 124; Gerberga crowned at, 126; still coveted by Herbert, 130; placed under command of Gerberga, 132; invested by Capetians, 132 sq., 134 sq., 136, 137; birth-place of Lothaire, 137; Guillaume Longue-épée at, 138; impregnability of, 205, 206; Richard-sans-Peur at, 205 sqq., 214, 220; its vicinity to Senlis, 206; Richard placed under arrest at, 221, 222, 223, 295, 414, 442; 225; escape of Richard from, 226 sq.; 245; Gerberga at, 264, 265; ceded to Hugh-le-Grand, 268, 325; under command of Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 268 sq.; fortified by Hugh, 269, 297; education of Richard at, 275; its importance to Hugh, 281; Louis and Otho fail to take, 298, 299; church council at, 326; invested by Louis, 328; captured by stratagem of Raoul, 330 sq.; Louis at, 333; Lothaire at, 370 sq., 374, 383, 465; royal domains limited to Compiègne and, 379; Lothaire holds court at, 393; *Cour plénière* at, 403; councils held by Lothaire at, 413, 414; convention of nobles at, 458; Asceline of Laon in possession of, 481; taken by Charles of Lorraine, 481 sq.; besieged by Hugh Capet, 483 sq.; 488; Asceline returns to, 489; betrayed to Hugh by Asceline, 490; authority on history of, 502; Map V(E 2)
- Laon, Bishops of. *See* Asceline, Raoul
- Laon, Count of. *See* Roger
- Laonnais (Laonnois), the, Charles-le-Simple in, 19; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; overrun by Magyars, 336; Map V(E-F 2)
- Larson, L. M. (historian), *Canute the Great* of, and Harold Blaatand's Christianity, cited, 533
- Laudunum. *See* Laon
- Lauer, P. (historian), *Le règne de Louis IV d'Outremer* of, cited, 512, 538, 539; *Robert I et Raoul de Bourgogne* of, cited, 519, 539
- Le Brasseur, P. (historian), authority on history of Evreux, 502
- Lech, river, and the Magyar invasion, 358, 359, 360; 531
- Lechfeld, battle of the, 359 sqq., 362, 375, 504; 531
- Leibnitz, G. W. (philosopher), *Rerum Brunswicensium* of, 504; 540
- Leicester, reconquered by Edward the Elder, 524
- Le Long, Dom N. (historian), authority on history of Laon, 502
- Lelu, Magyar chief, invades Germany, 336; death of, 358, 361
- Le Noir, Dom I. L. (historian), authority on constitutional history of Normandy, 505
- Leo VI, Eastern Emperor, 529
- Leo I the Great, Pope, 325, 528
- Leo III, Pope, takes refuge at Ehresburg, 118; crowns Charlemagne Emperor, 178, 345; 519
- Leo VI, Pope, elected to Papacy by influence of Marozia, 512
- Leo VIII, Pope, contest with Benedict V, 444; nominated to Papacy by Otho I, 531; 536
- Léon, county of, independent of Normandy, 54
- Leon, kingdom of, dynastic struggles in, 534
- Lethaldus (Leutaldus), Count of Mâcon, 212; friend of Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*, 323; does homage to Louis, 334; and Louis's illness, *ib.*; and Lothaire's accession, 369; 528
- Lex Romana*, and trial by battle, 343
- Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris*, of Liutprand of Cremona, 536
- Lideric the Forester, his descendants, 435
- Lieuvin, the, and Rollo's dominion, 27; part of Lower Normandy, 243; boundary of, 254; invaded by Hugh of Maine, 409; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Lille, dialect of its population, 508; Map VI
- Limbours, part of Lotharingia, 381
- Limoges, battle of, 52, 83; Maps V(D 4), VI
- Lincoln, reconquered by Edward the Elder, 524
- Lingones, the, in Burgundy, 81
- Lions-la-forêt*, bourgade of, its origin, 70
- Lisieux, and Rollo's dominion, 27; in Lower Normandy, 243; Maps V(D 2), VI, VII
- Litta, Count; authority on history of Italian nobility, 505
- Liudolph, son of Otho I, affection of Otho for, 293, 295, 319; designated by Otho as his successor, 293 sq., 352, 363; Otho's procurator at council of Trèves, 326; 336; accompanies Otho to Italy, 351; disaffection and desertion of, *ib.*; quarrels with Henry of Bavaria, 352, 355; jealousy of Otho's marriage with Adelaide, and fears for his succession, *ib.*, *ib.*; organizes rebellion against Otho, 352 sq., 355 sq.; jealousy of his step-brothers, 355; instigates Magyar invasion, 356, 357; reconciled to Otho, 357; suppresses Berenger II's rebellion, 363, 529; infidelity towards Otho, 363; death of, *ib.*, 364; 504; Gen. Table XIII
- Liutgarda, daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois, 59, 71; marries Guillaume Longue-épée, 75 sqq., 148; hatred of Richard-sans-Peur, 76, 172, 186, 232, 284, 391; 108, 158; marries Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 171; joins confederacy

- against Louis d'Outremer, 252; in agreement with Gerberga and Lothaire, 372; jealousy of Espriota, 391; 514; Gen. Tables VII, XII, XVII
- Liutgarda, daughter of Otho I, her marriage with Conrad the Red, 331; unfair accusation of, 344, 504; clears herself by battle trial, 344; death and burial of, 345; ancestress of the Salic line, 538; Gen. Table XIII
- Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, Otho I's ambassador at Byzantium, 447 sqq.; his account of embassy, 448 sq.; authority on history of Othonian period, 504; his life of Marozia, 512; and depravity of John XII, cited, 531; 536, 540
- Lobineau, G. A. (historian), authority on history of Brittany, 502
- Lombards, the. *See* Lombardy
- Lombardy, Kingdom of, Magyars in, 77; 319; civil war in, 329, 348, 350; extent of, 347; relation of, to Italy, *ib.*, 352; organization of, 347 sq., 530; independence of its nobility, 348, 362; laws of, 348; submits to Otho I, 351; Otho proclaims himself king of, 351 sq.; sends embassy to council at Augsburg, 354; restored to Berenger II as fief of the Empire, *ib.*; and the Holy Roman Empire, *ib.*; misrule of Berenger in, 362; submits to Liudolph, 363; calls in Otho against Berenger, 363 sq.; and Otho's invasion of, 364 sq.; Otho crowned king of, 365, 529; nobles of, do homage to Otho, 365; 437. *See also* Italy
- Lopé Aznar, Count of Comminges, submits to King Raoul, 60, 79; 513
- Lorraine. *See* Lotharingia
- Lorraine, Lower, duchy of, part of Lotharingia, 381; granted to Charles, son of Louis d'Outremer, by Otho II, 457, 537; restored to Otho, son of Charles, 491; granted to Godfrey of the Ardennes, *ib.*; Maps V(F-G 1), VI
- Lorraine, Dukes of Lower. *See* Charles, Godfrey, Otho
- Lot, F. (historian), *Les derniers Carolingiens*, cited, 515, 539; *Hugues Capet et la Fin du X siècle* of, 522, 539; *Fidèles ou Vassaux* of, 540
- Lothair I, King of Italy, Emperor, 508, 530; Gen. Table IX
- Lothaire, King of France, birth and baptism of, 137 sq.; and Richard-sans-Peur, 189, 224; 225; Gerberga refuses to surrender, as hostage, 265, 268; 290, 320, 329; designated as king by Louis d'Outremer, 333, 370; 337; his accession, 367 sqq., 384, 396; grants duchies of Burgundy, France and Aquitaine to Hugh-le-Grand, 370, 385; under protection of Hugh, 371; his progress with Hugh through his dominions, 371 sq.; receives homage of Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 372; defied by Guillaume Tête-d'étoupe in Poitiers, 372 sqq.; favourite nephew of Otho, 375, 379, 452, 458; and the guardianship of Hugh's children, 376, 386; poverty of, 379, 455, 471; retakes Dijon from Robert of Troyes, 383, 429, 435; incited by Thibaut against Richard, 384, 391, 393 sq., 396 sq.; grants duchies of France and Poitou to Hugh Capet and Burgundy to Otho, 386; hatred of Richard, 390; portrait of, 393, 533; joins confederacy against Richard, 394, 435; at war with Richard, 397; his ambush on the Eaulne, 398 sqq.; defeated by Richard, 401 sq., 403; incited by Thibaut to continue war, 403; impeaches Richard, *ib.*; takes Evreux, 404; invades Normandy, 408 sqq.; forced by nobles to negotiate with Richard, 413, 414, 416; alienated from Thibaut, 414; makes peace with Richard, 421 sq.; and Bruno of Cologne's protectorate, 430 sq., 442; and Odalric of Rheims, 430; 431; invades Flanders and suppresses revolt of Arnoul-le-Jeune, 435 sq.; clandestine marriage, 436; his son, *ib.*; repudiation of marriage, 436 sq., 440; marries Emma of Italy, 441, 499, 536; his children by Emma, 441, 455; and Gerberga, 442, 452; and his brother Charles, 442, 455; deserted by Charles, 456; and his power over Lotharingia, 456, 457, 458; ignores evil reports about Emma, 457, 464, 474; quarrels with Otho II, 458; allied with Hugh Capet against Otho, 458 sqq.; at war with Otho, 458-463; marches on Aix, 458 sq.; defeats Otho, 462 sq.; hatred of Richard for, 464; precarious position of, *ib.*; allied with Otho against Hugh, 464 sqq.; cedes superiority of Lotharingia, 465; alliance arouses Hugh's fear, 466; Otho allied with Hugh against, 467, 468; begs Conrad of Burgundy to intercept Hugh, 468, 469; Otho fails to help, 469; enmity with Hugh increased, 469 sq.; secures succession to his son Louis, 470; and marriage of Louis, 471; recalls Louis from Aquitaine, 472; unsuccessful attempt of, to regain Lotharingia, 473, 500; buys over Vermandois family, 474; continues war, *ib.*; takes Verdun, *ib.*; death and burial of, 474 sq.; Gen. Tables IX, XI, XIII
- Lothair II, King of Lorraine, founder of Kingdom of Lotharingia, 121; 543, *note*; Gen. Table IX
- Lothaire, Count of Provence, King of Italy, rival of Berenger II, 329, 348; sends embassy to Otho I at Aix, 329; marriage with Adelaide of Burgundy,

- ib.*, 348 sq.; death of, 349; marriage of his daughter Emma, 440, 441; 528; Gen. Tables IX, XI, XIII
- Lotharingia (Lorraine), adheres to Charles-le-Simple, 8, 9 sq.; prevalence of Roman institutions in, 8 sq.; Conrad I attempts to reconquer, 9; duchy granted to Gilbert by Charles, 9 sq., 120; and Gilbert's ambition, 12, 508; and Henry the Fowler, 12; supreme authority usurped by Gilbert, 14, 19; remains loyal to Charles, 14, 17, 19, 21 sq., 25, 47, 48, 121; overrun by Magyars, 14; deserts Charles, 20; Henry establishes himself in, 50, 121, 508; political morality in, 53; part of Belgic Gaul, 81, 369; Aix-la-Chapelle capital of, 115; extent of, 120; power of nobility and Church in, *ib.*, 380; desires autonomy, 121; declares against German supremacy, *ib.*; affection of, for France, 121 sq.; Gilbert renews designs on, 122; offers crown to Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; and Louis's invasion, 122 sqq., 442; nobles and prelates of, do homage to Louis, 123, 124; lost to Louis, 125, 195; granted to Henry the Porphyrogenitus, *ib.*, 544; and the son of Gilbert, 140, 219, 544; Louis maintains claims to, 218 sq., 267, 294; granted to Conrad the Red by Otho, 219; nature of Otho's claims in, 294; and cession of, by Louis to Otho, 294 sq., 304; yields to Otho's influence, 320; aids Louis against Hugh-le-Grand, 328, 331; 334; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 336, 529, 544; supports Otho in Italy, 351; nobles concur in election of Lothaire, 369 sq.; rebels against Bruno, 380 sq.; extent of Bruno's dominions in, 381; boundaries of, 381 sq.; barrier against Danish invasions, 382, 390; 430, 439; cause of quarrel between Lothaire and Otho II, 456 sq., 458; superiority over, ceded by Lothaire, 465; Henry the Quarreller and the superiority over, 473; and Lothaire's invasion, 474, 475, 500; authorities on history of, 540; granted to Otho of Verdun, 544; Maps V(E-G 1-2), VI
- Lotharingia, Dukes of. *See* Bruno, Conrad, Gilbert, Henry, Otho
- Lotharingians, the. *See* Lotharingia
- Louandre, F. C. (historian), authority on history of Ponthieu, 502
- Louis l'Aveugle, King of Provence, King of Italy, Emperor, marries Eadgiva, 5; Gen. Table IX
- Louis-le-Débonnaire, Emperor, at St Médard, 16; in Aquitaine, 83; 137, 208; knighted, 289; knights Charles-le-Chaue, *ib.*; his grants to Papacy confirmed by Otho I, 366; 472, 530; Gen. Tables VIII, IX, X, XI
- Louis II le-Bégué, King of France, 2, 518; Gen. Table XI
- Louis III, King of France, conquers Danes at Saulcourt, 96; reigns conjointly with Carloman, 455; 578; Gen. Table XI
- Louis IV d'Outremer, King of France, birth of, 17; takes refuge in England, 26 sq., 64, 84, 226, 325; 43, 51; his restoration, 84-91; education of, 84 sq., 108 sq., 202; claims supported by Hugh-le-Grand and Guillaume Longue-épée, 87 sq., 96, 104, 108, 268, 371; assents to Hugh's protectorate, 90, 94 sqq., 103; crowned, 91, 92; defied by Hugh-le-Noir, 101; takes Langres and establishes Hugh-le-Grand in Burgundy, *ib.*, 112, 211 sq.; power and prerogatives of, 102 sq., 215, 222; discards Hugh's protectorate, 103, 117, 126, 268; character of, 103, 178, 203 sq., 282, 319; recalls Ogiva from England, 103; entrusts Laon to Ogiva, 103 sq.; Hugh and Herbert of Vermandois allied against, 104, 105; at war with Herbert, 104 sq., 106; subdues Serlo of Montigny, 106 sq.; Guillaume joins confederacy against, 107 sq., 147; and Arnoul-le-Vieux's fortifications at Witsand, 108 sq., 109 sq.; takes Herbert's castle at Laon, 110; at war with Hugh and Guillaume, 112; and Otho I's accession, 116 sq.; rivalry with Otho, 117; enemies of, and Otho, *ib.*; 118; and Lotharingia's offer of crown, 121, 122; establishes himself in Lotharingia, 122 sq.; Lotharingians do homage to, 123, 124; Hugh, Herbert, Guillaume and Arnoul transfer allegiance to Otho from, 124, 126 sq.; loses Lotharingia, 124, 195; marries Gerberga, 125 sq., 178, 195, 441; Guillaume returns to allegiance of, 127 sqq.; ratifies Guillaume's possession of Normandy, 128; Herbert renews war against, 130 sq.; Guillaume joins confederates against, 131; loses Rheims, 132; places Gerberga in command of Laon, *ib.*; Hugh, Herbert and Roger of Douay again renounce allegiance to, 133; defeats Roger, 134; is defeated and flies, 135; Stephen IX interferes on behalf of, *ib.*; Guillaume becomes adherent of, 136; birth of Lothaire, 137; asks Guillaume to be sponsor to Lothaire, 137 sq.; ambitions in Normandy, 138; visits Rouen, 139; Alain Barbe-Torte and Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe proffer military service to, 139 sq.; reconciled to Otho and Capetians, 140, 164, 218; his scorn for Guillaume, 149; 161; at council of Attigny, 163 sq., 165; and murder of Guillaume, 166, 183, 196 sq., 198; influence of Gerberga and Ogiva over, 178 sq.; his success

against confederacy, 179 sqq.; and death of Herbert, 180, 181; plans to subjugate Normandy, 183 sq.; needs to conciliate Hugh, 184 sq.; his hatred of Hugh, 185; and Otho, 186; Richard-sans-Feur does homage to, 189, 195, 196; grants Normandy to Richard, 190, 197, 264, 279, 523; Normans perform homage to, 190 sq., 195, 196 sq., 264; defeats Danes at battle of the Rescue, 193 sq.; encouraged to subjugate Normandy, 195 sq.; in Rouen as conqueror, 196-207; arouses revolt by his detention of Richard, 199; surrenders Richard, 200; Richard again performs homage to, 201; grants Normandy to Richard on principle of mutuality, *ib.*; conciliates Normans and plans to take Richard to Laon, 201 sqq., 205; restores Richard's authority in Evreux, 202 sq.; deceives Normans, 203 sq.; promises to avenge Guillaume's death by invasion of Flanders, 204, 215 sq., 523; permitted to take Richard to Laon, 205 sq., 220; appoints Herlouin of Ponthieu governor of Rouen, 207; compared with Hugh, 208, 218; his reconciliation with Hugh, 208, 209; visits Paris, 209, 213; illness of, 210; 211; asks Hugh to be godfather to his daughter, 213, 214, 524; grants further power to Hugh in duchies of France and Burgundy, 213 sq., 217, 524; and annexation of Normandy, 214, 228; enforces his supremacy in Aquitaine, 214 sq.; plans to annex Flanders, 215 sq.; Montigny and Amiens surrender to, 216; increased pressure from Hugh, 217 sq.; his quarrel with Otho fomented by Hugh, 218 sq.; his friendship with Otho, 219; his treatment of Richard at Laon, 220-228; incited by Arnoul against Richard, 220 sq.; and arrest of Richard, 221 sqq.; joy at Richard's illness, 225 sq.; and Richard's escape, 226 sqq.; "defied" by Hugh, 228 sq.; Arnoul effects treaty for partition of Normandy between Hugh and, 229 sq.; Bernard de Senlis and Bernard the Dane plot to separate Hugh and, 231, 235, 241; and Harold Blaataud's invasion, 233, 234; reconciles Herlouin and Arnoul, 234; invades Normandy, 234 sq.; enticed to Rouen by Bernard the Dane, 235 sqq., 524; in Rouen, 238-253; alienated from Hugh by Bernard, 241-245; and subjugation of Normandy, 245 sq.; absolute power of, in Normandy, 246; and Raoul Torta at Rouen, 246 sq.; injustice to Normans, 249-252; and Bernard's plot to entangle him with Harold, 253-260; Hugh joins enemies of, 253; at war with Hugh and Bernard de Senlis, *ib.*;

incited by Bernard the Dane to march against Harold, 255; defeated and captured by Harold, 259 sq.; escapes, 260; recaptured by Bernard the Dane, 261 sq.; captivity of, 262-269; Gerberga's efforts to liberate, 265-268; released in return for cession of Laon, 268 sq.; authority "renovated" by Hugh, 269; recognizes independence of Richard, 269 sq., 285, 398; 276; position of, 279, 281 sq., 283; enmity against Richard, 284, 287; 290; incited by Arnoul to join Otho against Richard and Hugh, 292 sqq.; and cession of Lotharingia to Otho, 294 sq., 303 sq.; 297; joins forces with Otho, 298; takes Rheims, 298 sq.; invasion of Hugh's dominions, 299-302; before Rouen, 305; alienated from Arnoul, 309; 313; misfortunes of, 319; and Otho's influence in France, 320; needs Otho's aid against Hugh, *ib.*, 321, 323; renews war, 321; and church councils to discuss claims to see of Rheims, *ib.*, 324; allies of, 323; impeaches Hugh at council of Engleheim, 324 sq.; and Raoul, 327, 524; continues war, 327, 328 sq., 330 sq.; birth of his son Louis, 329; peace with Hugh, 331, 332 sq.; illness of, 333, 334; designates Lothaire as his successor, 333, 370; again enforces his authority in Aquitaine, 333 sq.; Lethaldus of Mâcon does homage to, 334; and foundation of Bar-le-Duc, 334 sq.; anger at Ogiva's second marriage, 335; Hugh rebels against but submits to, 336 sq.; birth of his sons Charles and Henry, 337; death of, *ib.*, 367, 378; epitaph of, 338, 529; ambition of, 442; history of, 538, 539; Gen. Tables XI, XIII

Louis V le-Fainéant, King of France, obscure childhood of, 441, 455; proclaimed king, 470; character of, *ib.*, 472; his marriage with Adela, 471 sq.; in Aquitaine, 472; accession of, 475; throws off protectorate of Hugh Capet, *ib.*; accuses Adalbero of Rheims of treason, 476; death and burial of, 476 sq.; 537; Gen. Tables XI, XIII, XVI

Louis VI le-Gros, King of France, his consecration, 92, 517

Louis, son of Charles of Lower Lorraine, 491; Gen. Table XI

Louis, son of Louis d'Outremer, birth of, 329; death of, 337

Luchaire, A. (historian), *Histoire de France* of, and the Walloon dialect, cited, 508

Luden, H. (historian), authority on history of Germany, 503

Ludwig das Kind (Louis the Child), King of Germany, his claims, 7; Conrad I succeeds, *ib.*, 508; Gen. Table X

Luxembourg, part of Lotharingia, 381

Lyderic. *See* Lideric

- Lyons, archbishopric of, claims primacy of the Gauls, 91; 517
- Lyons, Bishops of. *See* Irenæus, St, Photinus, St
- Mabille, E. (historian), *Chronique des Comtes d'Anjou* of, 540
- Mabillon, Jean, *Annales Benedictini* of, and Louis d'Outremer's epitaph, cited, 338, 529; authority on history of Benedictine houses in Normandy, 503
- Mâcon, held by Gilbert of Burgundy, 100; Aquitanian princes do homage to Louis d'Outremer at, 334; Map V(F 3)
- Mâcon, county of, held by Lethaldus, 212; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; in Burgundy, 528; Map V(F 3)
- Maestricht, death of Charles of Lower Lorraine at, 491; Map V(F 1)
- Maestricht, Bishop of. *See* Amandus, St
- Magdeburg, burial place of Editha, 293; first tournament held at, 342; Berenger II meets Otho I at, 353
- Magdeburg, archbishopric of, becomes metropolitan see, 443, 536
- Magdeburg, Archbishops of. *See* Adalbert, St, Hildebrand of Halberstadt
- Magyars, the (Hungarians, Mogors, Scythians, Tartars), invade Germany, 7 sq., 10, 508; threaten Gaul, 10, 14; invade Lorraine, 14; invade Italy and Gaul, 29; cross the Rhine, 33; invade Burgundy and Lombardy, 77, 79; cross the Rhine into Gaul, invade Italy, 106; Otho I stays invasions of, 118 sq., 347; 121; overrun Italy, 329; further invasions instigated by Conrad the Red, 336, 356, 357 sq.; repulsed at Augsburg, 358; defeated at battle of the Lechfeld, 359 sqq., 365, 373; significance of defeat of, 362, 437; converted to Christianity, 362; disseminate plague, 374, 378; send embassy to Otho, 450; authority on history of, 504; 509; defeat Germans at the Lechfeld, 531
- Maine, Counts of. *See* Herbert, Hugh; Gen. Table XXI (vol. III)
- Maine, county of, ceded to Northmen, 29; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; invaded by Northmen, 413; Maps V(C-D 2-3), VI, VII
- Malahulch, Rollo's kinsman, 39; 511
- Malmesbury, abbey of, sacred relic preserved at, 43
- Manasses, Count (? of Réthel), Louis d'Outremer intrigues with, 219
- Manasses I de Vergy, Count of Dijon, 512
- Marinus, papal legate, president of council of Engleheim, 324
- Marlot, G. (historian), authority on history of see of Rheims, 503
- Maromme, ambushade of, 317, 400
- Marozia, daughter of Theodora, 48; connives at murder of John X, 50, 511 sq., 512; marries Hugh of Provence, 512, 530; 520
- Marriage-service, the English, civil *sponsio* incorporated in, 58
- Martin of Poitiers, Abbot of Jumièges, transferred from Poitiers to Jumièges, 146; conference with Guillaume Longue-épée, 153 sq., 156 sq.; 170
- Martin, priest, aids Adelaide of Burgundy's escape, 349
- Mathuedoi, Count of Pohér, overlord in Brittany, 18; with Alain Barbe-Torte in England, *ib.*; 27, 509; Gen. Table XV
- Matilda, marries Henry the Fowler, 12 sq., 509; supports claims of Henry the Porphyrogenitus, 115, 119; with Otho I at Cologne, 437; parts with Otho at Nordhausen, 438; biography of, 440, 504; death of, 450; and Adelaide, 452; founds convent of Nordhausen, 535; Gen. Table XIII
- Maud, Countess of Boulogne, grants charter to Calais, 109
- Mauge, ceded to Alain Barbe-Torte, 99; Map V(C 3)
- Maurenbrecher, W., *De historicis X sæculi scriptoribus qui res ab Ottone magno gestas memorie tradiderunt* of, 540
- Maurice, St, his banner, 42; 511
- Mayence, burial place of Liutgarda, 345; Maps V(H 2), VI
- Mayence, Abbot of. *See* Thietmar
- Mayence, archbishopric of, its influence, 120; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381
- Mayence, Archbishops of. *See* Frederick, Hatto, Hildebert
- Meaux, Counts of. *See* Eudes I, Stephen III
- Meaux, county of, held by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231; Map V(E 2)
- Melun, council at, 413; Hugh of Vermandois dies at, 429; Maps V(E 2), VI
- Memleben, Otho I dies at, 450 sq.
- Menestrier, C. F. (antiquary), 343, 529
- Mercia, Danes expelled from, 234, 266
- Merlet, R. (historian), *Chronique de Nantes* of, 540
- Merseburg, erection of cathedral at, 450; Otho I at, *ib.*; 536
- Merseburg, Bishop of. *See* Thietmar of Waldeck
- Metz, great antiquity of, 8, 115; resists nomination of Bishop Benno, 44; Maps V(G 2), VI
- Metz, bishopric of, its influence, 120; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381
- Metz, Bishops of. *See* Adalbero, Arnolph, St, Benno
- Meuse, river, Henry the Fowler encamps on, 50; Maps V(F 1), VI
- Migne, J. P. (compiler), *Patrologia Latina* of, authority on sources of mediæval history, 538, 539, 540, 541

- Milan, Otho I occupies, 351; Otho receives crown of Lombardy at, 365
- Milan, Archbishop of. *See* Walbert
- Minden, Bishop of. *See* Landwart
- Minns, E. H. (historian), *Greeks and Scythians* of, 509
- Mistewoi, King of the Wends, affronted by Germans, 472
- Modena, Marquis of. *See* Albert Azzo
- Mogors, the. *See* Magyars
- Molinier, A. (historian), *Les sources de l'histoire de France* of, 524, 536, 538, 539, 540
- Monaco, remains independent of the Holy Roman Empire, 354
- Monasteriolum ad Mare. *See* Montreuil-sur-Mer
- Mons (Bergen), under command of Alice of Hainault, 379; taken by Raoul, 380; Rainier IV of Hainault attempts to recover, 456; Map V(E 1)
- Montaigne, taken by Louis d'Outremer, 328; Charles of Lorraine acquires, 484
- Mont-Chalus, battle of, 30
- Montgomery, House of, founded by Yvo de Creil, 171
- Montigny, destroyed by Louis d'Outremer, 107; surrendered to Louis, 216; burnt by Hugh-le-Grand, 253
- Montmorency, castle of, taken by Otho II, 537; Map V(E 2)
- Montmoroney, House of, 537
- Montmoroney, Siro de. *See* Burchard
- Montreuil-sur-Mer (Monasteriolum ad Mare), origin of, 31; its importance, 112 sq.; taken by Arnoul-le-Vieux, 113; Guillaume Longue-épée recaptures, 114, 147, 207; attacked by Hugh Capet, 464; 510; Maps V(D 1), VI
- Mont St Michel, 143; in Lower Normandy, 243; 520; Map VII
- Monumenta Germaniæ Historiarum*, ed. Pertz, sources of mediæval history, 508, 538, 539, 540, 541
- Morice, P. H. (historian), authority on history of Brittany, 502
- Morienval, abbey of, held by Robert I, 13
- Mortaigne (Mortain), in Lower Normandy, 243; aids Harold Blaatand's invasion, 255; Map VII
- Mortemer, abbey of, foundation of, 70 sq.; Map VII
- Mouzon, border fortress of Champagne, 321; attacked by Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; synod of, 322 sq.; taken by Louis, 328; Map V(F 2)
- Muratori, L. A. (historian), 350, 531
- Namur, Counts of. *See* Albert, Berenger
- Namur, county of, under Bruno of Cologne, 381
- Nantes, ceded to Northmen, 18; Northmen defeated at, 98 sq.; rebuilt by Alain Barbe-Torte, 99; Maps V(C 3), VI
- Nantois, the (Nantes, county of), marches of, ceded to Northmen, 18; independent of Normandy, 54; colonized by Northmen, *ib.*; Map V(B-C 3)
- Naples, political division of Italy, 348; claimed by Eastern Empire, *ib.*
- Narbonne, ruled by Counts of Septimania, 513; Map VI
- Netherlands, the United, and Archdiocese of Utrecht, 381
- Neustria, Northmen in, 141, 143, 249; monasteries destroyed by Northmen, 143; granted by Charles-le-Simple to Rollo, 279; ambition of Louis d'Outremer to retake, 442. *See* Note to Map V, and Map II (vol. 1)
- Neustria Pia*, authority on ecclesiastical history of Normandy, 503
- Nevers, Louis d'Outremer meets Aquitanian princes at, 215; Maps V(E 3), VI
- Nicephorus Phokas, Eastern Emperor, marries Theophania, 446; death of, *ib.*; and marriage of Otho II, 447, 449
- Nimeguen, birthplace of Otho III, 465; Theophania dies at, 493; Map II (vol. 1)
- Nithard, Count, grandson of Charlemagne, 31; Gen. Table II (vol. 1)
- Niðbjörg, granddaughter of Göngu-Hrólfr (Rollo), 543
- Nivelles, Theophania's dowry, 450; Map V(F 1)
- Nivernois, the, district in Celtic Gaul, 81; Map V(E 3)
- Nordhausen, Otho I parts from Matilda at, 438; 535
- Normandy, duchy of, Northmen of, support Charles-le-Simple against Capetians, 6, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 47; under Rollo, 27, 150; acquires sovereignty over Brittany, 27 sq.; invaded by Franks, 28; the Bessin and Maine ceded to Northmen of, 29 sq.; renewal of war between Franks and, 30, 32 sq.; jealousy between Ponthieu and, 32; Eu, barrier fortress of, *ib.*; makes peace with Franks, 33; nobles of, aim at consolidation with French monarchy, *ib.*; Guillaume Longue-épée accepted as duke of, 33 sq.; autocratic nature of government of, 37, 57, 141, 176; antagonism between Christian and pagan Northmen in, 38 sqq., 183, 186 sqq.; and the English Danelagh, 43; converted to Christianity, 47, 509; and colonization of Brittany, 54; and the Breton rebellion, 54 sqq.; annexation of the Avranchin and Cotentin, 56 sq.; pagan and Christian marriages in, 58 sq.; friendly relations of, with England, 60; origin of coast towns of, 60 sq.; incorporation of, with French monarchy, 62, 147, 150, 161, 275; and Riulph's insurrection, 63-67; Hugh-le-Grand's claims in, 67, 217; supremacy over Brittany recognized by

King Raoul, 68, 127; forests of, 69, 70, 237 sq.; and Poitou, 74; part of Celtic Gaul, 81; constitutional status of, in States-General, 82; importance in balance of power, 86, 138; annexation of Cornouaille to, 97; and Ponthieu, 113; pride in Guillaume, 117, 138, 176; fief of France, 127 sq.; Louis d'Outremer ratifies Guillaume's title to, 128; ambition of Louis to annex, 138, 442; Guillaume's rule in, 141 sq.; the Church in, 141, 143, 144; and the English constitution, 141 sq.; and the Evrecin, 147; relations with Scandinavia, 151, 161; Harold Blaatand settles in, 152; Richardsans-Peur accepted as Guillaume's successor in, 159, 160; Danish element in, fostered by Richard's education, 162; affairs in, after Guillaume's death, 170; ratifies Richard's position, 173 sqq.; unanimity of, in support of Richard, 176; Louis plans to annex, 183 sq.; relations to duchy of France, 184 sq., 282, 283; and struggle between Carolingians and Capets, 185, 218, 423; rivalry between Danish and Christian parties in, 186-194; regency of, bring Richard before Louis, 189; granted to Richard, 190, 197, 523; regency of, do homage to Louis, 190; independence endangered by conduct of regency, 190 sq., 196 sq.; discontented nobles of, do homage to Hugh, 191, 217; Danish insurrection in, 191-194; prosperity in, 196, 247; Louis invades, 196-207; hatred of, by French, 197, 392, 408; cession to Rollo, 197, 279, 514; granted to Richard by Louis on principle of mutuality, 201; permits Richard to accompany Louis to Laon, 205 sqq.; Louis supersedes regency in, 207; annexation by Louis, *ib.*, 214, 220, 228; relations of, with Hugh, 207 sq., 217 sq.; Arnoul-le-Vieux incites Louis against, 220 sq.; grief of, at Richard's imprisonment, 223 sq.; Louis proposes to annex, 225; Richard's escape endangers Louis's position in, 228; treaty between Louis and Hugh for partition of, 229 sq., 232; Harold Blaatand enters, to support Richard, 233; invaded by Louis and Hugh, 234 sq.; submits to Louis, 235-252; hatred of Louis for, 239 sq., 246; and revocation of Louis's grant to Hugh, 241-244; absolute power of Louis in, 246; early laws and customs of, 247; injustice of French to, 248-252; supports Bernard's plot to entangle Louis with Harold, 252; cause of, supported by Hugh, *ib.*, 267; and Harold's war of deliverance, 253-263; and Louis's imprisonment, 262 sqq., 265; restoration of Richard's authority in, 263;

Hugh mediates between French and, 265; independence of, recognized, 269 sq., 272, 279 sq.; Richard the founder of, 271 sq., 274 sq.; national character of, 271, 272; Richard restored to, 272; and Raoul Torta's expulsion, 276 sq., 278, 526; Richard's absolute power in, 278 sq., 280; relations of, with French monarchy, 279 sq.; adherence to monarchical principle in, 280; supremacy of, over Brittany, *ib.*; alliance with Hugh based on mutual need, 282-287; accepts Hugh's suzerainty, 288; origin of its feudal dependence on France, 290, 422; feudalism in, 290 sqq.; baronage of, founded by Richard, 291 sq.; Arnoul incites Louis and Otho against, 292 sq., 295; joins forces with Hugh, 297, 299, 300; invaded by Otho, Louis and Arnoul, 302-318, 358; defeats Germans at Rouen, 317 sq.; aids Hugh against Louis, 319, 323, 325, 328, 331; morality in, 377; conterminous with Flanders, *ib.*, 390; fief of duchy of France, 387; and Anjou, 391; assimilation to France, *ib.*, 408; and Thibaut-le-Tricheur's ambition, 391; Thibaut incites Lothaire to subjugate, 391 sq., 393 sq., 397, 403 sqq.; and Lothaire's conference with Richard, 398; boundary of, 399; defeats Lothaire at battle of the Fords, 401 sqq.; invades the Pays Chartrain, 404; invaded by Thibaut, 404 sqq.; invaded by French, 408 sq.; supports Richard, 409; peace with France, 421; Richard confirmed in possession of, *ib.*; importance of Capetian domination to, 423, 496; authorities on history of, 500 sqq., 505, 539; origin of, 542 sqq.; Maps V(C-D 2), VI, VII

Normandy, Lower (Basse Normandie), situated on left bank of Seine, 217; to be ceded to Hugh-le-Grand by Louis d'Outremer, 229, 230; Louis unacquainted with, 242; extent and value of, 242 sq.; Upper Normandy dependent on, 243; inhabitants of, join Harold Blaatand, 255

Normandy, Upper (Haute Normandie), situated on right bank of Seine, 217; to be retained by Louis d'Outremer, 229, 230; 237; Louis familiar with, 242; dependent on Lower Normandy, 243

Normandy, Dukes of. *See* Guillaume, Richard, Robert, Rollo, William; Gen. Table XII

Normans, the. *See* Normandy, Northmen

Norsemen, the. *See* Northmen

Northmen, the (Danes, Norsemen), cession of Danelagh to, 3, 522, 524; Charles-le-Simple cultivates friendship of, 6; off coasts of France, *ib.*; and

- Rainier-au-Long-Col, 9; of the Loire, acknowledge Rollo's supremacy, 17; establish themselves in Armorica, 17 sq., 54; assist Charles against Capetians, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25; renew ravages in France, 28; hatred of French for, *ib.*, 148 sq., 183, 411 sq., 429, 496; invade Burgundy under Regnald, 29, 30; hostility of, to Flanders, 30, 110; indifference of, to Christianity, 40; relations of, with Normandy, *ib.*; defeated by King Raoul, 51 sq.; ravage Bourges, 77 sq.; expelled from Brittany, 97 sq.; Flanders a bulwark against, 111, 293; settle in Normandy under Harold Blaataud, 152, 188; in England, 184; invade Normandy under Sithric, 191-194; invasion of Brittany, 232 sq.; invade Normandy to support Richard-sans-Peur, 233, 236; expelled from Mercia, 233 sq.; in conflict with Louis d'Outremer, 252-263; and Germany, 267, 304; Lotharingia a bulwark against, 382, 390; invasion of England under Sweyn, 382, 421; friendship with Richard, 392; invade France to aid Richard, 411-420; invade Galicia, 420 sq.; end of their invasions in France, 421; defeated at Brise-sur-Sarthe and the *Pré des Reculés*, 510, 514
- Northumbria, ceded by Alfred the Great to Northmen, 3; Regnald quits, 17, 29, 40; Northmen in, 40, 51; restored to England, 266, 525; ravaged by Göngu-Hrólfr (Rollo), 543
- Norway, supports Danish invasion of France, 410; united under Harold Harfager, 516; conquered by Harold Blaataud, 533; home of Rollo and Normans, 542, 543, 544
- Norwegians. *See* Norway
- Notary of King Bela, authority on early Magyar history, 356, 504
- Notre Dame de Laon, abbey of, granted to Ogiva by Louis d'Outremer, 178 sq.; confiscated by Louis, 335; granted to Gerberga, *ib.*; suppression of, *ib.*; taken from Gerberga, 442
- Notre Dame, church of, at Rouen, Rollo buried in, 34; Guillaume Longue-épée buried in, 174; Richard-sans-Peur inaugurated in, *ib.*, 187
- Nottingham, reconquered by Edward the Elder, 524
- Noyon, attacked by Danes, 30; Hugh Capet crowned at, 479; Maps V(E 2), VII
- Oberto, Obizzo. *See* Albert Azzo
- Octavian. *See* John XII
- Odalric, Archbishop of Rheims, appointed to see, 430; restores archiepiscopal domains, *ib.*; grants Coucy to Eudes of Blois, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*, 454
- Odalric, Count, 383, 435
- Odalricus, Bishop of Acques (? or of Dax, or Archbishop of Aix), 46
- Oder, river, boundary between Germany and the Slavs, 536
- Odilo, St, Abbot of Cluny, and Adelaide's biography, 440, 504; 535
- Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Louis d'Outremer's restoration, 89, 90; 517
- Ogier the Dane (Oggiero il Danese, Holger-Danske, Autchar), his Christianity, 163; traditions of, 420; 521
- Ogiva (Eadgiva), daughter of Edward the Elder, marries Charles-le-Simple, 6; gives birth to Louis d'Outremer, 17; escapes with Louis to England, 26 sq., 64, 226, 325; under Athelstane's protection at York, 84; and Louis's restoration, 89, 90, 95; recalled from England by Louis, 103; placed in command of Laon, 103 sq., 133; her influence over Louis, 178; appointed to abbey of Notre Dame de Laon, 179; and Louis's misfortunes, 266; her marriage with Herbert the Handsome, 335 sq.; possessions confiscated by Louis, 335; children of, 333; Gen. Tables VII, XI
- Oise, river, Danes cross, 28; Louis d'Outremer and Otho I confer on banks of, 140; Map V(E 2)
- Olaf (Olave), King of Northumbria, death of, 266; 525
- Olaf Sihtricson, King of Northumbria, expelled, 525
- Olave. *See* Olaf
- Oman, C. W. C. (historian), *The Byzantine Empire* of, 536
- Ordoño III, King of Leon, 534
- Orkneys, islands, Göngu-Hrólfr (Rollo) in, 543
- Orléanois, the, in Celtic Gaul, 81; Map V(D-E 2-3)
- Orleans, Hugh-le-Grand retreats to, 300; Lothaire visits, 372; Bishop of, subject to Hugh, 429; convention of nobles at, 480; Charles of Lorraine removed from, 491; Maps V(D 3), VI
- Orleans, Bishop of. *See* Arnoul
- Orleans, county of, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281. *See also* Orléanois, the
- Oskar, Jarl, Danish leader, 143
- Oslac, represents neutral party in Normandy, 41; remains loyal to Guillaume Longue-épée, 64; 139; accepts Richard-sans-Peur as Guillaume's successor, 158 sq.; member of regency, 160; indifferent to Christianity, 163; his guardianship of Richard annulled, 190; restored to power after battle of the Rescue, 194; confers with Louis d'Outremer, 201; superseded in government by Louis, 207; 246
- Osmond de Centvilles, member of Norman regency, 160; guardian of Richard-

- sans-Peur, 171, 198; and Richard's detention by Louis d'Outremer, 199, 200; with Richard at Laon, 207, 220; and Richard's arrest, 221, 222; informs Bernard de Senlis of Richard's danger, 223; plans to rescue Richard, 224, 226; escapes with Richard to Coucy, 226, 228, 230, 240; lasting friendship with Richard, 276, 384; rewarded by Richard, 291; 506, 541
- Otho, or Otton-Guillaume, Count of Burgundy, King of Arles, 365; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Otho, Duke of Bavaria, receives duchy from Otho II, 537; Gen. Table XIII
- Otho, Duke of Lorraine and Brabant, reinstated in duchy, 491; Gen. Table XI
- Otho (Eudes), Duke of Burgundy, son of Hugh-le-Grand, inherits Dijon from Gilbert of Burgundy, 374; ward of Richard-sans-Peur, 376, 386; ward of Lothaire, 386, 387; does homage to Lothaire and receives Burgundy, 386; death of, *ib.*; at festival of Cologne, 437; marries daughter of Gilbert, 512; Gen. Table IV (vol. I)
- Otho I the Great, King of Germany, Emperor, marries Editha of England, 6; birth of, 13, 509; accession of, to Germany, 114; claims of his brothers, *ib.*; his inauguration at Aix, 115 sq., 119; ambition of, 117, 267, 319 sq., 347, 446 sq.; courts discontented party in France, 117 sq.; suppresses Thankmar's revolt, 118, 119; continual struggles with Magyars and Slavs, 118 sq., 267, 319, 329, 336, 347, 360, 437, 450; Henry the Porphyrogenitus and Gilbert of Lotharingia rebel against, 119, 122 sq., 124 sq.; and rebellion of Lotharingia, 121, 122 sq., 124 sq.; compared with Louis d'Outremer, 123; Capetians transfer their homage from Louis to, 124, 126 sq., 131, 147, 182; suppresses Henry's revolt, 125; reduces Lotharingia to obedience, *ib.*; Guillaume Longue-épée deserts, 127, 129, 148; Capetians again do homage to, 133; reconciled to Louis, 140, 164, 218; and the son of Duke Gilbert, 140, 219, 544; attends council of Attigny, 164; insulted by Guillaume, 165, 166, 305; 186; quarrel of, with Louis fomented by Hugh-le-Grand, 218 sq.; grants Lotharingia to Conrad the Red, 219; reconciled to Louis, *ib.*; unable to assist Louis's liberation, 267; fear of Northmen, *ib.*, 284, 304, 305; 283; enmity against Richard-sans-Peur, 292, 305; incited by Arnoul to co-operate with Louis against Richard, 292, 293, 295; designates Liudolph as his successor, 293 sq., 352, 363; and cession of Lotharingia by Louis, 294 sq., 303 sq.; his army of invasion, 295 sqq., 526 sq.; and the Edeling, 295; arrogance to Hugh, 297, 305; besieges Laon and Rheims, 298 sq.; invasion of Hugh's dominions, 299 sqq.; invasion of Normandy, 302-318, 527; incited by Arnoul to march on Rouen, 302 sqq.; encamps before Rouen, 305-315; grief at the Edeling's death, 309; alienated from Arnoul, *ib.*, 313 sq.; deserted by Arnoul, 315; and the Rout of Rouen, 318; growing influence of, in France, 319, 320, 323, 347; aids Louis against Hugh, 320, 321, 323, 329, 330, 331, 332; presides with Louis at church councils, 321, 324, 325; character of, 323 sq., 341; 326; his court at Aix, 329 sq.; and foundation of Bar-le-Duc, 335; conspiracy against, 336; widespread influence of, 340; favours' battle trial, 343 sqq., 445; invades Italy, 347, 350 sqq.; Liudolph conspires against, 351, 352, 353; proclaims himself King of Italy, 351 sq., 531; marries Adelaide 352, 440, 529; Berenger II appeals to, 353; council of Augsburg, 354; grants Lombardy to Berenger as fief, *ib.*, 529; birth of his sons, 355; conspiracy headed by Liudolph against, 355 sqq., 396; and the Magyar invasion, 356-362; reconciled to Liudolph and Conrad, 357; defeats Magyars at battle of the Lechfeld, 361, 362, 373; saluted as *Imperator* by army, 361; appealed to by Albert Azzo against Berenger, 362; dispatches Liudolph to Italy, 363; Liudolph's treason, *ib.*; Lombards appeal to, against Berenger, 363 sq.; and coronation of Otho II as German King, 364; subduces and deposes Berenger, 364 sq., 529; founds Holy Roman Empire, 365 sqq.; crowned King of Italy at Milan, 365; crowned Emperor at Rome, 366, 520, 531; relations of, to Papacy, 366 sq.; his protectorate of France, 367 sq.; measures to secure Lothaire's accession, 368, 369 sq.; protects Lothaire, 375, 379, 452, 458; entrusts government of Lotharingia to Bruno, 381, 529, 544; joins confederacy against Richard, 394; successful career of, 437, 450; his court at Cologne, 437 sq.; parts with his mother Matilda, 438; returns to Italy, *ib.*, 442 sqq., 450; biography of, 440, 504, 536; and coronation of Otho II as Emperor, 444 sq.; schemes for his son's marriage, 445, 447 sqq.; invades Apulia, 447, 449; sends Liutprand of Cremona to Constantinople, 447, 449, 536; wins Theophanias for his son, 449 sq.; his court at Quedlinburg, 450; death of, 450 sq.; history of, 504; deposes John XII in

- favour of Leo VIII, 531, 536; deposes Benedict V, 536; and Herman the Saxon, *ib.*; grants Bavaria to Henry, 537; and the Salic line, 538; grants Lotharingia to Otho of Verdun, 544; Gen. Tables XI, XIII
- Otho II, Emperor, birth of, 355; crowned King of Germany, 364; crowned Emperor, 444 sq.; portrait of, 445; marriage to Theophania, *ib.*, 447, 449, 450; 448; accession of, 451 sq.; and influence of Theophania, 452; patron of Gerbert of Aurillac, 453; grants Lorraine to Charles, 457, 537; hatred of Lothaire, 458, 460; alliance of Lothaire and Hugh Capet against, 458; and Lothaire's raid on Aix-la-Chapelle, 458 sqq.; invades France, 460 sqq., 537; takes Rheims, 460; encamps before Paris, 461 sq.; defeated at battle of the Aisne, 462 sq.; Lothaire requires support of, 464; allied with Lothaire against Hugh, and receives Lotharingia, 464 sq., 465 sq.; birth of Otho III, 465; in Italy, *ib.*; receives Hugh at Rome, 467; deserts Lothaire for Hugh, 467 sq.; 469; defeated at Squillace, 472; death of, 472 sq.; 500; suppresses revolt of Henry the Quarreller, 537; Gen. Table XIII
- Otho III, Emperor, birth of, 465; accession of, 473; 492; patron of Gerbert of Aurillac, 493, 538; loses Theophania and Adelaide, 493; ambition of, 494; opens Charlemagne's tomb, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*; and Gregory V, 538; crowned Emperor, *ib.*; Gen. Table XIII
- Otho, Canon of Laon, son of Lothaire of France, obscurity of his life, 441; 455, 503; Gen. Table XIII
- Otho (or Henry), son of Gilbert of Lotharingia, 140; death of, 219, 544. *See also* Henry
- Otho the Illustrious, Duke of Saxony, 10; Gen. Table XIII
- Otho, Count of Verdun, Duke of Lotharingia, important position of his dominions, 120; does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 123; granted Lotharingia by Otho I, 140, 219, 544
- Ottric, the Scholasticus of Magdeburg, disputation with Gerbert of Aurillac, 453
- Oudeghorst, Pieter van (historian), authority on history of Flanders, 503
- Paderborn, Leo III and Charlemagne at, 519; Map II (vol. 1)
- Palgrave, Sir F. (historian), *Progress of Historical Enquiry in France*, Edinburgh Review, April 1841, 499, 539; *English Commonwealth* of, 509, 519, 525, 530; sources of his history of Normandy and England, 538
- Palgrave, Sir R. H. I. (political economist), *Dictionary of Political Economy* of, cited, 526
- Panzer, G. W. (historian), authority on German chivalry, 504
- Papacy, the, contest with the temporal powers as to episcopal elections, 44, 209; veneration for, 135; monarchical nature of, 178; Otho I confirms grants of Pepin and Charlemagne to, 366; dominions of, *ib.*; relations to the imperial supremacy, 366 sq.; depravity of, 444, 512
- Papal states, the, power in, usurped by Marozia and Theodora, 512
- Paris, organization of its university for elections, 82, 516; 185; Louis d'Outremer visits Hugh-le-Grand at, 209; Bernard de Senlis at, 227, 230, 245; situation compared with Rouen, 245; Raoul Torta takes refuge in, 277; capital of Hugh's dominions, 281; Bernard de Senlis and Bernard the Dane summoned to, 286; Richardsans-Peur at, 289, 291; and Otho I's invasion, 297 sq., 299, 300, 302; visited by Lothaire, 372; Bishop of, subject to Hugh, 429; besieged by Otho II, 461 sq., 476; Maps V(E 2), VI, VII
- Paris, Bishop of. *See* Walter
- Paris, Count of. *See* Eudes
- Paris, county of, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; ravaged by Louis d'Outremer and Otho I, 301; Map V(E 2)
- Parisot, R. (historian), *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens* of, 540
- Pasquatin, Count of Vannes and Nantes, Charles-le-Chauve grants Cornouaille to, 55; Gen. Table XV
- Passais (Passais, Passois), the, supports Harold Blaatand's invasion, 255; ravaged by Geoffrey Grisgonnelle, 409; Map V(C 2)
- Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, source of mediæval history, 538, 539, 540, 541
- Pavia, Berenger II retreats to, 351; Otho I proclaims himself King of Italy at, 351 sq.; marriage of Otho and Adelaide at, 352; Adelaide at, 468
- Pays Chartrain, the. *See* Chartrain, the Pays
- Pays de Caux, the. *See* Caux, the Pays de
- Pays de Sologne, the. *See* Sologne, the Pays de
- Pays Porcien, the. *See* Porcien, the Pays
- Pentapolis, the, boundary of Lombardy, 347; Papal authority in, 366
- Pepin, King of Aquitaine, 472; Gen. Table VIII
- Pepin (Carlo-man), King of Italy, ancestor of Vermandois family, 137, 514; 520; Gen. Table VII
- Pepin I, joint founder of Carolingian dynasty, 513; Gen. Table II (vol. 1)

- Pepin II, mayor of the Palace, 513; Gen. Table II (vol. I)
- Perche, House of, founded by Yvo de Creil, 171
- Peronne, Charles-le-Simple imprisoned in, 26, 47; Charles leaves, 48; death and burial of Charles at, 51, 52, 268; burial place of St Fursæus, 512; Map V(E 2)
- Pertz, G. H. (compiler), *Rerum germanicarum* of, 504; *Monumenta Germaniæ historiarum* of, authority on sources of mediæval history, 538
- Pescara, Theophania's dowry, 450
- Philibert, St, founder of abbey of Jumièges, 146; 520
- Philippe, Hurepel, Count of Boulogne, acquires county of Boulogne, 109
- Photinus, St, Bishop of Lyons, founder of see of Lyons, 91, 517
- Picardy, 23; part of Belgic Gaul, 81; Flemish language in, 109
- Picquigny, Guillaume Longue-épée murdered on island near, 167 sqq., 171, 284, 398; Maps V(E 2), VII
- Pierrepont, French nobles join Otho I at, 133, 134; Map V(E 2)
- Pirenne, H. (historian), *Histoire de Belgique* of, 544
- Plancher, U. (historian), 100, 518
- Plantagenet, House of, descended from Torquatus the Forester, 390; Gen. Table XVI
- Pohér, Count of. *See* Mathuedoi
- Poitiers, Adela (Gerloc) at, 73; religion in, 146; besieged by Lothaire and Hugh-le-Grand, 372 sqq.; Maps V(D 3), VI
- Poitiers, Counts of. *See* Ebles, Guillaume; Gen. Table VI (vol. I)
- Poitou, diocese of, 146
- Poitou, duchy of, renders tribute to Rollo, 17; freed from Danegeld by Guillaume Longue-épée, 73; 74; granted to Hugh Capet, 386; authority on history of, 540; Map V(C-D 3)
- Polotsk, conquered by Vladimir the Great, 536
- Pont Audemer, Sire of. *See* Thorold
- Pont de l'Arche, junction of rivers Seine and Eure at, 412; Map VII
- Ponthieu, Counts of. *See* Helgaud, Herlouin, Roger
- Ponthieu, county of, origin of, 30 sq.; jealousy of Normandy in, 32; political position of, 113; invaded by Arnoulle-Vieux, 114; 194; annexed to Flanders, 318, 377, 390; authority on history of, 502; Maps V(D-E 1), VII
- Ponthieu, House of, founded by Yvo de Creil, 171
- Pontoise, Otho I and Louis d'Outremer's army at, 302, 305; Map V(E 2)
- Pope, Alexander (poet), and theory of divine right, cited, 172, 522
- Popes. *See* Agapet, Alexander, Bonedict, Boniface, Celestine, Gregory, Innocent, John, Sergius, Sixtus, Stephen, Symmachus, Zosimus
- Poppa, daughter of Berengar of Tours, 543, note; Gen. Table VII
- Porcien, the Pays, Louis d'Outremer defeated in, 135; Map V(F 2)
- Porphyrogenitism, doctrine of, 115, 519
- Portus Iccius. *See* Witsand
- Poupardin, R. (historian), *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou* of, 540; *Le Royaume de Bourgogne* of, *ib.*; *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens* of, *ib.*
- Pré de la Bataille, the, Riulph defeated at, 66, 111; continuance of tradition of, 67, 514
- Pré des Reculés, the, Rollo defeated at, 73; 514
- Prentout, Henri, *Essai sur les Origines et la Fondation du Duché de Normandie*, 539, 542, note, 543, note
- Provence, Counts of, Marquises of. *See* Boso, Hugh, Lothaire
- Provence, Kingdom of, acquired by Rudolph II, 510
- Pyrenees, mountains, boundary of Aquitaine, 81
- Quantovick, its decline, 31; Map V(D 1)
- Quedlinburg, Otho I's court at, 450
- Quedlinburg Annals, basis of Thietmar of Waldeck's chronicle, 508
- Quercy, 510; ruled by Counts of Septimania, 513
- Quevilly, and the Dukes of Normandy, 27, 69; Guillaume Longue-épée at, 158, 160
- Rainier I au-Long-Col, Count of Hainault, opposes Rollo, 9; loyal to Charles-le-Simple, *ib.*, 12; death of, 9; his sons, 120; 379; 508; Gen. Table XIV
- Rainier II au-Long-Col, Count of Hainault, inherits county of Hainault, 120; epithet of, *ib.*; Gen. Table XIV
- Rainier III au-Long-Col, Count of Hainault, epithet of, 120; seizes Gerberga's dowry, 379; entrusts Mons to his wife Alice, *ib.*; and loss of Mons, 380; 544; Gen. Table XIV
- Rainier IV, Count of Hainault, attempts to recover Mons, 456; 544; Gen. Table XIV
- Ramiro II, King of Leon, 534
- Ramiro III, King of Leon, succeeds to throne, 420; 533
- Ranko, Leopold von (historian), authority on history of Germany, 503; 540
- Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, King of France, marries Emma, 11; joins Capetians against Charles-le-Simple, *ib.*; takes command of Capetians, 24; usurps throne, 25, 325; Aquitaine refuses to recognize, 25, 41 sq., 47, 214 sq.; and imprisonment of Charles, 25, 26, 47; invades Normandy, 28; returns to

- Burgundy to oppose Regnald, 29, 30; continues war against Normans, 32 sq.; wounded, 33; his authority contested, 41 sq., 47; maintained in power by Hugh-le-Grand, 42; family connexions of, 43; and support of Guillaume Longue-épée, *ib.*; supports election of Hugh of Vermandois to see of Rheims, 46, 47; quarrels with Herbert of Vermandois over cession of Laon, 47; retreats to Burgundy on restoration of Charles by Herbert, 48; invades the Vermandois, 49; Hugh mediates between Herbert and, *ib.*; cedes Laon, *ib.*; reconciled to Herbert, 51; restores Charles, *ib.*; defeats Northmen at Limoges, 52, 83; wins support of Aquitanians, *ib.*, *ib.*; restores order in Burgundy, 52; mediates between Hugh and Herbert, *ib.*; deserts Herbert and nominates Artaldus to see of Rheims, 53; deserted by Herbert for Henry the Fowler, *ib.*; with Hugh invades the Vermandois, *ib.*; separates Herbert and Henry, 53 sq.; continues war and takes Laon, 59; Aquitanians do homage to, 60, 513; receives homage of Guillaume, 68; confirms Guillaume in possession of Normandy and Brittany, *ib.*, 127; and death of Emma, 77; and Magyars, *ib.*; recovers Dijon from Boso, *ib.*; illness and death of, *ib.*, 78, 87; 129, 210, 508; history of, 539; Gen. Table XVII
- Raoul, Count of Ivry, parentage of, 76, 172, 252, 514; confidant of Richard-sans-Peur, 276; patron of Dudo de St Quentin, 495; Gen. Table XII
- Raoul, Bishop of Laon, expelled from see, 124
- Raoul, father of Richerius the Chronicler, 327; counsellor of Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*, 329 sq.; takes Laon by stratagem, 330 sq.; captures Mons by stratagem, 379, 380; supplies historical information to Richerius, 426 sq.; devotion to Carolingian interest, 524
- Raoul Torta, regent to Richard-sans-Peur, 160; demolishes church buildings, 163; 247 sq.; position of, 171; restored to power, 194; confers with Louis d'Outremer, 201; superseded in government by Louis, 207; becomes Louis's prime minister in Rouen, 246 sq.; unpopular administration of, 247 sq.; continues in power under Richard, 276; usurps ducal revenues, *ib.*; arouses enmity by his economy, 277; impeached and banished, *ib.*, 388
- Ratisbon, Louis-le-Débonnaire at, 289
- Ravenna, church council at, 443, 536
- Ravenna, exarchate of, boundary of Lombardy, 347; reverts to Eastern Empire, 348; Papacy's claims to, confirmed by Otho I, 366
- Raymond III Pons, Count of Toulouse, Duke of Aquitaine, submits to King Raoul, 60, 513; independence of, 79, 215; recognizes Louis d'Outremer's sovereignty, 215, 471; 515, 524; Gen. Table XVIII
- Raymond I, Count of Rouergue and Toulouse, succeeds to county of Toulouse, 510; 513; Gen. Table XVIII
- Raymond II, Count of Toulouse, defeats Danes, 21; 510; death of, 513; 515; Gen. Table XVIII
- Recueil des Historiens* (vol. ix), contains Richard-sans-Peur's charter to abbey of St Denis, cited, 506, 541
- Reggio, Bishop of. *See* Adelhard
- Reginhart, Bishop of Reichstadt, at church council of Ravenna, 443
- Reginon (chronicler), cited, 508
- Regnald (Danish leader), invades France, 17; joins Rollo in support of Charles-le-Simple, 21, 23, 25, 28; invades Burgundy, 29, 30; traditions of, 30; 40, 509
- Reichstadt, Bishop of. *See* Reginhart
- Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* of Liutprand of Cremona, 536
- Remiremont, abbey of, burial place of Gilbert of Lotharingia, 125; Map V (G 2)
- Renaud, Count of Burgundy, his marriage with Judith (Alice) of Normandy, 212; Gen. Table XI
- Renaud, Count of Rheims and Rouci, espoused to Alerada of France, 213
- Rennes, Counts of. *See* Judicael, Juhel Berenger
- Rerum Brunswicensium scriptores*, ed. Leibnitz, 504
- Rerum Germanicarum scriptores*, ed. Pertz, 504
- Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum* of Witikind, source of early Saxon history, 507
- Rerum Hungaricarum Veteres ac Genuini scriptores*, ed. Schwarzdtnr, source of Magyar history, 504
- Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, source of mediæval Italian history, 531
- Rescue, battle of, 193 sq., 228, 255, 319
- Restibulis*. Louis d'Outremer and Arnoul-le-Vieux meet at, 229
- Rheims, coveted by Herbert of Vermandois, 11; Robert I crowned at, 20; 25; Emma crowned at, 28; King Raoul at, 51; besieged and taken by Raoul, 53; devastated by Herbert of Vermandois, 112; importance of, to Herbert, 130; taken by Capetians, 131; besieged by Louis d'Outremer, 253; besieged and taken by Louis, 298 sq.; Hugh-le-Grand besieges, 321; Louis at, 329, 331; burial place of Louis, 337; States-General meet at, 369; Lothaire crowned at, 370; burial place of Frodoardus, 426; occupied by Otho II, 460; burial place of Lothaire, 475, 477;

- invested by Louis V, 476; betrayed to Charles of Lorraine, 488, 491; death of Bruno of Cologne at, 529; Maps V(F 2), VI
- Rheims, archbishopric of, patronage coveted by Herbert of Vermandois, 11; Herbert desires it for his son Hugh, 20, 21, 45; Archbishop Seulphe recovers possessions of, 21; Hugh appointed to, 46, 47; custody of temporalities granted to Herbert by King Raoul, *ib.*; domain of Couci separated from, 46, 108; contest of Raoul and Herbert for, 53; Raoul secures election of Artaldus to, *ib.*, 130; primacy of Belgic Gaul, 91; primacy of the Gauls, 92, 322; Herbert loses temporalities of, 104; and ejection of Hugh, *ib.*, 105; territories attacked by Herbert, 107, 110, 112, 130; importance of its acquisition to Herbert, 130; Artaldus expelled, and Hugh restored to, 132, 253; 140; 181; Louis d'Outremer resumes struggle for, 253, 298; Hugh expelled, and Artaldus restored to, 299; historical importance of contest for, 320; Hugh-le-Grand and Hugh of Vermandois seek to expel Artaldus from, 320 sq.; contest for, to be decided by church councils, 321 sqq.; Artaldus confirmed in possession of, 322, 323; military benefices in, 327 sq.; rejection of Hugh's claims to, by Papacy, 429; importance of, 430; Archbishop Odalric appointed to, *ib.*; canonical right of election to, 484 sq.; Arnoul, Lothaire's son, and Gerbert of Aurillac candidates for, 485 sqq.; election of Arnoul to, 487; deposition of Arnoul, and election of Gerbert to, 492; Gerbert resigns, 493; authority on history of, 503
- Rheims, Archbishops of. *See* Adalbero, Arnulphus, Artaldus, Hervé, Hugh, Odalric, Seulphe, Sylvester II (Gerbert)
- Rheims and Rouci, Count of. *See* Renaud Rhemois, the, ravaged by Hugh-le-Grand, 328; Otho II retires from, 462
- Rhine, river, Magyars cross, 33; Henry the Fowler crosses, 50, 53 sq.; Magyars again cross, 106; Otho I crosses, 123, 124; Gilbert of Lotharingia drowned in, 125; commanded by Lotharingia, 381 sq.; Maps V(G 1-2-3), VI
- Rhodesz (Rodez), county of, in province of Rouergue, 513
- Richard-le-Justicier, Duke of Burgundy, power of, 11; epithet of, *ib.*, 24; burial place of, 78; 508; defeats Rollo at Chartres, 514; Gen. Table III (vol. 1)
- Richard II, King of England, 359 sq., 505
- Richard I sans-Peur, Duke of Normandy, birth of, 67; Liutgarda's hatred of, 76, 172, 186, 391; and Raoul of Ivry, 76; ignored by Guillaume Longue-épée, *ib.*, 148; 154; accepted as Guillaume's successor by Bernard the Dane, Botho and Oslac, 158 sq.; education of, 159 sq., 162 sq., 187, 188, 206, 274 sq., 409; inauguration of, at Bayeux, 160, 162, 173, 187; affection of Normans for, 170, 176, 275; Osmond de Contvilles, guardian of, 171; inauguration of, at Rouen, 174 sq., 187; 185; does homage to Louis, 189, 191, 195, 279; Louis grants Normandy to, 190, 197, 264, 279, 523; rights sacrificed by homage of Normans to Louis, 190 sq., 196 sqq.; converted to paganism by Danish party, 192, 206; rescued from pagan Danes by Louis, 193, 194; and detention by Louis, 198 sqq.; again does homage and receives Normandy on principle of mutuality, 201; Louis offers to educate, 201 sq., 205, 275, 523; his authority restored in the Evreux, 202; removed to Laon, 205 sqq., 214, 220; 212; placed under arrest by Louis, 221 sqq., 414, 442; illness and escape of, 224 sqq., 298; under care of Bernard de Senlis, 226, 227 sq.; supported by Hugh-le-Grand, 227 sq., 230, 263; and Thibaut-le-Tricheur's aid, 231 sq.; Bernard the Dane plots to restore, 232, 237, 240, 524 sq.; authority restored by Harold Blaataand, 263; independence of, recognized, 269 sq., 285, 398; real founder of duchy, 271 sq.; his triumphal entry into Rouen, 272; appearance and character of, 273 sqq., 388; court of, 275; counsellors of, 276; and Raoul Torta, 276 sq.; impeaches and banishes Raoul, 277, 278; epithet of, 278; absolute power of, 278 sqq.; Bretons acknowledge suzerainty of, 280; 283; enemies of, 284, 287; isolation of, 285; political and matrimonial alliance with Hugh, 286 sqq., 526; betrothed to Emma, 288; knighted by Hugh, 289; results of his "commendation" to Hugh, 290, 387, 422; founds Norman baronage, 291 sq.; his alliance with Hugh alarms Louis and Otho, 292; Arnoul-le-Vieux effects coalition of Louis and Otho against, 292, 293, 295; 300; Otho wars against, 305-318; his exploits in war, 307 sqq., 310, 313, 316 sq.; Arnoul's fear of, 314 sq.; defeats Germans, 318 sq.; aids Hugh against Louis, 328; ignores Lothaire's accession, 369, 384 sq.; enemies coalesce against, 372; his marriage to Emma, 375, 376, 377, 383, 422; appointed guardian of Hugh's wife and children, 375 sq., 386, 387; his alliance with Harold, 384, 392, 410, 515; his supporters in Normandy, 384; deprived of guardianship of Hugh's children by Lothaire, 386, 387; becomes vassal of Hugh Capet, 387; implacability of

- his enemies, especially Thibaut, 388 sqq.; compared with Lothaire, 392, 393; Thibaut effects confederacy against, 393 sq.; 396 sq.; escapes plot of Bruno of Cologne, 394 sqq.; fails in attack on Soissons, 397 sq.; and Lothaire's plot, 398 sqq.; defeats Lothaire at battle of the Fords, 401 sqq.; Thibaut renews intrigues against, 403; impeached by Lothaire, *ib.*; repels Lothaire's invasion of Normandy, 404; invades Pays Chartrain, *ib.*; and Thibaut's invasion, 404 sqq.; Normans and Bretons support, 409; despised by French, 409 sq.; invokes aid of Harold, 410, 411; and Danish invasion of France, 411-420, 515; Wolfaldus of Chartres mediates between Lothaire and, 413 sq.; Thibaut makes peace with, 414 sq.; measures for getting rid of Danes, 416-420; makes peace with Lothaire, 421 sq.; death of Emma, 422; alliance with Hugh, *ib.*, 454, 464, 466, 537; mediates between Lothaire and Arnoul-le-Jeune, 436; and accession of Hugh, 478; mediates between Hugh and Albert of Vermandois, 495; and Dudo de St Quentin, *ib.*; death of, 496, 538; history of, 500, 501; Gen. Table XII
- Richard II le-Bon, Duke of Normandy, his parentage, 377, 496; and Dudo of St Quentin, 495; history of, 500; Gen. Tables XII, XV
- Richard III, Duke of Normandy, history of, 500; Gen. Table XII
- Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, 505, 541
- Richard, A. (historian), *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou* of, 540
- Richelieu, and the French noblesse, 107
- Richerius (Richer) (chronicler), relates Richard-sans-Peur's conversion to paganism, 192; and Hugh-le-Grand's aggrandisement, 214; supplied with information by his father Raoul, 327; records capture of Mons by Raoul, 379; silent on Lothaire's confederacy against Richard, 398; historical qualifications of, 426 sq.; supplied with materials by Gerbert of Aurillac, 427; manuscript of, 428 sq.; omits mention of Lothaire's marriage to Emma, 441; gap in history of, 454; and accusation of Asceline and Emma, 457 sq., 537; and Ivo's prowess, 461; describes Lothaire's illness, 474; and Hugh Capet's death, 495; hatred of Danes, 496; mentions Richard's death, cited, *ib.*, 538; authority on history of France, 499; 524, 539
- Riquier, St, 463
- Riulph, supports Danish party in Normandy, 40, 63; acquires the *Bocage Normand*, 57; family connexions of, 63; and Balzo, *ib.*, 163, 168, 169; insurrection against Guillaume Longue-épée, 63 sqq., 108, 142, 161, 291; defeat and death, 66, 111, 161, 169
- Robert Guiscard, Duke of Calabria, conquers South Italy, 272, 525; patron of Constantinus Africanus, 512
- Robert-le-Fort, Duke of France, 10; character of, 11; 14; death of, 23, 510; 53; unpopularity of, in Aquitaine, 283; Gen. Table XVII
- Robert I, Duke and King of France, 5; importance of, 10; rival of Charles-le-Simple, 11; marriages of his daughters, *ib.*; supported by Hugh-le-Grand, Raoul of Burgundy and Herbert of Vermandois, *ib.*; his jealousy of Hagano, 13; takes affront at Aix-la-Chapelle, 13 sq.; comes to understanding with Henry the Fowler, 14 sq.; demands dismissal of Hagano, 15; with confederates, "defies" Charles, *ib.*; 17; cedes Brittany and Nantes to Danes, 18; and Rollo, 19, 197, 217; at war with Charles, *ib.*; surprises Laon, 20; elected and crowned king, *ib.*, 324; nominates Seulph to see of Rheims, 20; supports Seulph, 21; makes alliance with Henry, *ib.*; concludes truce with Charles, *ib.*; killed at battle of Soissons, 22; burial place unknown, 23; 24; Aquitaine refuses to recognize, 25; and Charles's imprisonment, 26; 87; 282; defeats Rollo at Chartres, 514; history of, 539; Gen. Tables VII, XVII
- Robert II, King of France, parentage of, 455; proclaimed king, 480; his marriage annulled by Gregory V, 538; Gen. Table XI
- Robert-le-Magnifique, Duke of Normandy, history of, 500; Gen. Table XII
- Robert II, Duke of Normandy, patron of Johannes de Meditano, 532; Gen. Table XIV
- Robert (Ruprecht), Archbishop of Treves, at coronation of Otho I, 116; and restoration of Artaldus of Rheims, 299; president of synod of Verdun, 322; at council of Engleheim, 324
- Robert, Count of Troyes, 47; inherits county of Troyes, 181; rebels against Lothaire, 383; Gen. Table VII
- Rodez. *See* Rhodex
- Roger, Count of Laon, Count of Douay, does homage to Otho I, 133; friend of Guillaume Longue-épée, 134; defeated and captured by Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; sent as envoy of Louis to Guillaume's court, 138; death of, *ib.*
- Roger, Count of Ponthieu, ejected from his county by Arnoul-le-Vieux, 335
- Rögnvald, Jarl of Møre, and Rollo's origin, 542, 543; Gen. Table XII
- Rollo, Duke of Normandy, cession of Normandy to, 3, 128, 514; friendship

- with Charles-le-Simple, 6, 19, 28, 43; and Rainier au-Long-Col, 9; supremacy in Poitou, 17; supports Charles against Capetians, 21, 23, 25; rule in Normandy, 27, 150; deposition of Charles arouses ambition of, 27; establishes supremacy in Brittany, 27 sq.; renews war with French, 28; consents to peace in return for land and money, 29; Maine and the Bessin ceded to, *ib.*; his army again invades France, 30; garrisons Eu, 32; Danegeld paid to, 33; resigns in favour of Guillaume Longue-épée, 33 sq.; his death and interment, 34; 39; 48; and his supremacy in Brittany, 54, 55; and Athelstane, 60; at battle of Chartres, 64, 73, 514; his counsellors, 139; indifference to the Church, 141, 144, 163, 187; does homage to Charles, 167, 434; and Bernard the Dane, 170, 205; nature of his compact with Charles, 197, 279; settles in Normandy under protection of Robert, Duke of France, 217; 249, 282; history of, 500, 501; 509; origin of, 542 sqq.; marriages of, 543, *note*; Gen. Table XII
- Roman de Cristal et de Claire*, the, cited, 392, 532
- Roman du Rou*, the, of Wace, source of history of Normandy, 501 sq. *See also* Wace
- Roman Empire, the. *See* Empire
- Romans, the. *See* Rome
- Romanus II, Eastern Emperor, marries Theophania, 445; children of, 445 sq.; death of, 446; 536
- Rome, Agapet II holds council at, 332; Otho I crowned Emperor in, 366, 520; grant of, to Papacy confirmed by Otho I, 366; Otho II crowned Emperor in, 445; Otho II in, 465; Hugh Capet confers with Otho II in, 467; Otho II dies in, 472 sq.; Otho III dies in, 494; Leo III forced to leave, 519
- Rome, duchy of, boundary of Lombardy, 347
- Rome, political division of Italy, 348; accepts Otho I as Emperor, 366, 437; instability and depravity of, 438, 443 sq.; relations of, to Papacy, 444; Otho I restores order to, *ib.*; accepts Otho II as Emperor, 445; sends legates to Otho I at Quedlinburg, 450; distracted by papal schism, 492; Crescentius supreme in, 494, 538; power in, in hands of Marozia and Theodora, 512; Alberic II becomes supreme in, *ib.*, 520, 530; bequeathed to John XII as heritage by Alberic, 531; complains to Otho I of depravity of John, *ib.*; expels Otho I's pope Leo VIII, *ib.*, 536; elects Benedict V pope, 536; and election of Gregory V, 538; Otho III crowned Emperor of, *ib.*
- Roscilla, daughter of Fulk I of Anjou, marries Alain Barbe-Torte, 100; ill-treated by Alain, 280; 526; Gen. Tables XV, XVI
- Roswitha, Abbess of Gandersheim, and Otho I's biography, 440, 504; 535 sq., 540
- Rouen (Rothomagus), Eudes of Vermandois a hostage at, 29, 47, 48, 50; burial place of Rollo, 34; Christian and pagan parties in, 39, 151, 206; Riulph and insurgents encamp before, 65; Guillaume Longue-épée defeats rebels at *Pré de la Bataille* outside, 66; surrounded by forests, 69, 237, 238; Louis d'Outremer visits, 139; French in character, 159 sq.; depends on Lower Normandy for supplies, 162, 243 sq.; burial place of Guillaume, 174; Richard-sans-Peur brought from Bayeux to, *ib.*, 188; inauguration of Richard at, 174, 187; forced to receive Louis, 196, 198; insurrection in, 199 sq.; Louis continues to reside in, 201; renewal of compact between Richard and Louis in, *ib.*, 270; under government of Herlouin of Ponthieu, 207, 223, 234; Bernard the Dane entices Louis to, 237; receives Louis, 238 sqq., 245; in the Roumois, 242; position of, compared with Paris, 245; under administration of Raoul Torta, 246 sq.; prosperity of, 248; Louis leaves, 253; Louis encamps before, 256; Louis imprisoned in, 262, 264; council in, 263; hostages for Louis at, 265; Richard returns in triumph to, 272; Raoul Torta's power in, 276; Raoul banished from, 277; Otho I attempts to conquer, 302-318; defence of, 305 sq.; Otho renews attack on, 310 sq.; strength of, 311, 313 sq.; Otho abandons, 314; Rout of, 315-318, 358, 367, 390; Richard's court at, 388; Thibaut-le-Tricheur encamps near, 405 sq.; Wolfaldus of Chartres, Lothaire's ambassador at, 414; Thibaut reconciled to Richard at, 415; name of, 521; Maps V(D 2), VI, VII
- Rouen, Archbishop of. *See* Hugh
- Rouergue, province of, 513
- Rouergue, Count of. *See* Hermengaud
- Roumois (Rouennois), the, Franks invade, 32; covered with the *Foresta de Leonibus*, 69; Rouen in, 242; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Rudiger (Ruotger), biography of Bruno of Cologne, 368, 504
- Rudolph I, King of Transjurane Burgundy, founds kingdom, 510; Gen. Table XI
- Rudolph II, King of Transjurane Burgundy, disputes crown of Italy with Hugh of Provence and Berongor I, 510, 530; acquires kingdom of Provence, 510; Gen. Table XI

- Rudolph III, King of Transjurane Burgundy, 510; Gen. Table XI
- Ruexner, G., publishes the *Turnior-buch*, 342, 529
- Ruotger. *See* Rudiger
- Ruprecht. *See* Robert, Archbishop of Treves
- Russia, sends embassy to Otho I's court, 450; and Vladimir the Great, 446, 536
- Saalfeld, Henry the Porphyrogenitus assumes royal authority at, 123; Liudolph at, 352
- St Alban, church of, Mayence, Liutgarda buried in, 345
- St Ambrogio, church of, Milan, Otho I crowned king of Lombardy in, 365
- St Angelo, castle of, Otho I's charter to Papacy deposited in, 367; occupied by Theodora, 512
- St Baseule, abbey of, Artaldus of Rheims takes refuge in, 132; council of, 492
- St Bertin, abbey of, Adolph of Boulogne lay-abbot of, 43; lands impropriated by Arnoul-le-Vieux, 110; and Siegfried of Guisnes, 111; Johannes Iperius abbot of, 503; nature of its chronicle, *ib.*
- St Brioux, Northmen defeated at, 98; Map V(B 2)
- St Clair-sur-Epte (Clair-sur-Epte), treaty of, between Charles-le-Simple and Rollo, 27, 34, 48, 434, 514; conference at, to negotiate Louis d'Outremer's liberation, 265; Richard-sans-Peur leaves, 272; Bretons renew homage to Richard at, 280; peace between Louis and Richard made at, 293; Map VII
- St Columba near Sens, abbey of, founded by King Dagobert, 78; burial place of Richard-le-Justicier and King Raoul, *ib.*; 515
- St Cyprian, Poitiers, monastery of, Martin of Poitiers, Superior of, 146
- St Denis, abbey of, Robert, Duke of France, abbot of, 10; inherited by Hugh-le-Grand, 24; monks of, build church at Lions-la-forêt, 70; Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, monk of, 143; Gautier of Paris monk of, 171; Otho I and Louis d'Outremer take possession of, 301; Hugh-le-Grand entertains Lothaire at, 372; burial place of King Eudes and Hugh, 376; and Dagobert's throne, 467; charter of Richard-sans-Peur to, 506, 541
- St Eulalia, ruins of basilica of, at Fécamp, 61
- St Felix, cathedral of, Nantes, in ruins, 99; dedication of, 518
- St Fursæus, church of, Peronne, Charles-le-Simple buried in, 51
- St Germain, abbey of, Robert of France abbot of, 10; inherited by Hugh-le-Grand, 24
- St Guingalœus, Landevenech, abbey of, John abbot of, 97, 518
- St Hilary, cathedral of, Poitiers, 373
- St James at Wurzburg, abbey of, Trithemius abbot of, 534
- Saint-Marc, C. H. Le Fèvre de (historian), 350, 531
- St Martin of Séz, abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143
- St Martin at Tours, abbey of, Robert of France abbot of, 10; inherited by Hugh-le-Grand, 24; encoffment of its lands, 102, 518
- St Maurice, church of, Magdeburg, Johann Kirchberger vicarius of, 342
- St Médard, abbey of, Louis-le-Débonnaire at, 16, 268; surrenders to King Raoul, 59; granted to Ogiva, 336
- St Michael (Mont St Michel), abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143; 520
- St Omer (Sithiu), ravaged by Guillaume Longue-épée, 112; barrier fortress of Flanders, 204; dialect of its population, 508; Map V(E 1)
- St Ouen near Rouen, abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143; and Otho I's visit, 312 sq.; *Parlement* of, 313, 314
- St Peter at Chartres, monastery of, Wolfaldus monk of, 413
- St Peter, church of, Rome, council held in, 332; Otho II buried in, 473
- St Pierre-lez-Gand, abbey church of, Ghent, Arnoul-le-Vieux buried in, 379; 532
- St Quentin, Charles-le-Simple at, 26, 48; King Raoul takes, 59; Maps V(E 2), VI
- St Quentin, church of, Herbert of Vermandois buried in, 180 sq.
- St Quentin, Count of. *See* Arnoul
- St Radegund, Poitiers, monastery of, converted into fortress, 373; burnt by Lothaire, *ib.*
- St Remi at Rheims, abbey church of, Artaldus monk of, 53; Artaldus takes refuge in, 131; chronicle of its monks, 186; Frodoardus monk of, 192; Louis d'Outremer buried in, 337; Lothaire crowned in, 370; Lothaire buried in, 475; Hugh Capet holds his court in, 486; 513; Richerius monk of, 524
- St Riquier. *See* Centulla
- St Sever, monastery of, site of Montreuil-sur-Mer, 31
- St Taurin at Evreux, abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143
- St Vandrille or Wandrille (Fontenelle), abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143
- St Vigor (Cerisy), abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 143; Map VII
- St Vincent, church of, Laon, council held in, 326
- Salaberga, St, founds abbey of Notre Dame de Laon, 178 sq.
- Salerno, the Leech of, rival of Deroldus of Amiens, 211; School of Medicine

- of, 388, 532; conquered by Robert Guiscard, 525
- Sanchez, Gonzalo. *See* Gonzalo
- Sancho el Gordo, King of Leon, 420, 533, 534
- San Giulio, castle of, stronghold of Berenger II, 363
- Saône, river, boundary of Gilbert of Burgundy's dominions, 100; Map V(F 3)
- Saracens, the (Arabs), eject Odalric from Acques, 46; threaten France, 49, 79; in Alps, 49, 52, 512; in Naples, 348; and Charles Martel's victory at Tours, 362; occupy Sicily, 366; send embassy to Otho I, 450; defeat Otho II at Squillace, 472; ravage Spain, 480; defeated by John X, 511; culture of, 531, 535; authority on history of, 535
- Saulcourt, battle of, 194 sq., 518; Map V(D 1)
- Saxons, the. *See* Saxony
- Saxony, Magyars invade, 8; hostile to Franconia, 10; aided by Charles-le-Simple against Conrad I, *ib.*; and accession of Henry the Fowler, 12; 120; despised by French, 297; supports Otho I's invasion of Italy, 351; and Otho's festival of Cologne, 437 sq.; supports Otho's invasion of France, 460; authority on its history, 504, 507; and Charlemagne, 519; under government of Herman the Saxon, 536
- Saxony, Dukes of. *See* Henry, Otho
- Scandinavia, freehold land tenure in, 291; friendly to Richard-sans-Peur, 392; and traditions of Ogier the Dane, 420; principle of *Ebenbürtigkeit* accepted in, 439
- Scheldt, river, boundary of Lotharingia, 382
- Schleswig, separated from Holstein by Queen Thyra's Danewirk, 152
- Schwartzner, Martin von, *Rerum Hungaricum veteres ac genuini* of, authority on sources of Magyar history, 504
- Sclaves, Sclavonians, the. *See* Slavs
- Scoythians, the. *See* Magyars
- Sédillot (historian), *Histoire générale des Arabes* of, 535
- Séez, in Lower Normandy, 243; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Seine, river, fortified by Charles-le-Simple, 14; waterway from Paris to Rouen, 184 sq.; Louis d'Outremer and Otho I cross, 301; its importance to Rouen, 306, 311; 399; boundary of the Jeu-Fosse, 412; Otho II advances to, 461; rampart to Paris, *ib.*; Maps V(D-E 2), VI, VII
- Senlis, Bernard de Senlis at, 206; Richard-sans-Peur with Bernard at, 227 sq., 237, 524; garrisoned by Hugh-le-Grand, 297; resists Louis d'Outremer and Otho I, 299; again garrisoned by Hugh, 331; Louis attacks, *ib.*; Bishop of, subject to Hugh Capet, 429; assembly for trial of Adalbero of Rheims at, 476; assembly of the States at, 478; 490; Maps V(E 2), VI
- Senonois, the, part of Celtic Gaul, 81; Sens capital city of, 517; Map V(E 2-3)
- Sens, abbey of St Columba near, 78; riot at, *ib.*; King Raoul buried in, *ib.*, 81; assembly of nobles at, 87; 517; Maps V(E 2), VI
- Sens, archbishopric of, primacy of Celtic Gaul, 91; primacy of the Gauls, *ib.*; 517
- Sens, Archbishops of. *See* Daimbert, Walter, William
- Sens, Count of. *See* Warner
- Sens, county of. *See* Senonois, the
- Sequani, the, in Burgundy, 81
- Sergius III, Pope, and Marozia, 512
- Serlo of Montigny, the brigand, 106 sq.; captured by Louis d'Outremer, 107, 216
- Seulph, Archbishop of Rheims, nominated to see by Robert I, 20; regains temporalities of see, 21; sanctions plan to secure see to Hugh of Vermandois, *ib.*, 45; Charles-le-Simple demands submission of, 23; 25; fights against Danes, 28, 29; death of, 45 sq.
- Seville, schools of, 432
- Sicily, granted to Papacy by Otho I, 366; conquered by Robert Guiscard, 272, 420, 525
- Sidroc, Viking leader, encamps at the Jeu-Fosse, 411, 412, 533
- Siegfrid, Count of Guisnes, overruns Flanders, 110 sq.; founds county of Guisnes, 111
- Sigefrid, Count of Waldoek, 508
- Sigibaldus, clerk, proctor of Hugh-le-Grand at church council, 321; supports claims of Hugh of Vermandois, 321 sq., 325; degraded and banished, 325
- Sihtric, King of Northumbria, 525
- Sisnando, Bishop of Compostella, fortifies Compostella against Danes, 421; slain by Danes, *ib.*
- Sithiu. *See* St Omer
- Sithric, Danish leader, 188; invades Normandy, 191 sq.; defeated and slain by Louis d'Outremer, 193, 255
- Sixtus III, Pope, 325, 528
- Slavs (Sclaves, Sclavonians), the, political character of, 119; 121; and Otho I, 267, 319, 329, 347, 360; send embassy to Otho's court at Quedlinburg, 450; rise against Otho II, 469, 472; conquered by Herman the Saxon, 536
- Soissonais, the, Laon in, 4; Charles-le-Simple in, 19; loyal to Charles, 22; 106, 507; Map V(E 2)
- Soissons, council at, 15; Capetians "defy" Charles-le-Simple at, *ib.*, 229; battle of, 22, 26; Synod at, 23; Raoul

- crowned at, 25, 41, 83; attacked and partly burnt by Hugh-le-Grand, 328; convention of nobles at, 397; failure of Richard-sans-Peur's attack on, *ib.*, 398; acquired by Charles of Lorraine, 484; ancient Merovingian capital, 528; Maps V(E 2), VI
- Soissons, Bishops of. *See* Abbo, Guido
- Sologne, the Pays de, subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map V(D-E 3)
- Solomon, King of the Bretons, Charles-le-Chaue grants Cornouaille to, 55; Gen. Table XV
- Solomon, Count, ambassador of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to Otho I, 330
- Somme, river, and murder of Guillaume Longue-épée, 167 sqq., 170; Maps V(D 1), VII
- Söndmör, and Rollo, 542, 543
- Souvigni, St Odilo dies at, 535
- Spain, and Danish invasion under Guthrun, 420 sqq.; Gerbert of Aurillac in, 432, 531; Arab schools in, *ib.*; Saracens ravage, 480; authority on history of, 534
- Sperling (Asperling) the Miller, marries Espriota, 172, 252, 514; 276; Gen. Table XII
- Spoleto, duchy of, part of Lombardy, 348; Otho I confirms Papacy in possession of, 366
- Spoleto, Dukes of, Marquises of. *See* Alberic, Guido, Lambert, Winegis
- Squillace, Otho II defeated by Saracens at, 472, 473; 537
- Stamford, reconquered by Edward the Elder, 524
- Stapleton, T. (historian), authority on geography of Normandy, 502
- Steil, duel between Bruning and Everhard at, 344
- Stephen III, Count of Blois, Chartres and Meaux; Gen. Table XIV
- Stephen, Bishop of Clermont, does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 334
- Stephen, King of England, armorial bearings of, 513; descended from Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 522; Gen. Table XVII
- Stephen, King of Hungary, converted to Christianity, 362; receives gift of crown from Sylvester II, *ib.*
- Stephen VII (VIII), Pope, and Marozia, 512
- Stephen VIII (IX), Pope, mutilated by Alberic, 135; supports cause of Louis d'Outremer, 135 sq.
- Storm, G., *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ* of, authority on sources of Norwegian history, 543, *note*
- Strasbourg, bishopric of, its influence, 120
- Strathclyde, 18
- Stubbs, W. (historian), *Constitutional history* of, cited, 530
- Suabia (Suabians), at battle of the Lechfeld, 359; supports Otho II's invasion of France, 460; Map II (vol. 1)
- Suabia, Duke of. *See* Burchard
- Suabians, the. *See* Suabia
- Suessiones, the, 507
- Svend I Tveskiæg (Sweyn-Forkbeard), King of Denmark, and invasion of England, 382, 421; 532
- Sylvester II (Gerbert of Aurillac), Pope, presents crown of Hungary to Stephen, 362; requests Richerius to write history of France, 427; gives Richerius his correspondence, *ib.*; obscurity of his letters, 427 sq.; 429; knowledge and talents of, 432 sq.; patronized by Adalbero of Rheims, 433, 485; character of, 433; influence in French and German courts, *ib.*, 453; patronized by Otho II, *ib.*, *ib.*; 444; dispute with Ottric of Magdeburg, 453; partisan of Capets, 453 sq., 464, 491; and Emma's letters to Conrad of Burgundy, 469, 537; patronized by Borello of Barcelona, 480; and Adalbero's correspondence with Charles of Lorraine, 482; candidate for see of Rheims, 485; distrusted by Hugh Capet, *ib.*; betrays his successful rival Arnoul, 491, 492; his election to see of Rheims, 492 sq.; appointed to Ravenna, 493, 535; nominated by Otho III to Papacy, 493; death of, *ib.*; history of, 502; 531, 538, 540
- Symmachus, Pope, 325 sq.; 528
- Symphorienne, daughter of Rainier I au-Long-Col, marries Berenger of Namur, 120
- Tacitus, *Germania* of, on custom of the Wappentak, cited, 514
- Taillandier, C. L. (historian), authority on history of Brittany, 502
- Taksony, King of Hungary, 531
- Tancred de Hauteville, 272, 420, 525
- Tartars, the. *See* Magyars
- Terouenne, ravaged by Guillaume Longue-épée, 112; Map V(E 1)
- Teutons, the, customs of, 15, 16, 343; despised by Greeks, 449, 473; their system of land tenure, 526
- Thankmar, parentage of, 12, 509; deprived of his rights, 114 sq.; claims crown by primogeniture, 115; revolt and death of, 118, 119
- Thebith, Arab astronomer, 433, 535
- Theobald de Montague, marries Lothaire's first wife, 436
- Theobald. *See* Thibaut
- Theodora, and John X, 48, 511, 512
- Theophania, Eastern Empress, marriages and crimes of, 445 sq.; incarcerated in monastery, 446; 449, 536
- Theophania, daughter of Romanus II, 445 sq.; comparison with her mother Theophania, 446; demanded in mar-

- riage by Otho II, 447, 449, 536; marries Otho at Rome, 449 sq.; and Adelaide, 452, 453; character of, 452; her influence over Otho, *ib.*, 504; and Gerbert of Aurillac, 453; compared with Emma, *ib.*; her dislike of Emma, *ib.*, 457; and Lothaire's raid on Aix-la-Chapelle, 458 sq.; supports Hugh Capet against Lothaire and Emma, 464, 468; gives birth to Otho III, 465; guardian of Otho, 473; unpopularity of, in Germany, *ib.*; 482; governs during Otho's minority, 493; death of, *ib.*
- Theophylact, Senator of Rome, 512
- Thibaut II, Count of Blois; Gen. Tables VII and XVII
- Thibaut (Thibault) I le-Tricheur, Count of Blois and Chartres, and murder of Guillaume Longue-épée, 168, 169; epithets of, 168, 397; marries Liutgarda, 171 sq.; his hatred of Richard-sans-Peur, 186, 284; dominions of, 231; joins confederacy against Louis d'Outremer, 231 sq., 252; warder of Louis, 268, 372; in command of Laon, 268 sq.; combines with Hugh-le-Grand against Artaldus of Rheims, 321; his enmity to Louis, 328; does homage to Lothaire, 372; and his confederacy against Richard, *ib.*, 384, 391, 393 sqq.; his designs in Normandy, 391; continues intrigues, 396 sq.; character of, 397; his plot to assassinate Richard, 398, 400; at battle of the Fords, 402; again incites Lothaire to assert his rights, 403; takes Evreux with Lothaire's aid, 403 sq., 409; his dominions invaded by Richard, 404; retaliates by invading Normandy, 404 sqq., 501; misfortunes of, 407 sq.; again invades Normandy, 408 sq.; his dominions invaded by Danish allies of Richard, 413; justifies himself at council at Melun, *ib.*; excluded from council at Laon, 414; makes peace with Richard, 414 sqq.; restores Evreux, 415; restores Couci to Odalric of Rheims, 430; death of, *ib.*; 522; Gen. Tables VII, XII, XVII
- Thibaut (Theobald) IV, Count of Blois, Chartres and Troyes; Gen. Table XVII
- Thibaut III, Count of Blois and Troyes; Gen. Table XVII
- Thibaut (Theobald), Count of Provence (Arles), 530; Gen. Table IX
- Thierry I, Count of Holland, important position of dominions of, 120; does homage to Louis d'Outremer, 123; 519
- Thierry, N. A. (historian), his theory of Capetian revolution, 499; 539
- Thietmar, Abbot of Mayence, 484
- Thietmar (Dithmar of Waldeck), Bishop of Merseburg, and rejection of Carolingian dynasty in Germany, 7; describes battle of the Lechfeld, 360; authority on history of Germany, 504; 508, 540
- Thormod, Danish leader, renounces Christianity, 188; joins forces with Sithric and raises insurrection, 191 sq.; gets possession of Richard-sans-Peur and converts him to paganism, 192, 206; defeat and death of, at battle of the Rescue, 193; 252, 255
- Thorold, Sire of Pont Audemer, counsellor of Richard-sans-Peur, 384; signature to Richard's charter to abbey of St Denis, 506, 541
- Thuringia, Magyars invade, 8; accepts Henry the Fowler as king, 12
- Thuringians, the. *See* Thuringia
- Thury, bequeathed to Hugh-le-Grand, 181, 209; held by Bernard de Sonlis, *ib.*, 228
- Thyra, Queen of Denmark, completes Danewirk between Schleswig and Holstein, 152; memorial of, 533
- Tiffauge, ceded to Alain Barbe-Torte, 99; Map V(C 3)
- Tille, river, boundary of Gilbert of Burgundy's dominions, 100
- Toledo, council of, canons of the, 325, 492; 528
- Tongres, Charles-le-Simple at, 17, 20
- Torquatus the Forester, his descendants, 300; Gen. Table XVI
- Toul, Bishop of. *See* Goceline
- Toul, bishopric of, its influence, 120; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381; Map V(F 2)
- Toulouse, Raymond III at, 79; Louis-le-Débonnaire installed at, 83; Map VI
- Toulouse, Counts of. *See* Raymond, William; Gen. Table XVIII
- Touraine, part of Aquitanian Gaul, 81; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; Map V(D 3)
- Tournaments, institution of, 342 sq., 504 sq., 530
- Tournay, supports Arnoul-le-Vieux's invasion of Normandy, 301; Maps V(E 1), VI
- Tours, States-General at, 82, 515; county of, held by Thibaut-le-Tricheur, 231; significance of Charles Martel's victory at, 362; Lothaire visits Thibaut at, 372; burnt by Northmen, 543; Maps V(D 3), VI
- Tours, archbishopric of, metropolitan rights of, contested by Dol, 233
- Treves, antiquity of, 8, 115; council at, 326; Maps V(G 2), VI
- Treves, archbishopric of, primacy of Germany, 322; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381
- Treves, Archbishops of. *See* Robert, William
- Trial by battle, favoured by Otho I, 343 sq., 445; 530
- Tridentine, the, part of duchy of Friuli, 346; 530

- Trithemius (historian), uses manuscript of Richerius, 428; 534
- Trosley, synod of, 113, 519
- Troyes, taken by Herbert of Vermandois, 106; attacked by Bruno of Cologne, 383; county of, founded by Herbert, 181; Maps V(F 2), VI
- Troyes, Bishop of. *See* Ansegisus
- Troyes, Counts of. *See* Herbert, Robert, Thibaut III, Thibaut IV
- Tulle. *See* Toul
- Turner, Dawson, *Letters from Normandy* of, 503
- Turnier-buch, the 343 sq., 504 sq., 529
- Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, 342
- Tuscany, marquisate of, part of Lombardy, 348
- Tuscany, Duke of, Marquis of. *See* Boso, Guido
- Utrecht, archbishopric of, influence of, 120; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381; extent of, *ib.*
- Utrecht, fief of, granted to Gilbert of Lotharingia, 14
- Vaissète, Dom Dominique Joseph (historian), *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* of, 540
- Valery, St, vision of, 463
- Vannes, county of, granted to Alain Barbe-Torte, 27; restored to Alain, 97
- Vannes and Nantes, Counts of. *See* Alain, Pasquittain
- Vascons, the, their national feeling, 79, 83
- Venice, remains independent of Holy Roman Empire, 354; courts Otho I, 437; 531
- Vercelli, Bishop of. *See* Hatto
- Verdun, Lotharingian prelates do homage to Louis d'Outremer at, 124; synod of, 322; taken by Lothaire, 474; Maps V(F 2), VI
- Verdun, Bishop of. *See* Wichfeld
- Verdun, bishopric of, its influence, 120; under government of Bruno of Cologne, 381
- Verdun, Count of. *See* Otho
- Vermandois, the, and Herbert of Vermandois, 11, 26, 130; ravaged by Charles-le-Simple, 19; Northmen occupy, 23, 28; 29; invaded by King Raoul, 49, 59; part of Belgic Gaul, 81; inherited by Albert the Pious, 208; ravaged by Louis d'Outremer, 253; subject to Hugh-le-Grand, 281; ravaged by Magyars, 336; Soissons chief city in, 397; authority on its history, 502; Maps V(E 2), VII
- Vermandois, Counts of. *See* Albert, Herbert
- Vermandois, House of, descended from Charlemagne, 5, 137, 382 sq.; loses county of Champagne, 106
- Vermandois and Troyes, Count of. *See* Herbert
- Verona, diet at, 445
- Verona, march of, retained by Otho I, 354; commands passes into Italy, *ib.*
- Versailles, origin of, 70
- Vexin, the, covered by the Foresta de Leonibus, 69; authority on history of, 502; Maps V(D 2), VII
- Vienne, granted to Herbert of Vermandois by King Raoul, 51; surrenders to Raoul, 60; Maps V(F 4), VI
- Vienne, Counts of. *See* Boso, Charles-Constantine
- Vigennes, river, boundary of Gilbert of Burgundy's dominions, 100; boundary of Hugh-le-Grand's dominions, 281; Map V(D 3)
- Vita Mathildæ Reginæ, 504
- Vita Sancti Brunonis Archiepiscopi of Rudiger, 504, 541
- Vladimir the Great, Grand Duke of Kiev and of all Russia, marriage with Anne, 446; 536
- Wace, Robert (chronicler), *Roman du Rou* of, celebrates victory of the *Pré de la Bataille*, cited, 67, 514; and portrait of Richard-sans-Peur, cited, 393, 533; omits Richard's homily to Danes, 418; patronized by Henry I and Henry II of England, *ib.*, 501; boasts of Richard's support to Hugh Capet, cited, 466, 537; authority on history of Normandy, 501 sq.; 540
- Waitz, G. (historian), *Geschichte der Begründung der Normannischer Herrschaft in Frankreich* of, 539
- Walbert, Archbishop of Milan, Lombard ambassador to Otho I, 364; crowns Otho King of Lombardy, 365
- Walcheren, Theophania's dowry, 450
- Waldeck, Count of. *See* Siegfried
- Waldo, Bishop of Como, Lombard ambassador to Otho I, 364
- Waleran de Mellent, counsellor of Richard-sans-Peur, 384; signature to Richard's charter to abbey of St Denis, 506, 541
- Wales, subdued by Anglo-Saxons, 18
- Walter, Bishop of Paris, chancellor of Hugh-le-Grand, 163; monk of St Denis, 171; Raoul Torta takes refuge with, 277
- Walter, Archbishop of Sens, crowns Raoul, 25
- Warner, Count of Sens, killed at battle of Mont-Chalus, 30
- Warnkenig, L. H. (historian), authority on history of Flanders, 503
- Wedmore, treaty of, 522, 524
- Weissenburg, abbey of, annals of the monk of, 7, 508; foundation of, 508
- Wends, the. *See* Slavs
- Werner, Count of Worms and Spire, 219; Gen. Table X
- Weser, river, boundary of Lotharingia, 382

- Wicfried, Archbishop of Cologne, at coronation of Otho I, 116; 529
- Wichfeld, Bishop of Verdun, at church council of Ravenna, 443
- Widukind. *See* Witikind
- Wilbert, Archbishop of Cologne, and murder of Godfrey the Dane, 165, 304, 394
- William the Pious, Count of Auvergne, Duke of Aquitaine, 510; Gen. Table VI (vol. 1)
- William II, Count of Auvergne, Duke of Aquitaine, defeats Danes, 21; 510; Gen. Table VI (vol. 1)
- William III, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine. *See* Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe
- William IV, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine. *See* Guillaume Fier-à-bras
- William V, the Great, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine. *See* Guillaume-le-Grand
- William X, Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, 514; Gen. Table VI (vol. 1)
- William, Count of Blois; Gen. Table XIV
- William I the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, King of England, 141, 247; at battle of Hastings, 270; and conquest of England, 409; armorial bearings of, 513; Gen. Tables XII, XIV
- William II, Rufus, King of England, and claims of Henry Beauclerc, 115, 519; armorial bearings of, 513; Gen. Table XIX (vol. III)
- William of Malmesbury (chronicler), and Rollo's nationality, 543
- William, Archbishop of Sens, Hugh-le-Grand's ambassador to Louis d'Outremer on his restoration, 88, 89; crowns Louis, 91, 92
- William, Archbishop of Troves, crowns Otho II, 364
- William. *See also* Guillaume
- Wilmans, R. (historian), authority on German history, 503
- Wilton, abbey of, Edgitha abbess of, 340
- Winegis, Duke of Spoleto, befriends Leo III, 519
- Wirsung, M., edits the Turnier-buch, 342
- Witikind (Widukind), monk of Corbey (chronicler), and rejection of Carolingian dynasty in Germany, 7; and equipment of Otho I's army, cited, 296, 297, 526 sq.; and the battle of the Lechfeld, 360, 504; authority on history of Germany, 504; *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum* of, 507; Dithmar's chronicle based on, 508; 540
- Witsand (Portus Iccius), and Boulogne, 86; origin of, 109; fortified by Arnoulle-Vieux, 109 sq., 112; 519; Map V (D 1)
- Wittikind, Saxon chief, 13
- Wolfdalus, Bishop of Chartres, mediates between Lothaire and Richard-sans-Peur, 413 sq., 418
- Women, influence in French politics, 425; position in Germany, 473
- Worms, Magyars at, 106; convention at, 364; Maps V(H 2), VI
- Worms and Spires, Count of. *See* Werner
- Xanthen, Otho I stationed at, 123
- Yare, river, 399; Map VII
- York (Eboracum), Ogiva and Louis d'Outremer at, 84; Hugh-le-Grand's embassy to Louis at, 88 sq.; taken by Regnald of Northumbria, 509; 517
- Ystore de li Normant* of Amatus of Monte Cassino and origin of the Normans, cited, 543, *note*
- Yvo de Creil, Lord of Belosme, regent to Richard-sans-Peur, 160; leader of baronage, 171; dominions of, 203; and Louis d'Outremer, *ib.*; accompanies Richard and Osmond de Contvilles to Laon, 207; in charge of castle of Laon, *ib.*; and Richard's escape, 224; counsellor of Richard, 276; rewarded, 291; his signature to Richard's charter to abbey of St Denis, 506, 541; 522
- Zealand, part of Lotharingia, 381
- Zedechias, physician to Charles-le-Chauve, 210
- Zobols, Magyar chief, 358
- Zosimus, Pope, 325, 528
- Zultu, King of the Magyars, instigated by Conrad the Red to invade France and Germany, 336, 356; sends embassy to Otho I, 357; 531

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